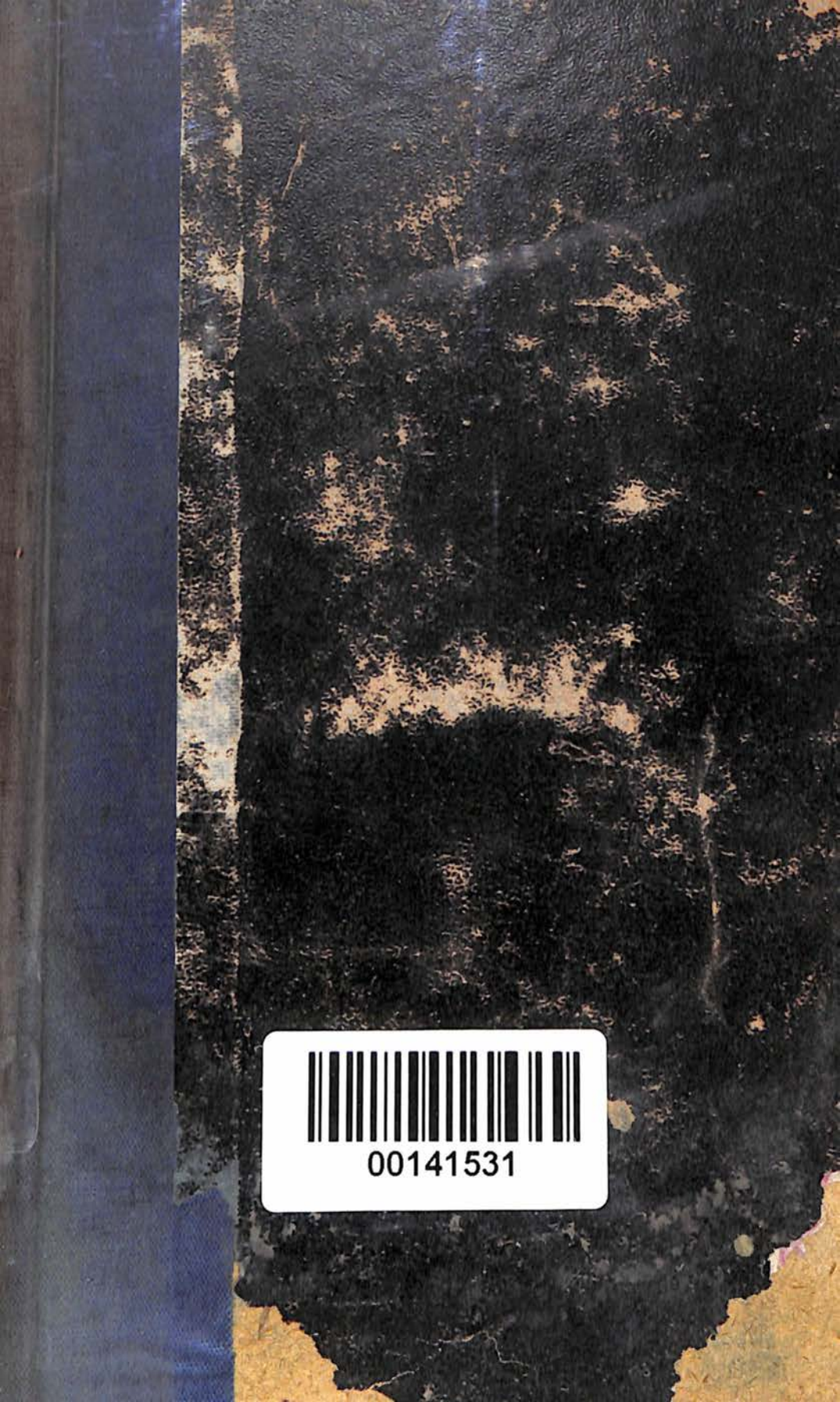
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A

NEW ANALYSIS

OF

CHRONOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY,

HISTORY AND PROPHECY:

IN WHICH

14,531

THEIR ELEMENTS

ARE ATTEMPTED TO BE EXPLAINED, HARMONIZED, AND VINDICATED,

UPON SCRIPTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES;

TENDING TO REMOVE THE IMPERFECTION AND DISCORDANCE OF PRECEDING SYSTEMS, AND TO OBVIATE THE CAVILS OF SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HALES, D.D.

RECTOR OF KILLESANDRA, IN IRELAND; AND

FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND IMPROVED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE publication of this volume, though printed upwards of a twelvemonth, has been delayed by the preparation of a various and copious GENERAL INDEX; which the Author was induced to undertake, by the advice of some judicious friends, and the recommendation of his respectable booksellers, seconding his own earnest desire to render the work as perfect, and convenient, as possible.

During this tedious and laborious employment, but not less useful to the Author, than to the Public; he carefully revised, compared, and scrutinized the whole, and the parts of the work. This enabled him to detect several literal errors, that had glided either into his manuscripts, or into the printing; to correct several ambiguities of expression, inconsequential reasonings, insufficiently guarded assertions, and some material mistakes of calculation, &c. *quæ parum cavit Natura humana; aliquando dormitans opere in longo;* and to recast entirely, or new model, some important articles, upon further lights and maturer consideration. In this critical, and unsparing review, he was greatly assisted by the learned remarks and acute strictures of some kind and candid friends, on the foregoing volumes; especially the Rev. Archdeacon *Churton*, and the Rev. *John Moore*,

Minor Canon of St. *Paul's;* and also, by some later publications of merit, particularly Doctor *Magee's* erudite and elaborate Dissertations on *Atonement* and *Sacrifice,* third, improved edition, 1812. This account, he trusts, will more than apologize for the unusual length of the ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS, which he now takes the earliest opportunity of offering, along with the last volume, to the *Patrons* and *Subscribers* of the Work, as in justice and gratitude bound; without waiting for the precarious demand of a *second Edition,* which, if called for, he may not live to publish.

In deference to the judgment, and even to the prejudices of some esteemed friends, he has readily retrenched some new renderings of the original Scriptures, to which they objected. Such as Θεος, "*A God,*" for *God;* Αγνωστῳ Θεῳ, "*the unknowable God,*" for *the unknown God;* "*Legitimate Son,*" for *only Son;* "*only genuine,*" for *only begotten;* "*became inspired,*" for *was in the spirit;* ει, "*Since,*" when followed by an indicative mood, for *If,* &c.; because the old are sanctioned, and in some measure *sanctified,* by long prescription; and are warranted by the usual latitude of speech, though not perhaps so precise, or appropriate, as their substitutes; whose import they are generally understood to convey, in the foregoing instances, by the best informed. But there are others, which he cannot surrender, without injuring, in his settled opinion, the important and momentous cause of SACRED CRITICISM; the first step towards the improvement of which, upon *scientific* principles, is to acquire *clear, distinct,* and *correct ideas* of leading *elementary* and *technical* terms. Such as his

adopted and retained pronunciation and renderings of the primitive and awful names of the Deity, יהוה, *Jahoh*, instead of *Jehovah*; דבר יהוה, *Dabar Jahoh*, and ὁ Λογος, "*the Oracle of the Lord*," and "*the Oracle*," instead of *the Word of the Lord*, and *the Word*; האדון, *Ha Adon*, and אדני, *Adoni*, "*the Regent*," and "*Regent*," instead of *the Lord*, and *Lord*; אדני יהוה, *Adoni Jahoh*," "*Regent Lord*," instead of *Lord God*, &c.

He also regrets, that he cannot retract his *partial* censure of the *Athanasian Creed*; in which he is by no means singular, but countenanced and supported by several wise and good, conscientious, and moderate *Churchmen*, wishing to promote unanimity and harmony between the discordant and jarring sects of PROTESTANTS, as far as may be done, without giving up essentials. Nay, the Creed itself seems to support the chief ground of objection, in that sage caution, "*Neither confounding* THE PERSONS, nor *dividing* THE SUBSTANCE"—of the *ever-blessed* and *adorable*, but most "*incomprehensible* TRINITY IN UNITY." A golden Canon indeed, sanctioned by the usage, and cautious distinctions of the early Fathers of the Church, *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, &c. and by the *Nicene* Council, declaring THE SON to be "TRUE GOD of TRUE GOD; *of the same substance* (ὁμοουσιος) *with* THE FATHER."

But while the Author, availing himself of "THE GLORIOUS LIBERTY OF THE GOSPEL," in the genuine spirit of the *Articles of* the Church of *England*, VI, VIII, XIX, XX, thus freely maintains, and openly exercises, his *Christian*, and *Protestant*, and *indefeasible right* of *private*

judgment; and thus ventures, occasionally and reluctantly, to differ from *the most venerable,* or *the most learned authorities,* on some of the most abstruse and mysterious, but surely the most important and interesting topics of SACRED CRITICISM; he earnestly intreats his kind and indulgent, though not unanimous friends, to favour him with the continuance of their candid remarks and unrestrained correspondence; which shall be thankfully received, and carefully attended to in any succeeding δευτεραι φροντιδες, or "*second thoughts,*" he may chance to offer to the Public. Most heartily concurring in the pious wish and prayer of one of those "*friends indeed,*" "*who smite me friendly, and reprove me,*" and thereby *improve* me:

"*That we may meet again, in that future state, where,* he trusts, *we shall have more insight than we now have, into those dark and mysterious Writings; and discern plainly, what we now see, as in a mirror, distorted and indistinct.*"

KILLESANDRA, IRELAND,
July 1, 1813.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS VOLUME.

THIS third volume, now submitted, at length, to the Public, finishes, thanks be to GOD *, the entire work: a work, designed to furnish a new and compendious chronological system of the ELEMENTS OF SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY, for general use †.

* HINC *omne principium*, HUC *refer exitum*. HOR.
"To GOD, ascribe every beginning, every ending."

† Among the great variety of books that have contributed their quotas to the composition of this history, the foremost in size and rank, is the *Ancient and Modern Universal History*, a library in itself, and an honour to the *British* press, containing in its numerous and ponderous volumes, an immense mass of erudition and information. But it is insufferably prolix and tedious, in the whole course of *Profane History*; while, in the more important branches of *Sacred History*, and especially of the *New Testament*, the most important of all, it is meagre and scanty; and as a whole, it wants *systematic* arrangement and *uniformity*. It is perplexed and embarrassed in its *order* and *method*, and miserably defective and incorrect in its *Chronology* throughout. These blemishes were, in a great measure, the natural and necessary result of a compilation framed by several hands, who had not the same capacities, the same style, the same information, and who wanted a comprehensive view of the whole subject, in all its bearings. Its chief excellence is, that it fully and fairly cites *authorities*, in the course of the entire work, which renders it a useful *storehouse* of most valuable materials of every sort or quality. This *colossal* work, from its size and its costliness, is not calculated for general use; and few that can afford to purchase, now read it for entertainment, though they may frequently find it necessary to be consulted, for its authorities or references.

Among the smaller works of general history, *Rollin's* Ancient History of the *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, *Macedonians* and *Grecians*, claims a distinguished rank. It is well arranged, and abounds in pious and useful reflections, which render it particularly serviceable to youth, as an ele-

Notwithstanding the increased size of the work, (which was unavoidable, for reasons mentioned in the *Advertise-*

mentary work." Accordingly, none, perhaps, has had a more general sale, and extensive circulation, both in the original and classical French, and in the English translation, of thirteen volumes, duodecimo. But it is frequently tedious and verbose, is not sufficiently critical in cases of difficulty and nicety, and is erroneous in its Chronology; and by a glaring defect, it takes no specific notice of *Sacred History*.

Millot's Elements of General History, 4 vols. 8vo. are shorter, and in some respects, preferable to *Rollin's*. But it takes no notice of *Sacred History*, is principally confined to *facts*, and enters but little into the *philosophy of history*, and, like the rest, is silent respecting the principal difficulties that are apt to embarrass young students, and even the most learned.

To remedy such defects and imperfections, the present *Elements of Sacred and Profane History* were designed. Here, *Sacred History* bears its due proportion to *Profane*, occupying more than double the space, and supplying a material chasm in the liberal education of our youth, who, though commonly versed in the Histories of *Greece* and *Rome*, which are rather calculated, singly, to make them *Polytheists* in Religion, and *Republicans* in Politics, are, too often, total strangers to *Sacred History*, which would correct those mischievous errors; and this, perhaps, for want of a sufficient elementary *compendium;* as noticed before, in the preface to the second volume of this work. And for the use of *Historical Students*, in general, I will here subjoin a list, (similar to the former, for *Biblical Students)* of select *standard books* of *Profane History*, with their best, or most useful editions, and translations, and some observations and strictures, suggested by long experience.

I. ANCIENT HISTORIANS. GREEK.

1. *Herodotus.* Of this "father of history," the best edition is the learned *Wesseling's*, with a Latin Translation, and Notes, folio, 1763. A smaller edition of his Text only, has been published at Oxford, 2 vols. 8vo. 1809, and since that, I hear, a second and correcter edition. *Littlebury* has published an English Translation, 2 vols. 8vo. 1737, and *Beloe* another, with Notes, 4 vols. 8vo. 1806, second edition. *Larcher* a French Translation, with learned and copious Notes, 7 vols. 8vo. 1786; and a second improved and castigated edition, in 1802, in which, he has retracted several *sceptical* notes and remarks in the former. But none of these translations render full justice to the engaging simplicity and spirit of the original. *Rennel's Geography of Herodotus*, 4to. 1800, is by far the best comment on that branch of the history; as this volume, I trust, will be found, on its *Chronology*, and its general scope.

2. *Xenophon's Cyropædia, Anabasis,* and *History of Greece.* The best editions of the *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis* are *Hutchinson's*, 4to. in 1727 and 1735, which contain some valuable Dissertations, omitted in the octavo editions for the use of schools. The best complete edition that I know, is *Well's*, 5 vols. 8vo. 1703.

ment of the second volume) the candid and intelligent reader, who is disposed and qualified to weigh its va-

3. *Thucydides.* Incomparably the best is *Duker's*, folio, 1732. *Smith* has translated into rugged English, 3 vols. 4to. 1753—1770, *Thucydides'* History and *Xenophon's* Continuation. *Mitford's* History of *Greece* is the best comment on *Thucydides.*

4. *Arrian.* The best edition of his *History of Alexander*, and *Indian Expedition*, is by *Gronovius*, folio, 1704. His *Periplous* of the *Euxine Sea*, by *Blancard*, 8vo. 1683. *Hanno's Periplous* of the *Libyan* coast, in *Hudson's Geographi Minores*, Vol. I. of which the Rev. *T. Falconer* has given an English Translation, accompanying the Greek text, with explanations, 1797. Dean *Vincent* and *Major Rennel* have thrown great lights upon the *Indian Expedition*, or *Voyage of Nearchus*, and *Hanno's Periplous*, in their publications.

5. *Diodorus Siculus.* The best edition of his valuable *Historical Library* is *Wesseling's*, 2 vols. folio, 1743. *Booth* has given an English translation, in folio, 1700.

6. *Plutarch.* His whole works were published by *Xylander*, 2 vols. large folio, Paris, 1624. Professor *Wyttenbach* has lately published an improved edition in Germany. Of the Lives, *Bryan's* is the best Greek edition, 5 vols. 4to. 1724. The *Langhornes*, father and son, have given an excellent English Translation of the Lives, with critical Notes, 6 vols. 8vo. 1770.

7. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus.* The best edition of his *Roman Antiquities* is *Hudson's*, 2 vols. folio, 1704.

8. *Polybius.* The best edition of his continuation of *Dionysius* is by *Gronovius*, 3 vols. 8vo. 1670. *Hampton* has given a good English Translation, 4 vols. 8vo. 1761.

9. *Appian.* The best edition of his History is by *Stephens*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1670.

10. *Dion Cassius.* The best edition is *Reimar's*, 2 vols. folio, 1750.

11. *Strabo.* The last edition of his *Geography* is *Falconer's*, Oxford, 2 vols. large folio, 1807; the preceding, 2 vols. small folio, Amsterdam, 1707.

12. *Lucian.* His works contain a good deal of *Antiquarian* information. The best edition is by *Hemsterhusius*, 4 vols. quarto, 1743.

13. *Josephus*, contra *Apion.* contains much curious *Antiquarian* information.

II. Latin.

14. *Justin.* His Abridgment of General History, from *Trogus Pompeius*, is useful and well known.

15. *Livy.* Of his admired *Roman History*, the most convenient edition, perhaps, is *Crevier's*, with *Freinsheim's* Supplement, 7 vols. 12mo. 1747.

16. *Tacitus.* Incomparably the best edition of his works is *Brotier's*, 4 vols. 4to. 1771. The smaller *London* edition omits several valuable Dissertations in the larger.

riety, and compass of research, will allow it to be *compendious.*

17. *Suetonius.* The best edition of his History of the twelve Cæsars is *Oudendorp's*, 8vo. 1751. *Patin's* edition, 4to. 1675, gives the Coins and Medals.

18. *Velleius Paterculus.* One of the best editions is the *Variorum*, 8vo. 1719.

19. *Lucius Florus.* One of the best editions is the *Variorum*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1722.

20. *Cornelius Nepos.* The best edition of this elegant Biographer is the Variorum, 8vo. 1734.

21. *Cæsar's* Commentaries of the *Gallic* and *Civil* Wars. The best edition is *Oudendorp's*, 4to. 1737. The earlier school editions of *Clarke* are correcter than the later. *Clarke's Cæsar*, folio, 1712, is one of the most magnificent books ever printed.

22. *Cicero's* Works. These contain a great fund of historical information, especially his Orations and Letters. The most correct edition of his works is, perhaps, *Ernesti's*, 6 vols. 8vo. 1774. *Ernesti's Clavis Ciceroniana*, third edition, 8vo. 1769, is a valuable appendage.

23. *Sallust.* The best edition of his *Jugurthine* and *Catiline* Wars is *Havercamp's*, 2 vols. 4to, 1742.

24. The *Byzantine* Historians, Greek and Latin, *Agathias*, *Procopius*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Anna Comnena*, &c. The whole series has been published in 36 vols. folio, *Paris*, 1648, &c. The *Venetian* edition, 1729, is cheaper and more copious, though not so correct.

III. English and French.

25. *Raleigh's History of the World*, folio. This valuable work contains many original reflections. See Vol. I. p. 122, of this work.

26. *Gillies'* History of *Greece*, 4 vols. 8vo. and its continuation, the *History of the World*, from *Alexander* to *Augustus*, 2 vols. 4to. 1807, contain much curious and valuable information.

27. *Mitford's* History of *Greece*, 4 vols. 4to. This is the most judicious that has hitherto appeared, but ends with the *Peloponnesian* war.

28. *Hooke's Roman History*, 4 vols. 4to. or 8 vols. 8vo. This contains much curious information, though prolix.

29. *Montesquieu's* Works, His *Rise and Decline of the Roman Empire*, *Persian Letters*, and *Spirit of Laws*, contain a fund of curious profound and original reflections, in the most condensed style.

30. *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;* last neat edition, 9 vols. 8vo. 1809. This great and elaborate work, collected principally from the *Byzantine* historians, (Vol. IX. p. 176, note,) contains a rich and valuable fund of information, and many ingenious remarks, in a monotonous and artificial style. But he was unhappily tinctured with a strong spirit of *Paganism* and *Islamism*, rendering him too often blind to the transcendent excellence of Christianity and its Divine Au-

The difficulty of composing this volume was not less than of the preceding: for the mazes of the labyrinth of

THOR, and the wisdom and purity of his Institutions; and too often unfair and dishonest in his quotations and inferences.

31. *Ockley's* History of the *Saracens.*

32. *Knolles'* History of the *Turks*, folio, 1610. *Johnson*, in his *Rambler*, recommends this as one of the best histories extant in any language. But it is insufferably prolix and tedious; and *Knolles* was sometimes misled by prejudices and partialities, witness his panegyric on *Tamerlane*, &c.

33. *Rycaut's* History of the *Ottoman* Empire.

34. Baron *Tott's* Memoirs, and *Eton's* Letters, throw much light on the present tottering state of the *Turkish* Empire.

4. ORIENTAL.

35. The *Koran* of *Mahomet.* The best Arabic edition is *Maracci's*, 2 vols. folio, 1698, with a rugged Latin translation, ample notes, and refutations, &c. *Sale* published a paraphrastic English translation, with a learned *preliminary discourse*, and *notes*, 4to. 1734. *Savary*, a French translation, 2 vols. 8vo. 1783, which is much superior in fidelity and elegance to *Sale's.*

36. *Abulfeda's* Life of *Mahomet*, published in Arabic, with a Latin translation and learned notes by *Gagnier*, Oxford, folio, 1723. He was *Mahomet's* best historian. *Gagnier*, *Sale*, and *Savary* were downright *Mussulmans.* Professor *White*, in his Bampton Lecture Sermons, has ably traced the character of Mahomet, and the genius of his religion.

37. *Elmacin's Saracen History.* Published in *Arabic*, with a Latin translation by *Erpenius*, folio, 1625.

38. *Mirkhond's* Universal History, in Persian, and *Khondemir's* Abridgment. *Abulfaragi's*, and *Eutychius'* Annals. These were recommended in the former list. To *Abulfaragi* we owe the most correct adjustment of the Chronology of the *Saracen* Dynasty.

39. *Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale* *, folio, 1776, with *Galland's Supplement*, containing *Histoire de Tartarie, Chine, Monument du Christianisme en Chine, Maximes des Orientaux*, &c. and a *Table Generale des Matieres*, or a copious Index to both Her-

* This great Orientalist is a fortunate exception to the lot of several of his literary brethren. He, indeed, received the most splendid reward of his industry. He was invited to *Italy*, by *Ferdinand* II. Duke of *Tuscany*, who entertained him with that striking magnificence, which always distinguished the race of the *Medici.* After the death of Ferdinand, that great statesman, the illustrious *Colbert*, recalled him to *Paris*, where he enjoyed the fruits of his labour, and spent the remainder of his days in an easy and honourable retirement. But this is a rare example: the princes of Europe have not often imitated *Ferdinand*; nor their prime ministers, *Colbert!*

Profane History are to the full as abstruse, and intricate, as the mysteries of *Revelation;* and whoever attempts to

belot and the *Supplement*, folio, 1780. This mine of Oriental learning cannot be too highly praised for its well wrought, curious, valuable and entertaining mass of recondite information.

II. ANTIQUARIAN POETS.

40. *Hesiod.* The best edition of his works is *Robinson's Variorum*, Oxford, 4to. 1737.

41. *Homer.* The most useful is the Elzevir by *Schrevelius*, with the *Greek* Scholia, on both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, 4to. 1656. Add to this, the *Index Homericus.*

42. *Pindar.* The best edition is the Oxford, with the *Greek* Scholia, folio, 1697, which is now scarce. *Heyne* has published a small 4to. 1773, without notes.

43. *Æschylus.* The best editions are *Stanley's*, folio, 1664, or the Variorum by *Pauw*, 2 vols. 4to. 1744. His Tragedy of the *Persians* contains much curious information of the *Persian* war. *Potter* has excellently translated his works into English blank verse.

44. *Sophocles. Johnson's* edition, with the Greek Scholia, 3 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1705, 1708. Lond. 1746, is the most correct. *Franklin* has well translated his Tragedies into blank verse.

45. *Euripides. Barnes'* edition, with the Greek Scholia and Notes, is one of the most useful, folio, 1694. Later editions have been published by *Musgrave*, and others, which are perhaps, more correct. *Woodhull* and *Potter* have published English Translations in blank verse. The former is more literal, the latter more spirited.

46. The Latin Antiquarian Poets, *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Ovid*, are well known. The most convenient editions are, perhaps, those in *Usum Delphini*, on account of their copious Indexes.

47. *Macrobius.* The best edition, perhaps, of this learned Antiquary, is the *Variorum*, by *Zeunius*, Leipsic, 8vo. 1774.

III. VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

48. *Ray's* Collection of early Travels. Second Edit. 1705.

49. Sir *John Chardin's* Travels to the East. 3 Vols. Amsterd. 1711. *Harmer* has made much use of these, and of six small manuscript volumes, in compiling his useful *Observations* on *Scripture* and the *Classics*. 4 vols. 8vo. 1776—1787.

50. *Sandys'* Travels. Sixth Edit. Fol. 1658. These justly celebrated Travels contain much valuable historical information, ancient and modern.

51. *Maundrel's* Travels to the Holy Land. Sixth Edit. 8vo. 1749. These are a valuable supplement to *Sandys'*.

52. *Hasselquist.* 8vo. 1766. This Swedish Botanist, who travelled through the

develope the tales and reveries of *Sanchoniatho* and *Berosus, Manetho* and *Ctesias,* will find them as hard to

Holy Land, judiciously completes, in many instances, the accounts of his predecessors.

53. *Pocock's Travels* in the East. 2 vols. folio. 1743—1758.

54. *Shaw's* Travels. Second Edit. 4to. 1757. Both are excellent.

55. *Norden's* Travels into *Egypt* and *Nubia.* A splendid edition of these, in several folios, was published by the king of *Denmark;* of which, an abridged translation, in one volume 8vo. was published, 1757.

56. *Bruce's* Travels to *Abyssinia,* 6 vols. 8vo. 1790. A new and improved Edition of these valuable Travels has been since published.

57. *Brown's, Barrow's,* and *Denon's,* in *Egypt* and *Africa,* are curious and useful.

58. *Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie,* 4to. 1773, and *Voyage en Arabie, et en d'autres pays circonvoisins,* 2 vols. 4to. 1776, are the most curious and valuable, perhaps, that have been published. And this work is more indebted to *Niebuhr,* than to any other of his class. He was an excellent Orientalist.

59. *Cooke's Voyages round the World,* three sets, 8 vols. quarto. These throw great light on the structure and divisions of the Terraqueous globe, and correct some important mistakes about the respective quantities of land, in the northern and southern polar regions. Their curious vocabularies of the *South Sea Islanders* tend to shew a common origin in all. See Vol. I. p. 341—343, of this work.

60. *The Asiatic Researches,* 9 vols. 8vo. &c. These, laudably published by the *Calcutta* Society, throw much new light on the dialects, religious customs, and manners of the various nations and tribes inhabiting the great continent and islands of Asia.

61. *Bartolomeo's* Voyage to *the East Indies;* translated from the Italian, 8vo. 1800. He was professor of Oriental Languages in the *Propaganda* at *Rome,* and understood the *Sanscrit,* of which he has published a Grammar.

62. *Buchanan's Christian Researches* in *Asia.* Second Edit. 8vo. 1811.

63. *Carwithen's Bampton Sermons,* on the *Brahminical Religion,* and its influence on the *Moral Character,* 8vo. 1810.

These three last articles furnish a useful *Supplement* to the *Asiatic Researches.*

IV. LEXICONS AND DICTIONARIES.

1. GREEK.

64. *Henry Stephens's Thesaurus,* 5 vols. folio, 1572. With *Scott's* Supplement to the *Thesaurus, Scapula,* and *Constantine.* 2 vols. folio, 1745*. This

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* The following Epigrams are prefixed by *Stephens,* to his immortal *Thesaurus,* after the title-page:

Θησαυρον γλωσσης Ασκραιος εειπεν αριστον,
Πασων δ' Ελλαδικη γλωσσα αριστη εφυ.

be understood, as hard to be interpreted, and as hard to be reconciled to each other, and to the truth of his-

This is incomparably the most complete and valuable Lexicon of the *Greek* language ever published. A stupendous work for any individual to execute. And what was his reward *in this life?* He died in very embarrassed circumstances, in consequence of the heavy expenses of the work, and which found little or no patronage, or general sale. *Scapula*, his *amanuensis*, ungenerously availed himself of

---

Αλλ' ὁ με θησαυρους θησαυρος απηυρεν, αριστος
Πασιν εων ἑτεροις, εστι κακιστος εμοι.

" *The treasure of the tongue, Hesiod* counted *best;*
The *Greek*, of all tongues, is best, by nature.
And yet, this treasure has robbed me of my treasures;
And that, to all others best, to me is worst!

Thesauri, momento, alii ditantque beantque,
Et faciunt CRŒSUM *qui prius* IRUS *erat:*
At Thesaurus me hic ex divite reddit egenum,
Et facit ut juvenem ruga senilis uret.
Sed mihi opum levis est, levis est jactura juventæ,
Judicio haud levis est si labor iste tuo.

" Other treasures, in a moment, the finder enrich,
They convert even an *Irus* into a *Crœsus:*
This treasure, on the contrary, renders me *poor* from *rich,*
And furrows my youth with the wrinkles of age!
But slight is the loss of wealth, the loss of youth,
If you, reader, count not my labour slight."

Never will *any scholar* undervalue, or count "*his labour slight,*" by which himself *has been*, or his posterity *may be*, benefited, to the latest ages!

In his dignified, though modest and respectful *Dedication*, to the first princes and potentates of Europe, the emperor *Maximilian* II. the French king, Charles IX. Queen *Elizabeth* of England, the Electors of the *Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburgh,* and the University of *Frankfort*, he freely and frankly claims their patronage, for enlightening the minds of their subjects, and their students: concluding,

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones.
" Let there be *patrons*, and there will not be wanting *poets.*"

And he ends with this pointed Epigram, addressed to the three royal personages.

Hic Thesaurus, hic est, tua quem GERMANIA, CÆSAR,
Hic, quem, CARLE, *optat multis tua* GALLIA *votis,*
Hic est, ELIZABETH, *tua quem sitit* ANGLIA *dudum;*
Hic illis thesauro ARABUM *pretiosior omni,*
PACTOLI *auriferis fuerit mage charus arenis,*
Gratior EOO *venientibus æquore gemmis,*
GERMANOS *ergo, hic* GALLOSQUE *beabit, et* ANGLOS;

tory, as the profound prophecies of *Jacob*, *Balaam*, and *Moses*, the sublime visions of *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, and the *Apocalypse*.

his master's labours, to publish an abridged Lexicon, in a single volume folio, which superseded the *Thesaurus*.—*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes!*

65. *Constantine's Lexicon.* folio. This is fuller than *Scapula's*.

66. *Hesychius' Lexicon.* The best variorum edition is *Alberti's*, 2 vols. folio, 1746. Leyden. This contains much curious and valuable information of *scarce* Greek words.

67. *Suidas' Lexicon.* Best edition by *Kuster*, 3 vols. folio, 1705, Cambridge. This contains much curious and valuable historical and antiquarian information. *Toup's* Critical *Emendationes in Suidam*, 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1760—1775, form a useful Appendix thereto.

68, 69. *Du Cange's* Glossary of the modern Greek Language, with *Moreri's* Supplement. Particularly useful for the *Byzantine* historians.

2. Latin.

70. *Robert Stephen's Thesaurus*, 4 vols. folio, 1734, London. This learned son of a learned father, to whom sacred literature is so much indebted for his various editions of the Greek Testament, published this most valuable Dictionary of the Latin language. An improved edition has lately been published by *Facciolati*, Padua, 4 vols. folio, 1771, fuller than Stephen's.

71. *Spelman's* Glossary. Very useful for explaining the modern Latin of the barbarous ages.

3. Oriental.

72. *Castell's Heptaglott Lexicon.* This is necessary to be introduced into this list also, on account of the intimate connexion of *all the Oriental languages with each other*; so that, as *Castell* observes, "*none can understand one, perfectly and accu-*

At me, cujus opes tandem consumpsit opimas,
Vestrum est, sic VOBIS *sint regna beata, beare!*

"This is the *treasure*, ye *sovereign princes*, this,
Maximilian, *Charles*, and *Elizabeth*,
For which your *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *England* thirst;
To them, more precious far, than all the wealth
Of Lydian *Pactolus* with his golden sands,
Than all the gems that come from *Eastern* climes.
This then, the *Germans*, *Gauls*, and *English* will enrich,
While all *my* treasured store, this has consumed!
But yours it is, me to remunerate;
So may your kingdoms flourish!"

Miserable remunerators were they!——

The number of the *classic* authors he printed is really astonishing. See the list, furnished by himself, in the following page, of the many authors consulted in the composition of *the Thesaurus*.

This chronological system sketches a general outline of the fortunes of the *three primitive families of Noah's*

rately, without knowing something of them all." The admirable arrangement of this Lexicon affords the best help to trace the *analogy of the Oriental languages*, all issuing from one parent stock.

73. *Meninski's Dictionary of the Asiatic Languages*, the *Persian*, *Arabic*, and *Turkish*. The author of this stupendous work shared also the fate of *Castell* *. "*Great books*" are usually "*great evils*" to the authors †.

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* "The labours of *Meninski* immortalized and ruined him. His Dictionary of the *Asiatic* Languages, is perhaps the most laborious compilation that ever was undertaken by any single man. [*Castell* excepted, with whom no *lexicographer* can compare.] But he complains in his *Preface*, that his patrimony was exhausted by the great expence of employing and supporting a number of writers and printers, and of raising a new press for the Oriental characters."

Sir *William Jones*, to whom we owe these particulars, in his elegant Persian and English Grammar, 4to. 1771, then published proposals for printing, by subscription, an improved edition of *Meninski*, with an English translation, in four volumes folio, at the reduced price of twelve guineas to subscribers, or twenty guineas to non-subscribers, when a copy of the original work sold for fifty or sixty guineas. Unhappily the undertaking proved abortive, for want of encouragement. That rare and incomparable linguist was forced to drop his favourite pursuits, and betake himself, for a livelihood, to the rugged and ungenial profession of the law. See his elegant and classical Epigram, subjoined to his admired Lectures on *Asiatic* Poetry. And his native country, and the world at large, have to regret that he could not continue to delight and instruct them in his proper line.

Though the proposed edition of *Meninski* failed, the design was carried on, in part, by *Richardson*, the learned Orientalist, and friend of *Jones*, who first published an *Arabic* and *English* Grammar, 4to, 1776, on the model of the *Persian*; and a *Persic*, *Arabic*, and *English* Dictionary, in two large folio volumes, in 1777, and the following year, under the ostensible patronage of the *East India* Company; for whose servants both the Grammar and Dictionary were eminently useful. With what [illegible]al encouragement, we may collect from the following rather discontented note, which we transcribe, with regret, from his Dissertations. 8vo. 1778. Second edit. p. 477.

"I shall bid adieu to *Oriental learning* the *moment* I have completed the second volume of my Dictionary.

"I take this opportunity of offering *my opinion* on the fate of this branch of learning. Unless some *steady plan of encouragement* is adopted by those who have *power* to promote it, it must apparently languish in a state of lethargy, hardly differing from a non-existence. For till young men in general shall have the prospect of *recommending themselves* by such pursuits, one or two, or half a dozen in a nation, can never go far in the improvements of any science." See the entire passage, and remonstrance, which perhaps might have suggested that excellent institution of *Hertford* College, near London, for the cultivation of the *Asiatic languages*.

† Μεγα Βιβλιον, μεγα κακον. "*A great book of little information is a great evil:*" but a *great book of much information a great good*,——to *the public*, at least.

sons, in the principal, or most distinguished branches of each. In the present volume are introduced two grand lines of their history. The first and the largest, contains the history of the mingled families of *Shem* and *Japheth*, at first in *Asia*, and afterwards in *Europe*; according as they rose in power, and succeeded in dominion; namely, the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Elamites*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, the *Macedo-Grecians* *, *Par-*

74. *Richardson's Persian, Arabic*, and *English* Dictionary, 2 vols. large folio. This was written for the *East India Company's* service. See the notes on the preceding article.

75. *Golius' Arabic and Latin Lexicon*, Elzevir, folio, 1653. The best single *Arabic* Lexicon extant; its author, *vir excellentissimus, omnisque literaturæ, tam Orientalis quam Occidentalis, peritissimus*, in the judgment of *Castell.*

To these many valuable books might be added; but the historical student will, perhaps, find this *select list* abundantly sufficient to employ him for a long time, without requiring further helps. Several of these, indeed, are not easy to be procured at any price, having been long out of print. They may be found, however, in *public libraries*, at the *Universities, London*, &c., or in the *private libraries* of opulent individuals, formed not recently.

* In this catalogue of nations the reader may perhaps wonder that the *Grecians* singly, and the *Romans*, so celebrated in sacred and profane history for their arts and their arms, are not expressly noticed. But the omission was owing to the following considerations:

1. The Rudiments of *Grecian* and *Roman* History form a usual branch of classical and of liberal education; and there are several good Abridgments in general circulation, *Stanyan's, Gast's, Goldsmith's*, &c. so that their insertion might well be deemed unnecessary and superfluous, and rather injudicious, perhaps, by contributing to swell the size of a work which many will be apt to think already too large for general use, at least in its present form.

2. The *Chronological* Elements of both are fully and correctly given in the first volume of this work.

The accounts of the *heroic, brazen*, and *iron* ages of *Hesiod* include the early times of their history, Vol. I. p. 243—248; the principal *eras* of the Flood of *Ogyges*, of *Deucalion*, the *Argonautic* Expedition, Capture of *Troy*, and return of the *Heraclidæ*, are determined, p. 235—239; the leading events of *Grecian* history, from the time of *Cecrops*, the first king of Athens, to the birth of *Alexander* the Great, are given in the *Parian Chronicle*, p. 112, &c. and its rectification, p. 120, &c.; and the ensuing table of the *Athenian* kings and archons, from *Cecrops* to *Diognetus*, and the end of the *Parian Chronicle*, will perhaps be found the most authentic and accurate any

thians and *Persians*, the *Saracens* and *Turks*; the second line traces the history of the family of *Ham*, in its principal branch, the *Misraites*, who settled in *Egypt*. These two lines run parallel to each other, and collateral with the third line of the chosen branch of *Shem's* family, the *Hebrews*, the *Israelites*, and the *Jews*, noticed in the second volume of this work.

The idea of this system, including the three chief branches of the families of "*Noah's* sons, of whom was the whole earth overspread, according to their *families*, *tongues*, and *nations*, in their several *lands*," or preordained settlements; Gen. ix. 19; x. 31; Acts xvii. 26, was, in a great measure, suggested by the primitive *Geographical Chart*, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and by the scientific *Discourses* of that great Orientalist and universal scholar, Sir *William Jones*, delivered as President of the *Calcutta* Society, describing in a popular way, the characters, dialects, migrations, and settlements of the three primitive families, when they began

where extant, p. 123, &c. and, combined with the Registry of the *Olympiads*, p. 137, &c., furnish altogether the best *chronological* helps for reading their historians with profit.

Of the early *Latin* and *Alban* kings, correct tables are given of the reigns, p. 252, 253, and a correct table of the *Roman Fasti*, from the foundation of *Rome* by *Romulus*, to *Vespasian's* reign, including the *Kings*, *Decemvirs*, *Military Tribunes*, *Dictators*, *Consuls*, through the several changes of their government, p. 141—154. The Canon of *Ptolomy* gives the emperors' reigns from *Augustus* to *Antoninus Pius*, p. 164; and its *continuation*, the reigns of the succeeding emperors, down to the capture of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*.

3. The prominent features of *Grecian* and *Roman* History are traced in the second and third volumes, and interwoven with the *History* and *Prophecies* of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, and the APOCRYPHA, and with the corresponding parts of the History of the *Jews*, *Syrians*, *Persians*, *Parthians*, *Saracens*, and *Turks*, given in the course of the work; so that the candid and intelligent reader will find reason not to blame, but rather to approve, the omission.

to separate, after *Noah's* death, from the original settlement, at the foot of Mount *Ararat*, in *Armenia* and *Assyria*, and diverged from thence, in every direction, continuing their migrations, from thence, some earlier, others later, during the course of four centuries, and upwards. It has been the object of this work to follow his general outline, and confirm his important conclusions, establishing the veracity of the *Mosaic* History, by a fuller induction of particulars than was consistent with the scheme of his popular discourses. These discourses are contained in the first four, and most valuable, volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*; and have been since collected, in the magnificent edition of his works, published by Lord *Teignmouth*, his friend and successor.

The necessity, indeed, of a new arrangement of the Elements of Sacred and Profane History, built upon more solid and scientific principles of Chronology, and in a different form and shape, was pointed out in the preface and course of the first volume of this work. The Elements of *Sacred History* are detailed in the second and third volumes, at considerable length; and the Elements of *Profane History* more concisely, in the present volume.

The *unknown* and *fabulous* times, as distinguished from the *historical*, by that great chronologer *Varro*, furnish "a choice of difficulties" to the chronologer, the antiquary, and the historian. We remark in the extravagant *Gods*, *Demigods*, and *Heroes* of the remotest antiquity, a strange confusion of names and titles. Frequently, the same names denote different persons, at different times; and as frequently, the same

persons, the same times, and the same events are disguised under different names, fables, and fictions. Thus, Κρονος, *Saturn*, in the primitive Egyptian and *Grecian* Theogony, denoted *Adam*, from whom "*Time*" began to be computed; and afterwards *Noah*, from whom it was recomputed after the deluge. *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, the sons of *Saturn*, represented *Japheth*, *Shem* and *Ham*, the sons of *Noah*. Again, *Jupiter*, denoted a mortal the ancient king of *Crete*, and father of *Minos*, whose tomb was said by the *Cretans* to be in their island; and also THE SUPREME GOD, the *father of Gods* and *men*; whence *Epimenides*, one of their own poets, called "the *Cretans liars**," or blasphemers, as cited by the Apostle *Paul*, Titus i. 12.

On the other hand, the caricatured adventures of *Bacchus*, of the *Egyptian*, *Indian*, and *Grecian Hercules*, strikingly resemble the accounts of "the mighty hunter before the Lord, *Nimrod*," *Orion*, *Belus*, or *Bala Rama*; and *Sethosis*, *Sesostris*, *Vexoris*, and *Osymandes*, were one and the same king of Egypt.

Hence the attempt to reconcile and harmonize the *Chaldean*, *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, *Indian*, *Grecian* and *Latin Antiquities*, after the failure of the ablest scholars and antiquaries, has been considered as hopeless, and well nigh desperate.

Many of these acknowledged obscurities and difficulties, however, may be cleared away and removed by

* The Greek Scholiast on *Callimachus*, Hymn 8, ingeniously accounts for the *Cretans'* tradition, by supposing that the entire inscription on the tomb was Μινωος του Διος ταφος, "*the tomb of Minos, the Son of Jove*," but in process of time, the first part being obliterated, there only remained Διος ταφος, "*the tomb of Jove!*"

more critical inspection and comparison of the several *original* records that have still survived the wreck of time. Numerous dissonances also, or apparent difficulties, that have hitherto clouded the pages of *Æschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias,* &c. will be found to vanish before closer translation; and these historical writers reconciled to each other, to the *Oriental* historians, and to HOLY WRIT; greatly to the benefit of sacred and profane literature; by removing a mass of rubbish, that has hitherto produced much *doubt* and *scepticism* in history and antiquities, discouraged the scientific study of both, and reared up mischievous obstacles and impediments to the progress of literature in general, both sacred and profane.

In this volume, the characters of *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are vindicated from misrepresentation. The veracity of the Father of *Grecian* History has been frequently impeached, ever since *Plutarch's* days; and lately, a learned and ingenious Orientalist, *Richardson,* questioned the reality of his account of *Xerxes'* invasion of *Greece,* chiefly upon the specious ground of the silence of the *Oriental* historians; but their silence is here naturally accounted for, and his other objections shewn to be unfounded. *Xenophon* too, in his *Cyropædia,* has been charged with composing a *philosophical romance,* like *Plato's* Republic, or *More's* Utopia; but his Chronology, now for the first time, adjusted, and reconciled to SCRIPTURE, and to *Herodotus,* proves, that the basis of the *Cyropædia* at least, is true history. But while justice is fully rendered to these incomparable historians, their imposing errors are carefully detected.

Herodotus wilfully misrepresented the actions of *Astyages* and *Cyrus;* and *Xenophon* actually mistook the times of *Cyrus's* marriage, and capture of *Babylon.*

In its *Biographical* branch, (the most useful and entertaining of any, perhaps,) this work endeavours to cull those flowers that form the *philosophy* of history. The plan of this branch was suggested, chiefly, by *Abulfaragi's* compendious Annals of General History; in which, he has interwoven many curious and valuable anecdotes of eminent characters, and the state of Religion, Learning and Arts. The materials have been collected from miscellaneous reading for several years past; and especially from those great storehouses, the instructive *Lives of Plutarch,* the entertaining *Bibliotheque Orientale* of *Herbelot,* and the profound disquisitions of *Montesquieu;* all exhibiting the *Marrow of History*, the Spirit of laws,* and *the rise and decline of ancient empires.*

In tracing the characters of the most distinguished sages, worthies, statesmen and warriors of antiquity, such as the illustrious *Kai umarath, Sesostris, Dejoces, Cyaxares, Astyages, Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Alexander* of *Macedon, Nouschirvan, Tamerlane,* &c. not only their public acts and regulations are noticed, but also those finer and minuter traits of temper, genius, and policy, incidentally recorded by their historians, which afford, perhaps, the surest criterion; and a middle course has been steered to the Port of Historical Truth, between *Scylla* and *Charybdis,* between the adulations of their friends and the detractions of their foes. An elaborate

* The title of *Khondemir's* Abridgment of his Father *Mirkhond's* great historical work, the History of *Persia,* is *Khilasat al Akbar,* "the Marrow of History."

detail, therefore, of battles, sieges, campaigns, laws and regulations, &c. was inconsistent with the plan of this work. For such detailed information the reader is referred to the formal histories, or lives of each.

Peculiar attention has been paid to the Religious Reformers, the elder and the younger *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, the Persian *Manes*, and the Arab, *Mahomet*; the last especially, the father of *Islamism*, or the founder of the *Saracen* empire. His character, indeed, and the spirit of *Islamism*, or the real genius of his motley religion, deserved to be traced with more than ordinary care, on account of the extraordinary revolution he introduced, and the rapid and astonishing progress of their arms, and propagation of their religion, by the *Khalifs*, his successors, over the fairest regions of the globe.

To preserve the tenor of the narrative even and unbroken, in this, as in the second and third volumes, all matters of mere *controversy* and *criticism*, are excluded from the text, as much as possible, and thrown into the notes, for the benefit of the learned, and to prevent the annoyance of the unlearned reader. Such are, the Refutation of *Richardson's* Hypothesis, p. 43; of *Larcher's Egyptian Chronology*, p. 415; of the supposed *Egyptian* Zodiacs recently discovered by the French Scavans, p. 438; the critical explanations of *Oriental Titles*, p. 20; of the wars of the *Gods* and *Giants*, p. 23; of *Ancient Persian Mythology*, p. 29; of the *Primitive Magian Religion*, p. 36; of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, p. 163; of the *Grecian Oracles*, p. 109, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118, 153, &c. of *Manichæism*, p. 251, &c. All which have hitherto furnished notable fastnesses for *Doubt* and

Scepticism, in history and Antiquities, and for *Deism* and *Infidelity* in Religion.

This volume may be considered as the sequel and continuation of the second and third; designed to traverse again the history and prophecies, concisely or obscurely noticed therein, so far as they respect foreign nations. Here, the prophecies concerning *Nineveh* and *Babylon, Cyrus,* and *Alexander* the *Great,* are unfolded more at length, and explained more fully, than before, from their respective histories; and *Isaiah's* signal prophecy respecting *Belshazzar,* which was omitted in the second volume, is now, perhaps, for the first time, restored to its right owner, p. 71—75, while the rise, progress, and decline of the *Saracen* and *Turkish* empires, carefully traced in this volume, contribute to illustrate and confirm the shorter expositions of the first and second woes, under the fifth and sixth trumpets of the Apocalypse; in which those persecuting *Enthusiasts* and *Fanatics* were obscurely and symbolically foretold to be the scourges of the Idolatrous World, and of the degenerate Christians of the east and west.

In the *Appendix* are attempted to be stated the leading causes of the gradual deterioration and decay of the pure *Patriarchal* religion, and of the *Mosaical* and *Christian* afterwards. The grand Heresy or Apostacy of *Arianism, Islamism,* or *Unitarianism,* is shewn to have been a novelty, from the prevalence of the *Trinitarian* doctrine, in various shapes, from the earliest ages, among the sages of *Chaldea, Egypt,* and *India, Greece* and *Italy.* And at the close, the present age and country is impressively warned of the *Apocalyptic* plagues or

judgments, now visibly inflicting upon an infidel, lukewarm, and irreligious world; and which seem likely to continue with unabated force, during the effusion of the remaining vials, till the whole shall be exhausted, about the end of the grand prophetic Period, A.D. 1880, according to the present chronological scheme.

Whenever, and however these woes may terminate, which as we cannot foresee, we cannot but fear; and whatever reception this work may experience from the public, *whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear*, whether they will mind, or whether they will neglect these results of the studies of twenty years, now offered to their serious consideration, the author is bound with the most profound gratitude to the FATHER OF LIGHTS, THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD, and THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, to acknowledge the beneficial influence of these studies on *himself* at least. The lights of sacred and profane history have made him, he humbly trusts, wiser and better than they found him. By nearer access to the *Revealed Mysteries* of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, and by *knowing others* of all ages, nations and languages, he has learned at length, to *know himself* more thoroughly, to appreciate his own frailty, infirmity and imperfections more critically; to learn his awful responsibility to GOD for the right and diligent use of the talents entrusted to his charge; and his nobler capacities of higher intellectual, moral and religious improvement, than he has attained, or can possibly attain, in this state of discipline aud preparation for a better: fully convinced, that his *summum bonum*, or "chief good," in this life, is to endeavour, with the divine assistance, to *improve himself*, to *serve mankind*, and *to glorify* GOD; and in the next,

if he be found worthy, by humble and patient continuance in well doing, to be admitted into the supreme felicity of SEEING GOD AS HE IS, INHABITING LIGHT INACCESSIBLE, who is SPIRIT, LIGHT, LOVE, in the original, the adorable fountain of ALL PERFECTION!

By tracing also, more closely and attentively, the *Providential History of Mankind,* he has learned to reject all unworthy and dishonourable notions of THE DEITY; fully convinced of a truth, that GOD is *no respecter* of *persons, sects,* or *peoples;* but "in *every nation, whosoever feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto Him,*" (like the devout *Cornelius,* the *Roman* Centurion, Acts x. 4;) according to the lights and opportunities respectively vouchsafed.

He has learned to *count no man common or unclean;* whom GOD *hath cleansed,* and CHRIST died to save; and with whom the HOLY SPIRIT may become an inmate, (as acknowledged by the *Heathens* themselves, from the remotest ages, Gen. xli. 38; Dan. iv. 9; v. 11, &c.) but on the contrary, to admire and reverence genuine wisdom, virtue and piety, whenever and wherever they may be found, among *Pagans* and *Mussulmans,* not less than among *Patriarchs, Jews,* and *Christians.*

Lastly, he has learned, with greater warmth of Christian Charity, and a brighter glow of *Philosophical* Philanthropy *, to wish more devoutly, and pray more fervently, for the predicted and approaching conversion of all those *lost sheep,* in every quarter of the globe, who have erred from the right faith, and strayed from the

* The Heathen adage, *Homo sum: nihil humani a me alienum puto,* "*to count no human being an alien;*" the Jewish, *to love our neighbour as ourself;* fall short of the Christian, *to lay down our life for the brethren,* if requisite.

true fold of THE TRUE SHEPHERD; that they may soon return, like the *prodigal son* to their HEAVENLY FATHER'S *household,* with humble confession of their own unworthiness, lowly supplication for his pardon and forgiveness, and firm trust in his gracious promises; and all, with one voice, one heart and one soul, join in full chorus, with the Angelic Host,

ΚΟΓΞ, ΟΜ, ΠΑΞ: CANSHA, OM, PACSHA *:

GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST; ON EARTH PEACE; GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN. AMEN.

* See the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, p. 165.

Killesandra, IRELAND,
June 23, 1812.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

ANTEDILUVIAN GENERATIONS, p. 1.

From *Sanchoniatho.*	Moses.	B.C.
1. *Protogonus* and *Æon*	*Adam* and *Eve*	5411
2. *Genos* and *Genea*	*Cain* and his *wife*	5281
3. *Phos, Pur, Phlox*	*Enoch*	5091
4. *Cassios, Libanos*	*Irad*	4901
5. *Memrumos,* Usous	*Mehujael*	4731
6. *Agrieus, Halieus*	*Methusael*	4566
7. *Chrysor, Hephaistos*	*Lamech*	4404
8. *Technites, Geinos*	*Jabal, Jubal, Tubal Cain*	4239

II. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTY, p. 8.

CHALDEAN KINGS.

From *Berosus.*

	S.	Y.	B.C.
1. *Alorus,* a Babylonian	10 ..	100	4355
2. *Alasparus,* or *Alaparus*	3 ..	30	4255
3. *Amelon,* of Pantibibla	13 ..	130	4225
4. *Ammenon,* of Chaldea	12 ..	120	4095
5. *Megalarus,* of Pantibibla	18 ..	180	3975
5. *Daonus,* a Shepherd of Pantibibla	10 ..	100	3795
7 *Euedoreschus,* of Pantibibla	18 ..	180	3695
8. *Amempsinus,* a Chaldean of Larancha	10 ..	100	3515
9. *Otiartes,* the same	8 ..	80	3415
0. *Xisuthrus,* his son	18 ..	180	3335
The Deluge	120	1200	3155

POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

I. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, 317 YEARS, p. 20.

From *Syncellus.*

	Y.	M.	B.C.
1. *Nimrod, Ninus* I. or *Belus* I.	98,	9	2554
2. *Evechous,* or *Chosma Belus*	7,	6	2455
3. *Porus*	35		2448
4. *Nechubus*	43		2413
5. *Abius*	48		2370
6. *Oniballus*	40		2322
7. *Zinzirus*	45		2282
End of the Dynasty	317		2237

II. ELAMITE, or PERSIAN DYNASTY, 529 YEARS, p. 27.

PISHDADIAN KINGS.

From *Mirkhond,* &c.

	Y.	A.D.	B.C.
Kairumarath, or *Keyomarras*	(560)	40	2190
Siamek.			
Kiaumarath again		30	2150
Interregnum	(200)		
2. *Hushang,* called *Pischdad,* or *Chedorlaomer*		50	2130
3. *Tahmuras*	(700)	30	2070
4. *Giamschid,* or *Giemschid*		30	2040
5. *Dahac, Zohak,* or *Zoak*	(1000)	30	2010
6. *Aphridun, Phridun,* or *Pheridun*		120	1980
7. *Manugiahr,* called *Phirouz*	(500)	120	1860
8. *Nodar*		7	1740
9. *Apheresiab,* or *Afrasiab*		12	1733
10. *Zoab, Zoub,* or *Zab*		30	1721
11. *Gershab,* or *Gershasp*		30	1691
End of the Dynasty		529	1661

III. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, 431 YEARS, p. 49.

From *Ctesias.*

	Y.	B.C.
25. *Mithræus,* or *Ninus* II.	37	1252
26. *Tautanes,* or *Teutamus*	32	1215

			B.C.
27. *Teutæus*	44	....	1183
28. *Thinæus*	30	....	1139
29. *Dercylus*	40	....	1109
30. *Eupalis*, or *Eupachmes*	38	....	1069
31. *Laosthenes*	45	....	1031
32. *Pertiades*	30	....	986
33. *Ophratæus*	21	....	956
34. *Epecheres*, or *Ofratanes*	52	....	935
35. *Acroganes*, or *Acrazapes*	42	....	883
36. *Thonus Concolerus*	20	....	841
End of the Dynasty	431	....	821

IV. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, 215 YEARS, p. 53.

From SCRIPTURE and *Ptolomy*.

	B.C.
1. King of *Nineveh*	821
Jonah's prophecy	800
2. *Pul*, or *Belus* II	790
I. Invasion of *Israel*	770
3. *Tiglathpilesar*	747
II. Invasion of *Israel*	740
4. *Shalmanassar*	726
III. Invasion of *Israel*	722
Samaria taken	719
5. *Sennacherib*	714
I. Invasion of *Judah*	711
6. *Esarhaddon*, *Asaradin*, or *Sardanapalus* I.	710
Revolt of *Medes* and *Babylonians*	710
Babylon regained	680
II. Invasion of *Judea*, and Captivity of *Manasseh*	674
7. *Ninus* III.	667
8. *Nabuchadonosor*	658
Defeat of *Arphaxad*, or *Phraortes* the *Mede*	641

BABYLONIAN KINGS.	Y.	B.C.
Nabonassar	14	747
Nadius	2	733
Chinzirus	5	731
Jugæus	5	726
Mardok, Empad, or *Merodach Baladan*	12	721
— revolts from *Assyria*		710
— writes to *Hezekiah*		
Arcianus	5	709
I. Interregnum	2	704
Belibus	3	702
Apronadius	6	699
Regibelus	1	693
Misessimordak	4	692
II. Interregnum	8	688
Asaradin, or *Esarhaddon*	13	680
Saosduchin	20	667
Chyniladon	22	647

	B.C.			B.C.
III. Invasion of *Judea* by *Holofernes*	640	*Nabopolassar*, or *Labynetus* I.	21	625
9. *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus* II.	636	*Nineveh* taken		606
Nineveh taken	606			

V. BABYLONIAN DYNASTY, 70 YEARS, p. 66.

From SCRIPTURE, *Berosus*, and *Ptolomy*.

	Y.	B.C.
Nineveh taken	2	606
1. *Nabokolassar, Boktanser*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*	43	604
——— subdues *Elam*, or *Persia*		596
2. *Ilverodam*, or *Evilmerodach*	3	561
3. *Niricassolassar, Neriglissar*, or *Belshazzar*	5	558
4. *Nabonadius*, or *Labynetus* II. appointed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the *Mede*	17	553
Babylon taken	70	536

VI. MEDIAN DYNASTY. 159 YEARS, p. 76.

KAIANIAN KINGS. PART I.

From *Herodotus, Ctesias, Mirkhond*, &c.

			B.C.
Median Revolt and Interregnum		7	710
1. *Dejoces*, or *Artæus*		40	703
2. *Phraortes*, or *Artyines*, or *Arphaxad*		22	663
3. *Cyaxares* I, or *Astibaras*, or *Kaikobad*, or *Ahasuerus*	1		641
— first siege of *Nineveh*, and *Scythian* Invasion	28		640
— Scythian expulsion	4	40	612
— *Lydian* war	5		608
— Eclipse of *Thales*	2		603
4. *Astyages, Astyigas*, or *Aspadas*, or *Kaikaus*		35	601
5. *Cyaxares* II. or *Fraiborz*, or *Darius* the *Mede*	13		566
— succeeds Belshazzar at *Babylon*, and appoints *Nabonadius* prefect there	2	15	553
Accession of *Kai Chosru*, or *Cyrus* the *Persian*		159	551

VII. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 228 YEARS, p. 89.

KAIANIAN KINGS. PART II.

From *Herodotus, Mirkhond*, &c.

		Y.		B.C.
1. *Cyrus*, or *Kai Chosru* ..... in Persia 8			....	559
Media 15		30	....	551
Babylon 7			....	536
2. *Cambyses*, or *Lohorasp* ..... 7, 5m.		8	....	529
Smerdis Magus ..... 7m.				
3. *Darius*, son of *Hystaspes*, or *Gushtasp*.....		36	....	521
4. *Xerxes*		21	....	485
5. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, or *Ardshir Dirazdest*, or *Bahaman*		41	....	464
6. *Darius Nothus*.....		19	....	423
7. *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.....		46	....	404
8. *Ochus*, or *Darab* I..... 21		23	....	358
Arogus, or *Arses* 2				
9. *Darius Codomannus*, or *Darab* II.....		4	....	335
Conquered by *Alexander*, or *Ascander*.....		228	....	331

VIII. MACEDO-GRÆCIAN DYNASTY, 102 YEARS, p. 213.

From *Arrian*, &c. *Mirkhond*, &c.

1. *Alexander* the Great	8	(332)	....	331
2. *Philip Aridæus*.....	6	(324)	....	323
First division of the Provinces.....			....	323
3. *Alexander Ægus*.....	5		....	317
4. *Seleucus Nicator. Era of Seleucidæ*	32		....	312
Second division of the Provinces.....			....	310
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5. *Antiochus Soter*.....		19	....	280
6. *Antiochus Theos*.....		15	....	261
7. *Seleucus Callinicus*		17	....	246
Parthian Dynasty.....		102	....	229

IX. PARTHIAN DYNASTY, 454 YEARS, p. 239.

ASCHKANIAN KINGS.

From *Agathias*, &c. *Mirkhond*, &c.

	Y.		B.C.
1. *Arsaces*, or *Arshak*, or *Aschek*	7	....	229
2. *Arsaces* II. or *Aschek* II.	27	....	222
3. *Priapatius*, or *Schabour*, or *Padeshahi Buzurk*	15	....	195
4. *Phraates*, or *Baharam*, or *Firouz*	12	....	180
5. *Mithridates*	37	....	168
6. *Phraates* II. or *Firouz* II.	9	....	131
7. *Artabanus*, or *Ardevan*	1	....	122
8. *Pacorus*	53	....	121
9. Phraates III. or *Khosrou*	12	....	68
10. *Orodes* Mithridates Orodes again	20	....	56
11. *Phraates* IV. or Khosrou II.	40	....	36
			A.D.
12. *Orodes* II.	11	....	4
13. *Vonones*, or *Narses*	3	....	15
14. *Artabanus* II. or *Ardevan* II. *Tiridates* *Artabanus* again	30	....	18
15. *Gotarzes* *Meherdates* *Vonones* II.	2	....	48
16. *Vologeses*	19	....	50
17. *Artabanus* III.	8	....	69
18. *Pacorus* II.	30	....	77
19. *Chosroes*	59	....	107
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22. *Artabanus* IV. or *Ardevan* III.	9	....	216
Persian Dynasty	454	....	225

X. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 411 YEARS, p. 246.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

From *Agathias*, &c. *Mirkhond*, &c.

	Y.	M.		A.D.
1. *Artaxares*, or *Ardschir ben Babek*	14	10	....	225
2. *Sapor*, or *Schabour*	31		....	240
3. *Hormizdas*, or *Hormouz*	1		....	271
4. *Vararanes*, *Varanes*, or *Baharam*	3		....	272
5. *Vararanes* II. or *Baharam* II.	17		....	275
6. *Narses*, or *Narsi.* (7)	8		....	292
7. *Misdates*, or *Hormouz*	7	5	....	300
8. *Sapor* II. or *Schabour Doulaktaf*	70		....	307
9. *Artaxerxes*, or *Ardeschir*	4		....	377
10. *Sapor* III. or *Schabour ben Schabour*	5		....	381
11. *Vararanes* IV. or *Kerman Schah*	11		....	386
12. *Isdigertes*, or *Jezdegerd Al Athim*	21		....	397
13. *Vararanes* V. or *Baharam Gour*	23		....	418
14. *Vararanes* VI. or *Jezdegerd ben Baharam.* (17)	18		....	441
15. *Peroz*, or *Firouz*	20		....	459
16. *Valens*, or *Balasch ben Firouz*	4		....	479
17. *Cavad*, or *Cobad*	11		....	483
Zambad	8		....	494
Cavad again	30		....	502
18. *Chosroes*, or *Nouschirvan*	48		....	532
19. *Hormisdas* II. or *Hormouz ben Nouschirvan*	8		....	580
20. *Chosroes* II. or *Khosru Perviz*	39		....	588
21. *Siroes*, or *Schirouieh*	1		....	627
22. *Ardesir*, or *Ardeschir ben Schirouieh* (2 m.)	1	6	....	628
23. *Sarbaras*, or *Scheheriar* (1, 1 m.)	2		....	630
24. *Hormisdas*, or *Jezdegerd ben Scheheriar*	4		....	632
Saracen Dynasty	411		....	636

XI. SARACEN DYNASTY, 636 YEARS, p. 277.

From *Abulfaragi*, *Abulfeda*, &c.

	Y.	A.D.		HEG.
1. *Mahomet's Hegira*, or flight	10	 622	....	1

Caliphs.

		Y.	A.D.	HEG.
Companions.	2. *Abubekr*	2	632	11
	3. *Omar*	9	634	13
	4. *Othman*	12	643	23
	5. *Ali*	5	655	35
	6. *Al Hasan*	5 m.		
Ommiadæ.	7. *Moawiyah*, or *Moavias*	19	660	40
	8. *Yazid*, or *Jesid*	4	679	60
	9. *Moawiyah* II	20 d.		
	10. *Merwan*	7 m.	683	64
	11. *Abdalmelek*	21	684	65
	12. *Al Walid*, or *Valid*	9	705	86
	13. *Soliman*	3	714	96
	14. *Omar* II	2	717	99
	15. *Yazid*, or *Jesid* II	4	719	101
	16. *Hesham*	19	723	105
	17. *Al Walid*, or *Valid* II	1	742	125
	18. *Yazid*, or *Jesid* III	1	743	126
	19. *Ibrahim*	70 d.		
	20. *Merwan* II	6	743	126
Abbasidæ.	21. *Abul Abbas*, or *Al Saffah*	5	749	132
	22. *Abu Jaafer*, or *Al Mansur*	20	754	137
	23. *Al Mohdi*	11	774	158
	24. *Al Hadi*	1	785	169
	25. *Harun*, or *Aaron Al Raschid*	22	786	170
	26. *Al Amin*	5	808	193
	27. *Al Mamun*	20	813	198
	28. *Al Motasem*	8	833	218
	29. *Al Wathek*, or *Vathek*	5	841	227
	30. *Al Mokawakkel*	15	846	232
	31. *Al Montaser*	6 m.	861	247
	32. *Al Mostain*	4	862	248
	33. *Al Motaz*	3	866	252
	34. *Al Mohtadi*	11 m.	869	255
	35. *Al Motamed*	22	870	256
	36. *Al Motaded*	9	892	279
	37. *Al Mochtaphi*	6	901	289
	38. *Al Moktader*	25	907	295
	39. *Al Kaher*	1	932	320
	40. *Al Radi*	7	933	321

		Y.	A.D.	HEG.
Abbasidæ.	41. *Al Mottaki*	4	940	329
	42. *Al Mostakphi*	1	944	333
	43. *Al Moti*	28	945	334
	44. *Al Tai*	18	973	363
	45. *Al Kader*	40	991	381
	46. *Al Kayen*	43	1031	422
	47. *Al Moktadi*	20	1074	467
	48. *Al Mostader*	24	1094	487
	49. *Al Mostarshed*	16	1118	512
	50. *Al Rashied*	1	1134	529
	51. *Al Moktafi*	25	1135	530
	52. *Al Mostanjed*	10	1160	555
	53. *Al Mostadi*	9	1170	556
	54. *Al Naser*	46	1179	575
	55. *Al Daher*	1	1225	622
	56. *Al Mostanser*	16	1226	623
	57. *Al Mostasem*	16	1242	640
	End of the Dynasty	636	1258	656

XII. TURKISH DYNASTY, p. 366.

From *Herbelot, Knolles, Playfair,* &c.

OTTOMAN SULTANS.

	Y.	A.D.
1. *Othoman,* or *Othman*	28	1300
2. *Orchan*	32	1328
3. *Amurath*	28	1360
4. *Bajazet*	13	1388
Interregnum	14	1401
5. *Mahomet*	7	1415
6. *Amurath* II.	28	1422
7. *Mahomet* II. *the Great*	31	1450
8. *Bajazet* II.	31	1481
9. *Selim*	8	1512
10. *Solyman the Magnificent*	46	1520
11. *Selim* II.	8	1566
12. *Amurath* III.	21	1574
13. *Mahomet* III.	8	1595

		Y.		A.D.
14.	*Achmet*	14	....	1603
15.	*Mustapha*	1	....	1617
	Othman II.	4	....	1618
16.	*Mustapha* again	1	....	1622
17.	*Amurath* IV. or *Murat*	26	....	1623
18.	*Mahomet* IV.	36	....	1649
19.	*Achmet* II.	8	....	1687
20.	*Mustapha* II.	8	....	1695
21.	*Achmet* III.	27	....	1703
22.	*Mahomet* V.	24	....	1730
23.	*Othman* III.	3	....	1754
24.	*Mustapha* III.		....	1757

&c.

II. EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY, p. 400.

1. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 416.

PRIMARY GODS, 2256 YEARS.

Saturn, or *Adam*	2256	....	5411
12 Generations, to the deluge		....	3155

II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 417.

DEMIGODS AND HEROES, 743 YEARS.

1. *Noah* and his *sons*	524	...	3155
2. *Misraim* and his successors	201	....	2613
End of the *Heroic* age	743	....	2412

III. EGYPTIANS, p. 418.

FIRST DYNASTY, 253 YEARS, p. 418.

Menes and his successors, &c. *ending* with *Timaus*,	253	....	2412
or *Concharis*		....	2159

SECOND DYNASTY, *Shepherd Kings*, 260 YEARS, p. 418.

	Y.		A.D.
1. *Salatis, Silites*, or *Nirmaryada*	19	....	2159
2. *Bayon, Byon*, or *Bahya*	44	....	2140
3. *Apachnes, Pachnan*, or *Rucma*	37	7m.	2096
First pyramid begun, about		....	2095
Abraham visits *Egypt*		....	2077
4. *Apophes*	61	....	2059
5. *Janias*, or *Sethos*	50	1 m.	1998
6. *Assis*, or *Aseth*	49	2 m.	1948
Expulsion of the *Shepherds*	260	10 m.	1899

THIRD DYNASTY, *Natives*, 251 YEARS, p. 418.

1. *Alisphragmuthosis*, &c.	36	....	1899
Joseph Governor of *Egypt*		....	1872
Jacob's family settle in *Goshen*	215	....	1863
Joseph's death		....	1792
2. Queen *Nitocris*		....	1742
Exode of the *Israelites*	251	....	1648

FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 YEARS, p. 418.

1. *Amosis, Tethmosis*, or *Thummosis*	25,	4 m.	1648
2. *Chebron*	13		1623
3. *Amenophis* I.	20,	7 m.	1610
4. *Amesses*	21,	9 m.	1589
5. *Mephres*	12,	9 m.	1567
6. *Misphragmuthosis*	25,	10 m.	1554
7. *Thmosis*, or *Tethmosis*	9,	8 m.	1528
8. *Amenophis* II.	30,	5 m.	1518
9. *Orus*, or *Horus*	36,	5 m.	1488
10. *Acencheres*	12,	1 m.	1452
11. *Rathosis*	9		1440
12. *Acencheres* I.	12,	5 m.	1431
13. *Acencheres* II.	20,	3 m.	1418
14. *Armais*, or *Harmais*	4,	1 m.	1398
15. *Ramesses*	1,	4 m.	1394

	Y.		B.C.
16. *Harmesses*	66,	2 m.	1393
17. *Amenophis* III. or *Mœris*	19,	6 m.	1327
Death of *Mœris*	340,	7 m.	1308

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS, p. 419.

1. *Sethos, Sethosis, Sesosis, Sesostris,* or *Osymandes,* or *Vexoris*	33	....	1308
2. *Rampses,* or *Pheron*	61	....	1275
3. *Cetes,* or *Proteus,* or *Ramesses*	50	....	1214
Paris and *Helen* driven to Egypt		....	1194
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——— invades *Rehoboam*		....	986
8. *Mycerinus,* or *Cherinus*	10	....	976
His death	342	....	966

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS, p. 419.

A chasm	151	....	966
1. *Bocchoris,* or *Asychis*	44	....	815
2. *Anysis*	2	....	771
3. *Sabacon, Soa,* or *So*	50	....	769
Anysis again	6	....	719
4. *Sebecon,* or *Sethon*	40	....	713
Sennacherib invades *Egypt*		....	711
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SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS, p. 419.

12 Contemporary kings	15	....	673
2. *Psammeticus*	39	....	658
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	Y.		A.D.
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2. *Darius Hystaspes*. II. Revolt	3	....	487
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——— reduces *Egypt*. / III. *Persian* Administration	43	....	456
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ANALYSIS

OF

PROFANE CHRONOLOGY:

CONTAINING

A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF

THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, ELAMITES, MEDO-PERSIANS, MACEDO-GRÆCIANS, PARTHIANS, PERSIANS, SARACENS, TURKS, AND EGYPTIANS.

Non fumum ex fulgore, sed EX FUMO DARE LUCEM,
Cogitat; ut SPECIOSA *dehinc* MIRACULA *promat.*—HORAT.

ANALYSIS

PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

SECTION I.

ANTEDILUVIAN CHRONOLOGY.

THE Heathen Chronology of the *primitive nations of the world*, both before and after the deluge, is involved in profound obscurity. Only a few scattered fragments of their annals have survived the wreck of ages, and these are "*a rude and undigested mass* *," floating on the gulph of time, incongruous in themselves, and unconnected with each other, oppressed and smothered almost beneath successive accumulations of poetic *fiction*, philosophizing *allegory*, and recondite *mysticism*. See Vol. I. p. 266, 267.

Of the fragments respecting the *Antediluvian* ages, the most curious and valuable are the remains of the *Phœnician* history of *Sanchoniatho*, and of the *Chaldean* history of *Berosus;* which have been fortunately preserved in the writings of *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, and other ancient chronographers.

Sanchoniatho, according to *Porphyry*, flourished about a century before the *Trojan* war; and among other historical materials consulted the records of *Jerombaal*, priest of the god Ιευω †; and dedicated his work to *Abibalus*, king of *Berytus* in *Phœ-*

* *Rudis indigestaque moles.* Ovid.

† *Bochart* ingeniously conjectures that *Jerombaal* was the Phœnician pronunciation of *Jerubbaal*, the surname of *Gideon*, the celebrated Judge of *Israel*, B.C. 1359. Judg. vi. 32; viii. by changing the first *b* into the kindred consonant *m*, as in *Ambubaiæ*, *Sambuca*,

nicia, a most ancient city, between *Byblos* and *Sidon*. It was said to be translated into Greek by *Philo Byblius*, in *Adrian's* reign, who styles the author ανηρ πολυμαθης και πολυπραγμων, "*a very learned and inquisitive person.*" *Eusebius*. Præparat. Evangel. I. § 9.

1. The following list of *primeval generations* of men, furnished by *Sanchoniatho*, and collected from *Eusebius*, ibid. § 10. is evidently caricatured from the Scriptural genealogies of *Cain* and *Noah*.

	SANCHONIATHO.	MOSES.	
1.	*Protogonos* and *Æon*.	*Adam* and *Eve*.....	5411
2.	*Genos* and *Genea*.....	*Cain* and his *Wife*	5281
3.	*Phos, Pur, Phlox*.....	*Enoch*	5091
4.	*Cassios, Libanos*, &c.	*Irad*	4901
5.	*Memrumus, Usous*.	*Mehujael*	4731
6.	*Agreus, Halieus*.....	*Methusael*.....	4566
7.	*Chrysor, Hephaistos*.....	*Lamech*.....	4404
8.	*Technites, Geinos*.....	*Jabal, Jubal* and *Tubal Cain*...	4239
9.	* * *	* * *	
10.	*Agros, Agrotes*.....	*Noah*.....	3755
11.	*Amounos, Magos*.....	*Ham*.....	3151
12.	*Misor, Sydik*.....	*Misraim*.....	3018
13.	*Taaut*, or *Thoth*.	*Caphtor*.	2888

&c. And *Gideon* was self-appointed priest of the God Ιευω, (the Phœnician pronunciation of the Hebrew Ιαω, יהוה, or *Iahoh*, the God of *Israel*,) to whom "he made an *ephod*," or formed a religious establishment. Judg. viii. 27. See Vol. II. p. 283, 284, of this work. After *Gideon's* death the *Israelites* fell into the neighbouring idolatry of *Baal Berith*, or of the Sun, worshipped at *Berytus*. Judg. viii. 33. Supposing, therefore, with *Porphyry*, that *Sanchoniatho* was contemporary with *Gideon*, this would place him 176 years earlier than the destruction of *Troy*.

But it is not necessary to suppose that the *Hebrew* records, which *Sanchoniatho* consulted, were written by *Jerombaal* himself, or that they both were coeval. These records might rather have been of or concerning his acts, or administration, as judge, contained in the Old Testament; which might have been consulted by *Sanchoniatho* long after. If the *Abibalus* here mentioned as reigning when *Sanchoniatho* wrote his history was the father of *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, who proposed riddles to *Solomon*, and assisted him in building the temple, according to *Josephus*, from the *Tyrian* records cited by the historian *Dio*, Ant. p. 340, Contr. Apion. p. 1340; this would make *Sanchoniatho* contemporary with *David*, who began to reign B.C. 1070, or above one hundred years after the destruction of *Troy*. And, indeed, there is abundant cause to suspect that *Sanchoniatho* lived at a much later period, from the ensuing sketch of his fragments.

For further information concerning *Sanchoniatho* and his writings, consult Bishop *Cumberland*, *Stillingfleet's* Origines Sacræ, *Dodwell's* Dissertation, the Ancient *Universal History*, *Jackson's* elaborate Dissertation of the *Phœnician Antiquities* and *Chronology*, Vol. III. p. 1—110, *Bryant's* Ancient Mythology, *Faber* on the *Cabiri*, and *Richardson's* Oriental Dissertations.

The first pair, in *Sanchoniatho's* list, evidently denote *Adam* the first man, and *Eve* "the mother of all living." Gen. iii. 20. Their names, πρωτογονος, denoting "*first born*," and αιων, "*living*." They are supposed to have been both mortals, begotten of the Wind Κολπια, and his wife *Baau*, signifying night. According to *Aristotle*, Εγκολπιας is "a wind issuing from *caverns*," (εκ κολπων;) and it resembles the SPIRIT OF GOD which "brooded upon the face of the waters;" while the term *Baau* is plainly the Hebrew בהו, *Bhu*, or *Bhau*, descriptive of the earth in its primary chaotic state, as "*void* or *waste*;" when "*darkness* (or *night*) was upon the face of the abyss." Gen. i. 1, 2. See *the Creation of the World*, Vol. I. p. 310, of this work.

Æon, or *Eve*, is said to have found out the use of food from trees; plainly alluding to her transgression in eating the forbidden fruit. Gen. iii. 6.

2. The second pair strongly resemble *Cain* and his sister wife, by change of kindred letters, from the Hebrew קין, *Kain*, and its feminine קנה, *Kainah*. Both are said to have been the offspring of the first pair. They dwelt in *Phœnicia*, and in seasons of drought stretched out their hands toward the heavens, to the *sun*, whom they accounted the only Lord of Heaven, calling him Βεελσαμεν, a Phœnician variation of the Hebrew בעל שמים, *Baal Shamim*, "Master of the Heavens."

Thus does *Sanchoniatho* explicitly trace the origin of the *Zabian* idolatry, or adoration of the *sun*, *moon*, and *stars*, up to the time of *Cain*. This was unquestionably the earliest corruption of the pure primeval theology. Its revival, after the deluge, is noticed by *Job* with abhorrence, xxxi. 26—28. See Vol. II. p. 95.

It is indeed highly probable, that when *Cain*, after his transgression, was banished from the presence of the Lord, or the visible SHECHINAH, stationed before Paradise, he and his family, in the land of *Nod*, or of their "exile," (which is generally supposed to have been *Chusistan*, or *Susiana**,) *forgat* GOD, and fell into that stupid idolatry of worshipping the *creatures* instead of THE CREATOR; of whom, the most glorious were the celestial luminaries. *Diodorus Siculus*, himself a hea-

* Instead of *Susiana*, eastward of Paradise, *Sanchoniatho*, to exalt his own country, placed *Cain's* family in *Phœnicia*, westward.

then, observes, that "*the first men*, looking upwards to the heavens, and struck with awe and admiration at their nature, supposed the *sun* and *moon* to be the *chief* and *eternal Gods*." Compare Wisd. xiv. 12, &c.

I have attempted to adjust the chronology of *Sanchoniatho's* list by reference to *Cain's* line, which is nearly related to *Seth's*. See Vol. II. p. 1. Assuming that *Adam* was only 130 years old at the birth of his first born *Cain*, and according to the Jewish apocryphal book, called the *little Genesis*, that *Cain* was 190 years old at the birth of his son *Enoch*; and that the remaining generations of both lines were equal in length respectively.

3. The third generation were said to have found out the art of kindling fire, by rubbing dry sticks together, and to have taught it to mankind. This was intimated in their names, Φως, *light*, Πυρ, *fire*, and Φλοξ, *flame*. Here we are led to remark, that the gradual discovery of the useful arts, and improvement of social life in the ensuing generations, is evidently borrowed from the scriptural account of their rise and progress in the family of *Cain*. Gen. iv. 17—22. See Vol. II. p. 32.

4. The fourth generation, their immediate offspring, were of uncommon bulk and stature, who are said to have given names to the mountainous regions which they occupied, namely, *Cassius*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys*.

5. The offspring of these giants, begotten on prostitutes who lay with all the men they met, were named by their mothers *Memrumus* and *Hypsouranius*. This fifth generation strongly resembles that produced by the promiscuous intercourse of the *sons of God*, or pious *Sethites*, with the fair *daughters of men* of the idolatrous race of the *Cainites*, recorded in Scripture. Gen. vi. 1, 2. See Vol. II. p. 36.

Hypsouranius is said to have dwelt at *Tyre*, and to have invented the art of building huts of reeds, sedge and papyrus. His brother *Usous*, with whom he was at variance, first invented clothing for the body with the skins of wild beasts which he had contrived to catch. And when the friction of the trees in a wood, near Tyre, during violent storms of wind and rain, had set fire to the branches, *Usous* formed a canoe out of a tree, whose branches he had lopped off, and ventured first to embark therein on the sea. He consecrated two pillars to the Elements of *Fire* and *Wind*, and offered sacrifices and oblations to them of the wild beasts which he caught in hunting.

After their decease, the survivors of that generation consecrated stocks, (or wooden images) to them, and also adored the pillars, and held anniversary feasts in honour of them.

Here we have a natural account of the progress of primeval idolatry and superstition, beginning with the *Zabian*, proceeding to the adoration of the *Elements* of Nature, and ending with the deification of *dead men*, or *Heroes*, for their useful inventions *.

6. Many years after, *Agreus* and *Halieus*, the descendants of *Hypsouranius*, are said to have invented hunting and fishing, as their names imply.

7. Their offspring, in the seventh generation, were two brothers, who found out the use and method of working iron. *Chrysor*, one of them, cultivated logic, divination and incantations. He was also called *Hephaistus*, or *Vulcan*. He invented hooks and baits and fishing tackle; and was the first who practised navigation. After his decease, he was worshipped as a God, under the title of *Diamichius*, (probably from רִי מַהִי, *Dimichi*, "the power of engines." Ezek. xxvi. 9.) His brothers, according to some, found out the method of building brick walls.

8. Of this family were afterwards born two youths, the one called Τεχνιτης, "artist," the other Γηινος αυτοχθων, "*Native son of Earth.*" They found out the art of mixing stubble with clay to make bricks, which they dried in the sun. These brothers resemble *Jabal*, *Jubal* and *Tubal Cain*, in Scripture. Gen. iv. 20—22.

With this generation *Sanchoniatho* ends the line of *Cain*. A plain proof that he had no other original document, beside the *Mosaical* account, to continue that line to the deluge; of which he takes no manner of notice in this fragment; perhaps because the impious and idolatrous race of *Cain* were destroyed therein, whom he chose to record, in preference of *Seth's* pious line.

* The following remarkable passage relating to *Sanchoniatho* is recorded by *Cyril* in his answer to *Julian* the Apostate, Lib. VI. p. 205.

"*Sanchoniatho* speaks like one full of the *Grecian superstition*. For the most ancient of the *Grecians*, and especially the *Phœnicians* and the *Egyptians*, (from whom the rest of the world received it,) reckoned those the *greatest gods* who found out matters of public utility, or in any respect served the world; and accounting such persons *benefactors*, and authors of many goods, they worshipped them as *gods*; and they built temples to their use, and consecrated pillars and stocks in their names. And the *Phœnicians*, highly venerating them (pillars,) held the greatest feasts to them," (the gods.) See the original passage, *Jackson's Chronology*, Vol. III. p. 370.

9. Recurring therefore, of necessity to Scripture, *Sanchoniatho* resumes the genealogy, after the deluge, with *Seth's* line, in *Agros*, or *Agrotes*, signifying "*husbandman*," who is plainly the representative of *Noah*. Gen. ix. 20.

Sanchoniatho continues his idolatrous system, in the person of *Agrotes*, whom he represents as having a statue and a shrine in *Phœnicia*, drawn about by a yoke of oxen; that he was worshipped, and called, at *Byblos*, by way of eminence, "*the greatest of the Gods.*" It is highly probable, indeed, that when the *Heroic* Idolatry was revived after the deluge, in the fifth generation of *Nimrod*, the first object of it was the second ancestor of the human race, as *Adam*, the first. The veneration of *Noah* would easily degenerate into idolatry among the family of *Ham*, who strongly resemble that of *Cain* before the deluge. *Noah* and his wife seem to be the same divinities, whom *Sanchoniatho*, shortly after, entitles Ελιουν ὑψιστος, "*the most high God*," and Βηρουθ, *Beryth*, "*the Covenant;*" figuratively alluding to the Divine grant of the whole earth and its productions to *Noah* and his family; and the covenant of the *rainbow*, established with them by THE MOST HIGH GOD, POSSESSOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH. Gen. ix. 13; xiv. 22.

10. We next find his descendants noticed, and strangely caricatured, in Αμουν, denoting "the race of *Ham*," and Μαγος, "*Magician*," famous in *Egypt*. Exod. vii. 11. These are represented as the immediate offspring of the Αληται, "*Wanderers*," and Τιτανες, "*Giants*," of the *dispersion* that followed the confusion of tongues at *Babel*. Gen. xi. 8—10.

11. The sons of *Amun* and *Magus*, were *Misor* and *Sydik*. The former was evidently the father of *Misraim*, "the *Egyptians*," Gen. x. 6.

12. The son of *Misor* was *Taaut*, or *Thoth*. He was the first, according to *Sanchoniatho*, who took religion out of the hands of the ignorant vulgar, and moulded it into a rational system; but who, in reality, appears to have been one of the first corrupters of the primitive patriarchal religion in *Egypt*, by philosophizing thereon. And these corruptions were propagated by the sons of *Sydik*, the *Dioscuri*, *Cabiri*, and *Corybantes*, in *Samothrace*, *Greece*, and the rest of *Europe*. See *Faber's Cabiri*.

And here also, *Sanchoniatho* ends the line of *Ham*, in the third descent, corresponding to *Caphtor*, the father of *Caphtorim*, the Egyptians of lower Egypt. Gen. x. 13, 14. The

remainder of the fragment is filled with a strange, confused and unintelligible jargon, heterogeneously collected from the Mythologies, or fabulous Theologies of the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*, furnishing internal evidence, indeed, the most satisfactory, that *Sanchoniatho's* writings, if genuine, were of later times; much later than *Hesiod*, *Homer*, and *Orpheus*, those grand corrupters of Pagan Theology. The total silence, however, of *Josephus*, that learned Jewish antiquary, respecting *Sanchoniatho*, who was himself so well acquainted with the *Tyrian* and *Phœnician* records, affords a reasonable doubt of the existence of this author, and gives colour to *Dodwell's* suspicion, that his reputed writings were a spurious fabrication either of *Porphyry*, or of *Philo Byblius*, artfully ascribing thereto a remoter antiquity and authority, in order to prop the sinking cause of *Pagan Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, after the promulgation of CHRISTIANITY. Still, the fragment is curious and useful.

II. The chasm in the Antediluvian Chronology of *Sanchoniatho*, is fortunately supplied by another and more valuable fragment of *Berosus*, whose genuineness is indisputable.

Berosus was a *Chaldean* by birth, and a priest of *Belus* at *Babylon*. He lived, as he himself said, in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and wrote the *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* history, in three books, which he dedicated to *Antiochus Soter*, king of *Syria*, about B.C. 268. He collected his history from most ancient archives, preserved in the temple of *Belus*, and from early histories, and was held in the highest repute by *Josephus*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Julius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Vitruvius*, and *Eusebius*. *Pliny* relates, that he was in such estimation for his *Astrological* predictions, that the *Athenians* erected a statue to him with a golden tongue, in the *Gymnasium*.

The first book of his *Chaldean* History contained an account of the Creation of the World, and of the early ages of mankind, corresponding to the *Mosaic* account. The second book began with a dynasty of ten kings who reigned in *Chaldea* before the deluge; and also recorded ten generations of men after the deluge to *Abraham*, conformably to Scripture. But only a few scattered fragments of his writings are preserved. The rest are unfortunately lost.

The following list of *Chaldean* kings who reigned before the deluge, from *Berosus*, is compiled from the varying accounts of

Apollodorus, B.C. 144, *Polyhistor*, B.C. 88, *Abydenus*, B.C. 60, and *Africanus*, A.D. 220, in *Syncellus* Chronographia, p. 36; given from thence by *Jackson*, in his Chronology, Vol. I. p. 198, 199, &c.

CHALDEAN DYNASTY.

	S.	Y.	B.C.
1. *Alorus*, a Babylonian	10 ..	100 ..	4355
2. *Alasparus*, or *Alaparus*	3 ..	30 ..	4255
3. *Amilon*, of Pantibibla	13 ..	130 ..	4225
4. *Ammenon*, of Chaldea	12 ..	120 ..	4095
5. *Megalarus*, of Pantibibla	18 ..	180 ..	3975
6. *Daonus*, a shepherd of Pantibibla	10 ..	100 ..	3795
7. *Euedoreschus*, of Pantibibla	18 ..	180 ..	3695
8. *Amempsinus*, a Chaldean of Larancha.	10 ..	100 ..	3515
9. *Otiartes*, the same	8 ..	80 ..	3415
10. *Xisuthrus*, his Son, in whose reign The *great Deluge* happened.	18 ..	180 ..	3335
	120 ..	1200 ..	3155

Berosus computed the reigns of these kings by *Sari*, or decads of years. For the term *Saros*, or *Sar*, stript of its Greek termination, is evidently derived from the Hebrew עסר, *Asar*, or Chaldee, עסרא, *Asara*, "ten," by elision. And in Syriac, חד סר, *Hhad sar*, signifies *un-decem*, or "eleven," by a similar elision of the Hebrew, אחד, *Ahhad*, "one." See Vol. I. p. 19, note, of this work.

According to *Polyhistor*, and the Egyptian Chronologers, *Anianus* and *Panodorus*, the *Saros* consisted of 3600 days, which is the amount of ten Chaldean years of 360 days each. And *Syncellus*, p. 30, notices a period of 432,000 years, as including the reigns of their first kings. But this is evidently the amount of 1200 years, multiplied by 360 days. The *Chaldeans*, in after ages, to enhance their antiquity, magnifying days into years. See Vol. I. p. 40, 41 of this work.

And that this was the true length of the *Saros* is decided by a true variation between the tables of *Africanus* and those of *Apollodorus* and *Polyhistor*; the former reckoning the reign of the sixth king *Daonus*, only 99 years, or nine *Sari* and nine years: the latter ten *Sari*, or 100 years.

This dynasty, according to *Berosus*, ended at the deluge. Ascending, therefore, from its established date, B.C. 3155, through the intermediate reigns, we get the commencement,

B.C. 4355, or year of the world, 1056, in the days of *Lamech*, the seventh from *Adam*, by *Cain's* line; and of *Chrysor*, or *Hephaistos*, *Vulcan*, according to the foregoing adjustment of *Sanchoniatho's* Chronology. Whence we are warranted to suppose that the *Chrysor* of *Sanchoniatho*, and the *Alorus* of *Berosus*, the first king of this dynasty, might have been one and the same person, as living at the same time.

And this is confirmed by the remarkable analogy of their names. *Chrysor* was probably חרש אור, *Hhoresh Aur*, or *Or*, "*Artificer of light*, or of *fire*." And *Alorus*, stript of its Greek termination, אל אור, *Æl Aur*, or *Or*, "*God of light*, or of *fire*;" which are plainly synonymous titles. אור, *Aur*, *Ur*, or *Or*, is immediately applied to the *Sun*, by *Job*, xxxi. 26, reprobating the revival of the *Zabian* idolatry, in his age; and was also the name of the original settlement of *Abraham's* family in *Chaldea*; Gen. xi. 28, who were idolaters, Josh. xxiv. 2. See Vol. II. p. 95, 113, of this work; and *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 206.

It is further confirmed by the consonance of the early *Egyptian Chronicles;* in which, of their thirty dynasties, according to *Manetho*, (who wrote about ten years after *Berosus)* the first dynasty of the *Aurites*, or *Gods*, began with *Vulcan;* in the 1058th year of the world, according to the Egyptian Chronologer *Panodorus;* only two years later.

Lamech, in Scripture, was a signal example of *lust* and *violence*, the reigning vices of his age, which accompanied the promiscuous intercourse of the "*Sons of God*," or pious *Sethites*, with the fair but frail "*daughters of men*," of the apostate *Cainite* race. Gen. iv. 19—24; vi. 1—4. See Vol. II. p. 36, of this work.

That obscure prophecy, usually attributed to *Enoch*, the contemporary of *Lamech*, and which is introduced in the midst of the account of the defection of the *Sethites*, and is generally understood to foretel the deluge, after 120 years of respite, while *Noah* was building the ark, may perhaps, with more propriety, be understood of the 120 *Sari*, which included the whole dynasty; and might not unaptly be denominated *years*, on account of the *tenfold* longevity of the Antediluvians, reaching to nearly 1000 years.

And to support this conjecture, *Berosus* obscurely intimates the prophesying of *Enoch*, at the commencement of the dynasty, in the following figurative narration.

" In the beginning of the reign of the first king *Alorus*, there came out of the *Red Sea*, and appeared near *Babylonia*, an *intelligent* * *animal*, called *Oannes*, which had the entire body of a fish; but beneath the fish's head, another head, which was human; and also human feet, which came out of the fish's tail. It had also a human voice; and 'its image was still preserved,' said *Berosus*, 'in my time.' "

Helladius observes, in explanation of this riddle, that " he was really a man, and appeared only to be a fish, because he was clothed with a fish's skin." And *Polyhistor* adds, that " he conversed with men in the day time without eating any thing; and delivered to them the knowledge of *letters*, and of *various arts* and *sciences*. He taught them to live together in cities, to erect temples, to enact laws, and instructed them in Geometry and Astronomy. He shewed them also how to gather and lay up seeds and fruits: and in fine, instructed them in every thing necessary to civilize their manners. This *Oannes* also wrote of the *origin of things*, and of *civil government*."

His name is written with some variation; *Euahanes*, by *Hyginus*, which bears a nearer resemblance to that of the illustrious patriarch, *Hanoch*, or *Enoch;* and his extraordinary learning was equally celebrated by *Jews* and *Mahometans*. The Apocryphal book of *Enoch* †, stated, that " the archangel *Uriel*, who presided over the stars, disclosed to *Enoch*, in the 165th year of his age, the nature of the *month*, and of the *tropical year*." And the *Mahometan* historians (who call him *Edris*, from his knowledge,) report, that he received thirty books of revelations from God, in which were written the mysteries of the most occult sciences. In the true spirit of *Islamism*, they also add, that " he was the first who took up arms in the cause of God and Religion; for that having been sent to preach unto, and reclaim the wicked posterity of *Cain*, when they refused to hearken unto him, he made war upon them, and carried off their wives and children into slavery."

That *Enoch* indeed did prophesy to the corrupt Antedi-

* Instead of αφρενον, " *irrational*," in the present text of *Syncellus*, by an ingenious emendation, *Jackson* substitutes ενφρον, " *intelligent*," more conformably to the *animal's* character. Chronol. i. p. 208.

† This book of *Enoch* was referred to and cited by *Eupolemus*, B.C. 174; *Polyhistor*, B.C. 88; *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen;* and an abstract of it is preserved by *Syncellus*. See Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. p. 59, 60.

luvians, we learn from the apostle *Jude*, ver. 14, 15; see Vol. II. p. 35: but that he was the first author of religious persecution, is incredible. On the contrary, he most probably was persecuted by that impious and wicked generation of *scoffers*, because he threatened them with the divine judgments for "*all their deeds of impiety*, and *hard speeches*" against God; and he might have been miraculously rescued from their violence, like *Elijah* afterwards, on a similar occasion. And surely, the strongest attestation to the truth of *Berosus*' account, so explained, was the prevalence of the worship of the Fish God, or idol *Dagon*, (from דג, *Dag*, "a fish,") with a human head, and hands; 1 Sam. v. 2—4, among the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians* and *Philistines**, in after ages; evidently founded on this primeval tradition. See Vol. II. p. 297, note, of this work.

Moses does not directly tell us, that there was any *kingdom* set up before the deluge; but he plainly intimates, that after the earth was grown *populous*, great alterations were produced in the manners and state of men; when, from the promiscuous intercourse of the *Sons of God* with the fair *daughters of men*, sprung a race of *giants*, *mighty men of old*; and the earth grew *corrupt*, and was filled with *violence*. Gen. vi. 4—11.

This state of things is well represented by the mythological poet, *Ovid*, describing the *rapine* and *violence*, the *impiety* and *injustice*, that then prevailed.

> Vivitur ex *rapto*: non hospes ab hospite tutus,
> Non socer a genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara est;
> Victa jacet *pietas*, et virgo, *cæde* madentes,
> Ultima Cœlestum, terras *Astræa* reliquit.
> ——— Sed et illa propago
> *Contemptrix Superum*, sævæque avidissima *cædis*,
> Et *violenta* fuit. METAM. I.

And *Macrobius* well explains the meaning of "*giants*," as distinguished for their enormous *impiety*: "*Gigantes* autem, quid aliud fuisse credendum est, quam Hominum quandam *impiam gentem*, Deos negantem?" Saturnal. I. 20.

The natural progress of such a state, was an innovation in the *patriarchal* regimen of the heads of families, under which

* May we not attribute the *immediate* influence and authority of *Jonah's* preaching in subsequent ages, on the *Ninevites*, after his miraculous deliverance from the *great fish*, to their thinking, that he came in the spirit and power of *Oannes*, as an ambassador from GOD?

Adam's descendants had been hitherto governed; and a *tyranny*, or absolute monarchy, was erected in its stead, A.M. 1056; about half a century after the descent of the *Egregori*, or "watchers" of the pious *Sethite* race, from the mountain, or high country where they lived, to intermarry with the *Cainites*, about the 40th year of *Jared*, or 1000th year of the world, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 6, *Cedrenus*, *Panodorus*, and *Syncellus*. See *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 62 *.

The scene of this usurpation is laid by *Berosus*, in *Babylonia*, that fertile region finely watered by the confluent streams that formed the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. And the first kings were elective. Most of them were *Babylonians*, of *Pantibibla*, which, according to some, was the site of *Sipparæ*, the city of the Sun, mentioned afterwards, near the *Euphrates*, between *Babylon* and *Nineveh*, probably the *Sepharvaim* of Scripture, where the Sun was worshipped, 2 Kings xvii. 24—31. Others were of *Larancha*, in *Chaldæa*; and only the last *Xisuthrus* succeeded his father *Otiartes*, in the regal government. Thus does *Berosus* furnish a valuable supplement to the short *Mosaical* account of the *Giants*.

The following account of the deluge, is furnished by *Polyhistor*, from *Berosus*.

"When *Otiartes* died, he was succeeded by his son *Xisuthrus*, in whose reign the great deluge came upon the earth. *Saturn* (or *God*) appeared to *Xisuthrus* in a dream, and told him, that on the *fifteenth* day of the month *Dæsius*, mankind should be destroyed by a flood. Therefore he commanded him to write a history of the origin, progress, and end of all things, and to bury the writings underground, in *Sipparæ*, the city of the Sun, [from the Chaldee, ספריא, *Siphræ*, or *Sipparæ*, signifying "*books*."] Then he ordered him to build a ship, and to enter into it with his kindred and friends; and also to store the vessel with provisions, and to take into it fowls and four-footed beasts; and when he had thus provided every thing, if he should be asked, whither he intended to sail? he should say, *To the Gods, to pray for happiness to mankind.*

"*Xisuthrus* did not disobey the divine command, but built a vessel five furlongs in length, and two furlongs in breadth; and

* This date of the *thousandth* year of the world, seems preferable to A.M. 1070, adopted in this work, Vol. II. p. 34, from *Africanus*. See *Jackson*, i. p. 61, 203.

having got all things in readiness, put on board his wife, children, and friends." After the flood was at the height, and soon began to abate, *Xisuthrus* let out certain birds, (viz. a *raven* and a *dove*, Gen. viii. 7, 8.) which, finding no food, nor a place to rest on, returned again to the ship, (ver. 9.) After some days, (viz. seven days, ver. 10.) he let out the birds again; but they came back to the ship a second time, having their feet daubed with mud, (the *dove* with an *olive branch* in her mouth, ver. 11.) but being let out the third time, they returned no more to the ship, (ver. 12.) whereby *Xisuthrus* understood that dry land had appeared, (ver. 13.) Then he opened the side of the ship, and seeing that it rested on a certain mountain, (the summit of *Ararat*, ver. 4.) he went out of it, with his *wife*, and *daughter*, and *Pilot;* and after he had worshipped the *earth*, and built an *altar*, and sacrificed to the *Gods*, (ver. 18—20.) he, and those who went out with him, disappeared."

" But they who had staid in the ship, finding that *Xisuthrus*, and his companions, did not return, went out to seek him, calling him aloud by his name. *Xisuthrus*, indeed, was seen by them no more; but his voice was heard issuing from the air, and commanding them, as their duty, to be religious; and informing them, that himself, on account of his piety, was gone from them, to dwell with the Gods; and that his wife, daughter, and Pilot, were partakers of the same honour. He told them, further, that they should go again to *Babylonia;* and that it was ordained for them to take the writings from *Sipparæ*, and communicate them to mankind. He added, that the place where they then were, was in the country of *Armenia*. When they heard this, they offered sacrifice to the Gods, and went unanimously to *Babylonia*. And when they came thither, they dug up the writings at *Sipparæ*, built many cities, erected temples, and rebuilt *Babylon*."

This *Chaldean* account, though blended with fictions, remarkably accords with, and confirms the *Mosaic* account of the deluge.

1. It establishes the primitive tradition, that the Deluge began in *Spring;* that the *second scriptural* month (Gen. vii. 11.) corresponded to the second *Macedonian* month, *Dæsius;* the first, *Artemisius*, beginning with the *vernal* equinox, which, at the time of the deluge, began about April 17. See Vol. i. p. 25, 54, of this work.

2. It differs only two days from the scriptural account; "the *fifteenth*," instead of "the *seventeenth* day of the month." (Gen. vii. 11.)

3. It hyperbolically describes the prodigious size of the ark, built by divine appointment. See its just dimensions, Vol. I. p. 323, of this work; while it plainly intimates, that it was built in *Babylonia*, the residence of *Xisuthrus*, and the seat of his government.

4. It expressly states, that the mountain on which this ark rested, was in *Armenia*, according with the scriptural account of *Ararat*. See that article, Vol. I. p. 332, of this work.

5. It relates the deification of *Xisuthrus*, or *Noah*, in exact conformity with *Sanchoniatho's* shorter account of *Agrotes*, who was reckoned *the greatest of the Hero Gods*, after his decease; and *Canopus*, *Noah's* pilot, was translated into the southern constellation, *Argo*, the ark, in the primitive Chaldean sphere.

6. In the *Saturn* of *Berosus*, we have the true Κρονος, THE GOD OF TIME, OR THE ANCIENT OF DAYS, who was afterwards degraded by the *Grecian* Poets and Mythologists into the hero, *Noah* himself, and his three sons, among whom the dominion of the universe was divided; *Heaven*, or the northern regions, to *Jupiter*, or *Japhet*; the *Sea*, or middle regions, to *Neptune*, or *Shem*; and *Hell*, or the southern, to *Pluto* or *Ham*; in conformity with their *geography*, placing the north pole above, and the south pole below, the horizon *.

* *Homer* has well described this partition of the earth among the families of *Noah's* sons, according to the divine decree, communicated to them in *Noah's* prophecy, in the following *geographical* allegory, which he puts in the mouth of *Neptune*, when provoked at *Jove's* command to desist from assisting the *Greeks*, in the *Trojan* war.

Ω ποποι, η ρ', αγαθος περ εων, υπεροπλον εειπεν,
Ει μ' ομοτιμον εοντα βιη αεκοντα καθεξει·
Τρεις γαρ τ' εκ Κρονου ειμεν αδελφεοι, ους τεκε Ρεη,
Ζευς και Εγω, τριτατος δ' Αιδης ενεροισιν ανασσων·
Τριχθα δε παντα δεδασται, εκαστος δ' εμμορε τιμης·
Ητοι Εγων ελαχον πολιην αλα ναιεμεν αιει,
Παλλομενων, Αιδης δ' ελαχε ζοφον ηεροεντα·
Ζευς δ' ελαχ' ουρανον ευρυν εν αιθερι και νεφελῃσι·
Γαια δ' ετι ξυνη παντων, και μακρος Ολυμπος.

Jove, alas! though good himself, hath spoken proudly,
In thus compelling me, his compeer, against my will,
To withdraw. For we three are brothers, whom *Rhea*
To *Saturn* bore: *Jove*, and I, and *Pluto* third,
Who rules the shades. When the universe was

Sanchoniatho degraded *Saturn* still lower, and represented him as one of the descendants of *Cush*, or *Canaan*, who flourished after the dispersion; he dethroned his father *Uranus*, who reigned in *Phœnicia;* he gave the kingdom of *Attica* to his daughter *Athena*, or *Minerva;* he offered up an only son, whom he had by the nymph *Anebrit*, for a burnt-offering to his father *Uranus;* he circumcised himself, and compelled all his allies to do the same; he gave *Berytus* to *Neptune* and the *Cabiri;* and going into the *southern* regions, he made the God *Taaut*, king of all Egypt *. See a fuller account, *Jackson*, Vol. III. p. 20—36. These heterogeneous fictions and absurdities, borrowed from the *Phœnician* and *Grecian* Mythology in later times, demonstrate the comparative recency of the boasted writings of *Sanchoniatho. Philo*, his translator, has given the following excellent account of the rise and progress of the *mythology* of the Greeks.

"The Greeks," says he, "excelling all others in polite accomplishments, claimed most of this *history of the Gods* to

Into three parts divided, each an equal share
Obtained, on casting lots. My lot it was
Thenceforth in hoary sea to dwell: to *Pluto*,
Next, did fall the gloomy shades below:
Jove's lot, the spacious sky in air and clouds.
But still the *earth*, and lofty *heaven*, were left
Common to all." ILIAD xv. 184—193.

Homer here critically distinguishes between *ουρανος*, "*the sky*," or upper region of the atmosphere, and *Ολυμπος*, *heaven*, or the mansion of the gods. It is remarkable, that the learned *Bochart*, in his classical allusions to *Noah* and his three sons, has omitted this passage, though so remarkably apposite.

* *Saturn's* descent to the southern regions, in *Sanchoniatho*, is thus geographically described by *Homer*, in *Jove's* threat to *Juno*, for assisting the *Trojans*, in opposition to the decree of Fate.

Ὡς γαρ θεσφατον εστι· σεθεν δ' εγω ουκ αλεγιζω
Χωομενης, ουδ' ει κε τα νειατα πειραθ' ικηαι
Γαιης και ποντοιο, ἰν' Ιαπετος τε Κρονος τε
Ημενοι, ουτ' αυγης ὑπεριωνος ηελιοιο
Τερποντ,' ουτ' ανεμοισι· βαθυς δε τε ταρταρος αμφις.

So is it decreed. Thy wrath regard not I,
Not though to earth and sea's remotest bounds
Thou goest [to complain,] where sit *Japetus* and *Saturn*,
In the bosom of *Tartarus;* not by the upper sun's
Ray, nor by breezes, cheared." ILIAD viii. 478—481.

Οἱ περ νερτεροι εισι θεοι, Κρονον αμφις εοντες.
"Where are the *nether Gods*, in *Saturn's* train."
ILIAD xv. 225.

themselves; and studying to amuse the imaginations, and tickle the ears of people, with a variety of pleasant fables, they exaggerated, and embellished it with various ornaments. Hence it was, that *Hesiod*, and the itinerant bards, sung about in their poems, the *generation of Gods*, battles of *Titans* or *Giants*, the *cutting off of privities*, &c. which they themselves feigned, and by their circumforaneous rhapsodies, the true facts were stifled. And men, being accustomed from their infancy, to hear nothing else; and prepossessed, from age to age, in favour of these fictions, they laid them up as a sacred treasure. These having gained credit by long usage, it was not easy to dispossess men's minds of the belief of them; so that *truth* appeared to them as an idle tale, and their *fabulous narrations* were received for truth."

The correcter history of *Berosus*, we may presume, gave rise to those truer accounts of the deluge which are found interspersed in the fabulous accounts of the Scythian and Grecian *Deucalions*, in *Ovid* *, *Lucian* †, &c. Subsequent writers, trans-

* The mythologist *Ovid* has transferred to the Grecian *Deucalion*, king of *Thessaly*, and his partial deluge, B.C. 1548, the history of *Noah*, and occurrences of the universal deluge.

Hic ubi *Deucalion*, nam cætera texerat *æquor*,
Cum consorte tori, *parvâ rate*, vectus adhæsit,
Corycidas nymphas et *numina montis* adorat,
Fatidicamque *Themim*, quæ tunc *oracla* tenebat.
Non illo, melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui,
Vir fuit; aut illâ reverentior ulla Deorum.
JUPITER, ut liquidis stagnare paludibus orbem,
Et *superesse virum de tot modo millibus unum*,
Et superesse videt de tot modo millibus unam,
Innocuos ambos, *cultores Numinis* ambos,
Nubila disjecit, nimbisque Aquilone remotis,
Et cœlo terras ostendit, et æthera terris.—METAM. I,

It is by no means unlikely, that *Ovid* had access to the Septuagint Greek translation of the book of *Genesis*.

† *Lucian*, in like manner, has transferred to the Scythian *Deucalion*, the occurrences of the universal deluge.

"The present race of men, according to tradition, were not the first; the former having all perished. The present was a second race, descended from *Deucalion*. Of the former, it is said that they committed acts of *violence* and *injustice*, for they neither *regarded oaths*, nor were *hospitable* so strangers, nor *showed mercy* to suppliants. In return for which the great calamity befel them. Immediately *the earth* discharged much water [from the *abyss*, or fountains of the *great deep*, then *broken up*, Gen. vii. 11.] And *great rains* fell [from the clouds; when *the windows of heaven were opened*, Gen. vii. 11.] And the swollen rivers descended, and the sea rose to a great height, *until the whole*

ferring to other countries, and to later ages, the circumstances of the general deluge, from the usual propensity of mankind to signalize their own countries, and their own ancestors. It is thus excellently explained by an ingenious French Scavant, *Bailly*, sur l'Atlantide, p. 28.

" When a nation, either in a *body*, or by *colonies*, changes its habitation, in this peaceable migration, it transports every thing along with it, all its institutions, sciences, remembrance of past transactions, and memory of its ancestors. The history of its first state has always *preceded* the history of the second. At length *its traditions are altered by their antiquity; time has confounded the whole;* and the two histories form at length no more than one. See then, how facts *true in themselves* become *false* as referred to the *places* where they are supposed to have happened. This observation may serve to throw much light on the *obscurity of history*."

Such ancient *heathen* records, however, when the wheat is separated from the chaff, by the critical process of a corrected *chronology* and *geography*, often form valuable vouchers of the truth of the *Mosaical* history, and furnish the best means, perhaps, of reclaiming and converting such *philosophizing infidels* of modern times, as *Bailly* himself.

earth was covered with water; and *all perished, except Deucalion*, who alone was left for a second race, on account of his *wisdom* and *piety*.

" His preservation was effected by means of a *great ark* which he had made, into which, having embarked *his children* and their *wives*, he entered himself. On entering there came to him *swine*, and *horses*, and *lions*, and *serpents*, and other *land animals*, all in *pairs*. Having received them all, they did not hurt him, but great concord from JOVE prevailed among them. So they all sailed in the same ark so long as *the water prevailed*. After this a great *chasm* was made in the country of *Hierapolis*, which absorbed all the water. And when this was effected, *Deucalion* made *altars*, and consecrated a temple to JUNO, which he built upon this chasm."

" I myself," proceeds *Lucian*, " saw this chasm under the temple, but it was very small. Whether it was formerly great I know not; that which I saw was but small." *Lucian, De Syria Dea*, § 12.

SECTION II.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY.

THE adjacent countries of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria* proper, separated only by the great river *Tigris* *, were the first settlements of mankind both before and after the deluge, from their contiguity to *Paradise* before, and to *Armenia* after. Hence their *history* and *chronology* are necessarily connected and interwoven together.

The first *tyrannical* innovation in the pristine *patriarchal* regimen of the first race of mankind began in *Chaldea* and *Babylonia*, as we have seen. And it was afterwards renewed in the second race, by the mighty hunter *Nimrod*, that "arch rebel" in religion and government, who first claimed divine honours, and usurped the domains of his neighbours after the deluge; and whose early celebrity is recorded not only in Scripture, but all over the East and West, in his titles, *Maha Bala*, "the great Master," *Belus*, and *Orion*.

Artapanus, in his Jewish history, written about a century before the Christian era, says that *Nimrod* was the only survivor of a race of *giants* who inhabited *Babylonia*, and were destroyed for their impiety by a divine judgment. That he dwelt in a tower at *Babylon*, and was afterwards deified.

Sir *William Jones* also learned from the most intelligent *Mussulmans* in *India*, that "a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in *Iran* before the accession of *Cayumers*; that it was called the *Mahabadean* dynasty, and that many princes, of whom only seven or eight are named in the *Dabistan*, and among them *Mahbul*, or *Maha Bali*, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory." *Sixth discourse* on the *Persians*. Asiat. Research. Vol. II. p. 48, 8vo.

The beginning of his kingdom, we learn from Holy Writ, was *Babel*, in the land of *Shinaar*. Here he settled himself after the dispersion of the builders of *Babel*, for their impious opposition to the divine decree regulating their settlements. And he finished the city of *Babylon*, and afterwards built some other

* See the geographical description of those countries, Vol. I. p. 322, 448, of this work.

cities, *Erech* and *Accar* and *Calneh* in the land of *Shinaar*. Gen. x. 10, xi. 1—9.

The foundation of his kingdom is dated by the excellent Armenian annalist, *Abulfaragi*, in the seventieth year of *Reu*, or B.C. 2554, about sixty years after the families of Noah's sons had begun to separate from their primary settlement, and to spread themselves into the adjoining fertile regions of *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Mesopotamia*. See the article *Nimrod*, Vol. II. p. 47, of this work.

We learn also from *Dositheus*, an old *Phœnician* poet, that "the ancient city of *Babylon* was founded by the *Tyrian* (or *Assyrian*) *Belus*." See Vol. II. p. 48, note, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* confirms, Arcem *Babylonis* antiquissimus rex condidit *Belus*. *Strabo* says, that he was buried there, and worshipped as the chief *Babylonian* god. And *Babylon* was built about B.C. 2547, in the seventh year of *Nimrod's* reign; as collected before from *Eustathius* in his commentary on the Periegesis of *Dionysius*, and from *Herodotus*. Vol. II. p. 48, note, of this work.

The land of *Shinaar* seems to have been originally allotted by the divine decree to the family of *Arphaxad*. *Josephus* says that the *Chaldeans* were originally called *Arphaxadeans*, Ant. I. 6, 4, and a tract of country southward of *Assyria* proper, was called *Arapachitis* by the ancient geographers. Not content with usurping the territory of this branch of the *Shemites*, *Nimrod* next invaded *Assyria*, the lot of *Assur's* family, where he built *Nineveh*, his capital city, which is uniformly styled by the Greek historians, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, &c. ἡ Νινος, "the city of *Ninus*," or of *Nin*, "a son," which seems to have been his original name, until parodied into *æth Nimrod*, "the rebel." See Vol. II. p. 48. *Tacitus* calls it vetustissima sedes *Assyriæ*. Annal. 12, 13.

Nineveh was finely situate on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, and its ruins are still to be seen opposite to the modern city of *Mosul*, built on the western bank. See Vol. I. p. 449.

He afterwards built *Rehoboth*, higher up on the river, and *Chalah*, on the river *Lycus*, which runs into the *Tigris*, and "the great city" of *Resen*, above their junction. *Xenophon* seems to have noticed this by the name of *Larissa*, (composed, perhaps, of the particle *L*, or *La*, signifying "*to*" in Hebrew, and *Rissa*, which resembles *Resen*,) and his description of it

corresponds. " It was anciently inhabited by the *Medes;* and its wall was five and twenty feet in breadth and a hundred in height; and the circuit of the enclosure was two parasangs. It was built of bricks, and the base of the wall was of stone, twenty feet high." Anab. B. 8.

He also mentions another greater city in that neighbourhood, called *Mespila,* formerly inhabited by the *Medes.* The base of its wall was built of hewn stone scolloped, the breadth of which was fifty feet, and the height fifty. On this was built a brick wall, fifty feet broad and a hundred high, whose circuit was six parasangs. Might not this have been the ruins of the palace, or fortress of *Nineveh* * ?

Nimrod is supposed to have reigned only six years, by *Africanus,* (see *Syncellus,* p. 90) which is quite too short for his exploits and his buildings; 47 years, by *David Ganz;* 65 years, by *Petavius;* and 98 years, 8 months, by *Polyhistor,* which last is most probable. See *Jackson,* Vol. I. p. 214.

The following list of his successors is given from *Syncellus,* by *Jackson,* Vol. I. 233, so corrected in *Nimrod's* reign.

I. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 317 *Years.*

	Y.	M.	B. C.
1. *Nimrod, Ninus I. Belus* †, or *Maha Bala*	98	8	2554
2. *Evechous,* or *Chosma Belus*	7	6	2455

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* *Xenophon's* fifth encampment from the *Zabates,* in his famous retreat, must have been near, or beside *Nineveh,* which strengthens this conjecture; though neither he, nor *Alexander,* who passed so near it in his way to the field of battle at *Arbela,* take the least notice of its ruins. *Tacitus* notices a city, called *Nineveh,* in this quarter, in the reign of *Claudius.*

† ORIENTAL TITLES.

Oriental titles of rank, honour and royalty, are significant, and when rightly explained, contribute much to the elucidation of *ancient History and Mythology;* because they express the leading traits in the characters of the several personages to whom they were attributed. As from the titles of this first Assyrian monarch, *Nimrod,* " the *Rebel,*" we learn his crimes; and from *Belus* and *Orion,* that he was deified, during his life, and after his death, translated to the heavens. *Tiglath Pilesar;* " *Tyger, Lord of Assyria,*" intimating his ferocity, &c.

These titles are either simple or compounded: and it is the province of skilful *etymological analysis,* founded on the nature and genius of *Oriental* languages, to resolve the compound titles into their constituent or elementary parts, carefully tracing their variations through the several kindred dialects of the east and west, all branching off from the *primeval language,* when it came to be corrupted at the *Confusion of Tongues;*

3. *Porus*	35	2448
4. *Nechubus*	43	2413
5. *Abius*	48	2370
6. *Oniballus*	40	2322
7. *Zinzirus*	45	2282
Interregnum	985	2237
End of the Interregnum		1252

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and still more, in process of time, and at remoter distances from the original settlement of mankind in the countries round Mount *Ararat*.

These elementary terms, or ingredients, are frequently altered in composition, so as to retain little of their pristine form, in three ways; either, 1. By interchange of kindred consonants, or letters of the same, or neighbouring organs of speech, *gutturals, labials, liquids, dentals, palatals*. 2. By substitution of various vowels at pleasure; these being wanting in Oriental alphabets, are to be supplied by the reader, or writer, according to the usage of his country, either by a graver or deeper, or by an acuter or shriller pronunciation. 3. By retrenchment of radical letters or syllables, and by addition of serviles, the former usually at the beginning or middle of the titles, the latter at the end.

The ensuing Dynasties of *Assyrian, Babylonian, Median* and *Persian* kings, furnish frequent examples, the principal of which I shall attempt to explain in this note.

The chief elements of their compound titles, were 1. בעל, *(Baal)* "*Master* or *Ruler*." Whence *Baal, Bal, Beel, Bel*, Βηλ-ος, and *Bel-us*. And by change of consonants, *Pal, Pil, Pol*, and *Pul*.

2. אדון, *(Adon)* "*Governor*, or *Regent*," whence *Adan, Adin, Adon, Chaddon, Chedon, Haddon*, or *Hedon*.

3. אשור, *(Assur)* "*Assyria*;" whence *Assar, Asar, Ezar, Osor*, and *Ser**.

4. נביא, *(Nabi)* "*Prophet*;" whence *Nabo, Nebo*, or *Nebu*.

5. שר, or *Phœnician*, סר, *(Sar)* "a chief, Lord, or great," סרנים, *(Sarnim)* "chiefs or Lords." Whence *Czar*, and חשר *(Hasar)* "the chief," or *Asar, Esar*, in composition.

6. אב, *(Ab)* "Father;" אבבא *(Abba)* "the father," in Persic and Syriac.

7. כור, (*Chur*) "a furnace;" *Khur*, "the sun," in Persic. Whence כורש (*Churos*, not *Choresh*) or *Chosru*, the name of *Cyrus* the Great, in Scripture and the Persian historians, and *Chosroes*, the title of the *Persian* and Parthian kings.

8. מלך, (*Melech*) "king;" whence *Malek*, and *Malka*, in Persic.

The following seem to be pure Persic:

9. *Kai, Schah, Sultan*, all signifying "king," and *Dara*, "the king," by way of eminence.

10. *Mithr*, and *Mithras*, "the sun."

From these elements or radicals, are formed the compound *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* titles, *Bal-adan; Regi-belus, Asar-adin*, or *Esar-haddon*, or *Sar-chedon*, or *Sar-danapal-us; Shalman-assar, Nabon-assar, Nabo-pol-assar, Nebu-chadn-ezzar*, or *Nebu-chadrezzar*, or *Nabu-chadon-osor*, or *Bo-chtan-sor*.

And the compound *Persian* and *Parthian* titles, *Kai-sar, Kai-umarath*, or *Kai-amurath, Kai-chobad, Kai-kaus, Kai-chosru, Kai-achsyeros;* whence the Κυ-αξαρης, *Cy-*

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* *Hyde*, in his explanation of these titles, derives them from *Adar*, in Syriac, or *Azor* in Persic, "*fire*," or the planet *Mars*, p. 63—65. But the ancient kings of *Assyria* were not *fire worshippers*.

Of *Nimrod's* successors we know nothing but the names. *Chosma Belus*, signifying "the strength of *Belus*," might have been his eldest son. Gen. xlix. 3. The only circumstance handed down to us in Scripture, during this dynasty, is a predatory excursion of three bands of the *Chaldeans* into the land of *Uz*, in *Arabia*, who carried off *Job's* camels, about B.C. 2337, in the reign of the fifth prince *Abius*. Job i. 17 *.

After the reign of the last prince a long interregnum of near a thousand years ensued. The several provinces which composed the *Assyrian* empire, shook off the yoke, and regained and maintained their independence, till the second *Ninus* reduced them to subjection.

This dissolution of the *Assyrian* empire is proved by various documents sacred and profane.

1. By the war in *Abraham's* days between the four confederate princes of *Assyria*, *Amraphel*, king of *Shinar*, *Arioch*, king of *Ellasar*, or *Arabia*; *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, or

axares, דריוש, *Darius* (not *Dariavesh*) and *Darab* *, *Schah Abbas*, *Mithræus*, or *Mithridates*, &c.

Sometimes we find decompounded titles, composed of nearly synonymous terms, are used, as of a famous prince in the eleventh century, *Sultan Malek Schah*. This usage was probably derived from the scriptural amplification of the Divine titles, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS, or THE GOD OF GODS, THE LORD, which was blasphemously adopted by some of those profane princes.

If the important study of *Etymology* was more skilfully cultivated among the learned, upon the broad basis of *Oriental Grammar*, and of *Logic* or Universal Grammar, many absurd and incongruous *guesses* would be banished, that disgrace the systems of some of the first classical scholars of the age.

The learned Orientalist *Richardson*, to whom we are indebted for several of the foregoing *Persian* derivations, has exposed the fanciful derivations of Oriental terms, founded in acknowledged ignorance of Oriental languages, which the ingenious but over-fanciful *Bryant* has introduced into his *new Analysis of ancient Mythology*. However considerable his merits in *Grecian* literature, *Richardson* has irrefragably proved his ignorance in this branch of *Etymology*; and shewn, that his elaborate work is incorrect in its *Chronology* of the *Deluge*, of the migrations of the families of *Noah's* sons, of the *Cuthite* expeditions; irreconcileable with SCRIPTURE, and inconsistent with itself. P. 376—474.

* The book of *Job* furnishes an advantageous specimen of the purity of Patriarchal Religion in *Arabia*, during this first *Assyrian* dynasty; corresponding to its state in *Persia*, under the succeeding *Pishdadian* dynasty, by a remarkable conformity of sacred and profane history in those early periods.

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* *Richardson* derives *Darab* from *Dara*, "the king," and *Ab*, "water." Dissert. p. 57, 242. But the latter seems rather to denote a "father." And the compound, "the father-king," or parent of his people, like *Schah Abbas*.

Persia; and *Tidal*, king of *Goim*, or the mingled nations of *Cœle Syriæ* and *Galilee*, against the five kings of the *Pentapolis*, *Bera*, king of *Sodom*, *Birsha*, king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab*, king of *Admah*, *Shemebar*, king of *Zeboim*, and the king of *Bela*, afterwards called *Zoar*, who had *rebelled* * from the king of

* WAR OF THE GODS AND GIANTS.

Moses Choronensis, in his *Armenian* History, gives an account of the *Berosian* Sibyll, or ancient *Chaldean* prophetess, who noticed "the *Titanian* war, in the *tenth generation* after the deluge," as "*the first war waged among men.*" See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 241.

This was the war in which *Abraham* engaged, in the tenth generation, B.C. 2070, and the first recorded in SCRIPTURE. It was memorable, as the first accomplishment of *Noah's* famous prophecy; Gen. ix. 25—27; for in it, the *Shemites* and *Japhethites* of the North made captives, or "*slaves*, the *Hamites* of *Canaan's* race" in the South. See Vol. I. p. 350—357 of this work.

The references to this war in the classic authors, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Pindar*, *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, &c. are numerous.

1. *Horace*, so well acquainted with *Hesiod's Theogony*, (see Vol. I. p. 245, note,) has circumstantially described the *Gods* and *Giants* engaged in this war; or the chieftains of *Elam* and *Sodom*. The four confederate kings of *Elam*, who came from the upper regions of the North, are represented by *Jove* and his associate Gods, *Pallas*, *Juno*, and *Apollo*; with *Vulcan*, the forger of thunderbolts, who originally was the same with *Jove* himself. The five rebel kings of *Canaan*, or the South, are represented by the *Giant*-brothers, *Typhœus*, *Mimas*, *Porphyrion*, *Rhœcus*, and *Enceladus*. These struck great terror into *Jove* at first, when *Abraham* defeated the *Assyrians*, and rescued the captives; but were vanquished and overwhelmed at last, with thunderbolts, when "the cities of the plain were destroyed by fire and brimstone from heaven;" and were buried under the *Dead Sea*, or *Asphaltite* lake, sixteen years after, B.C. 2054. Gen. xix. 24, 25.

——— Scimus, ut impios
Titanas, immanemque turmam,
Fulmine sustulerit caduco;
Qui terram inertem, qui *mare* temperat
Ventosum; *et Urbes, regnaque tristia* [*Tartari*]
Imperio regit, UNUS, æquo.
Magnum, illa, terrorem intulerat JOVI,
Fidens, *Juventus horrida*, brachiis;
Fratresque, tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse *Olympo:*
Sed quid *Typhoeus*, et validus *Mimas*,
Aut quid minaci *Porphyrion* statu,
Quid *Rhœcus*, evulsisque truncis
Enceladus, jaculator audax,
Contra sonantem *Palladis* ægida
Possent ruentes!—Hinc, avidus stetit
Vulcanus; hinc, matrona *Juno*, et
Nunquam humeris positurus arcum—
Delius et *Patareus Apollo.* OD. III. 4.

2. *Hesiod*, the prime corrupter of the *Greek* Mythology, represents this war as last-

Elam, after they had served him twelve years; and were defeated by him, and his confederates, and the people carried away

ing *ten full years*, Theog. v. 634. And he afterwards states, that *Typhœus*, the first of these brothers, was the youngest son of *Earth* and *Tartarus*, ver. 820: thus aptly representing the king of *Sodom* as a descendant of *Canaan*, the youngest son of *Ham*, which signifies black, or burnt; and who derived his poetic title, Τυφωευς, from τυφος, signifying *inflation*, or *arrogance*, for his noted *impiety* and *inhospitality* to gods and men, we presume, at *Sodom*. Gen. xviii. 20, 21; xix. 4—13; Heb. xiii. 2.

3. *Homer* also marks the theatre of this war to have been *Aram*, or *Syria*, of which the land of *Canaan* was a department.

——— Δι ὡς τερπικεραυνῳ
Χωομενῳ· ὁτε τ' αμφι Τυφωει γαιαν ἱμασσε
Ειν Αριμοις· ὁθι φασι Τυφωεος εμμεναι ευνην.

'Like JOVE, thundering in his wrath,
When the *Typhœan* land he scourged
Among the *Arameans:* where is *Typhœus's* bed,
According to tradition." ILIAD, II. 783.

4. *Virgil* represents these *giant* brothers as the sons of *Earth* and *Titan*, or the Sun: a mystical allegory, denoting that they were "*earth born*," (γηγενεις) or produced from the slime, and hatched by the Sun's heat; like the επιγειος αυτοχθων, or "*native son of earth*," of *Sanchoniatho*. With these, he joins in *Tartarus*, their relations, the two *Aloidæ*, (αλωιδαι) or "*field born*," who aptly denote the two young *Canaanites*, of *Hebron*, *Aner* and *Eschol*, who assisted *Abraham*, their neighbour, in the war of *Sodom*; and were therefore embarked in the same cause with the five *Giants*, and involved in the same poetic doom.

Hìc genus antiquum *Terræ*, *Titania* pubes,
Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur in imo [*Tartari.*]
Hìc et *Aloidas* geminos, immania vidi
Corpora; qui manibus magnum rescindere cœlum
Aggressi, superisque *Jovem* detrudere regnis. ÆNEID. VI. 580.

Virgil, however, has altered *Homer's* geography; for ειν Αριμοις, substituting *Inarime*, a volcanic isle near the coast of *Italy*.

——— durumque cubile
Inarime, *Jovis* imperiis impôsta *Typhœo*. ÆNEID. IX. 713.

In thus shifting the bed of *Typhœus* from the *Dead* Sea, to the *Italian* Sea, Virgil followed the license of *Pindar:* for *Pindar*, though he confirms the accuracy of *Homer's* geography, as to the *Cilician* or *Syrian* origin of *Typhœus*, yet boldly transfers his bed to the volcanic isles, near *Cuma*, in *Italy*, and the grand volcano of *Ætna*, in *Sicily*. He was led to this probably by an eruption of *Ætna*, in the beginning of the 77th Olympiad, B.C. 472, noticed by *Thucydides*, b. 3, about four or five years before *Pindar* composed the first and finest of his *Isthmian* Odes, in praise of *Hiero*, king of *Syracuse*. *Thucydides* calls this the second eruption, and notices the first, but without a date. The first, we may be assured, was later than *Homer's* time, who unquestionably would not have passed over so striking a phænomenon unnoticed, any more than *Pindar* and *Virgil*. The latter converts the crater of *Ætna* into *Vulcan's* forge. Æneid. viii. 419.

5. The *Pierides*, or nine *Thessalian* Nymphs, who challenged the nine Muses, boastingly described the exploits of the *Giants* in their war against the Gods. *Pindar* thus censures them.

captives, B.C. 2070, until they were rescued by *Abraham*, his servants, and two young neighbours of *Mamre*; his associates,

Ὅσσα δε μη πεφιληκε
Ζευς, ατυζονται βοαν
Πιεριδων αϊοντα,
Γαν τε, και ποντον κατ' αμαιμακετον·
Ος τ' εν αινῳ Ταρταρῳ κει-
ται, Θεων πολεμιος,
Τυφως εκατονταπαραρνος· τον ποτε
Κιλικιον θρεψεν πολυω-
νυμον αντρον· νυν γε μαν
Ται θ' ὑπερ Κυμας ἁλιερκεες οχθαι
Σικελια τ' αυτου πιεζει
Στερνα λαχναιῳτᾳ· Κιων
Δ' ουρανια συνεχει
Νιφοεσσ' Αιτνα, πανετες
Χιονος οξειας τιθηνα.

"Whatever *shades* were not beloved by JOVE,
Tremble *, in earth or raging sea inclosed,
Hearing the *Pierian* loud and impious lay.
Even *Typhos* hundred-headed, foe of *Gods*;
Who, prostrate, long in gloomy *Tartarus* lies.
Him whilom bred the famed *Cilician* cave:
But now, alas! the sea-girt shores of *Cuma*,
And *Sicily* too, oppress his shaggy breast:
Ætna, snow capp'd, the prop of heaven, the nurse
Of chill perennial frost, now him confines." PYTH. I. 25.

6. This "*Pierian* lay," referred to by *Pindar*, is given by *Ovid*, in his *Metamorphoses*. One of the *Pierides*, who had challenged the *Muses*, chose for her subject, the war of the *Gods* and *Giants*; in which she magnified the exploits of the latter, and depreciated the former. She sung how the *Gods* were terrified, and put to flight by *Typhœus*, who pursued them into *Egypt*. There, in their fright, they hid or concealed themselves under various animal forms: *Jove* became a ram; *Apollo*, a crow; *Bacchus*, a goat; *Diana*, a cat; *Juno*, a cow; *Venus*, a fish; and *Mercury*, an ibis, or stork.

"Tunc sine sorte, prior [*Pieris*] quæ se certare professa est,
Bella canit *Superum*; falsoque in honore *Gigantes*
Ponit, et extenuat *Magnorum* facta *Deorum*.
Emissumque [canit] imâ de sede, *Typhoëa*, terræ,
Cœlitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugæ, donec fessos *Ægyptia* tellus
Ceperit, et septem discretus in ostia *Nilus*.
"Huc quoque *terrigenam* venisse *Typhoëa* †, narrat,

* "Even the *demons* believe and tremble," (δαιμονια——φρισσουσι) James ii. 19. This parallel passage supplies the substantive, δαιμονια, understood in *Pindar*, agreeing with ὁσσα. The *demons*, in *Jewish* and *Grecian* Mythology, were supposed to be the spirits of dead men, good or bad. The latter are marked by μη πεφιληκε Ζευς. See Vol. III. p. 104, note, and Vol. III. p. 520.

† *Ovid*, in his Fasti, ii. 461, identifies *Typhœus*, with *Typhon*, the *Egyptian* god of

Aner and *Eshcol;* who pursued and surprised the camp of the confederates on the fifth night, defeated them, and recovered the captives and the spoils. Gen. xiv. 1—16. See Vol. II. p. 112, of this work.

Though the king of *Shinar* is named first in the list, on account of the priority of his kingdom, it is evident, that the king of *Elam*, or *Persia*, was the head of the confederacy; and that at that time, the sceptre had departed from *Assyria* to *Persia.*

This is confirmed by the *Persian* historians, *Mirkhond*, *Ferdusi*, the *Tarik Montekheb*, or Select Chronicle, the *Sharistani*, the *Tabari*, the *Jehan Ara*, and others, cited in *Herbelot's* valuable *Bibliotheque Orientale.* In their pompous and inflated narrations, *fiction* and *fable* are frequently so blended with *historical truth*, that it requires no small attention and skill to develope them, and separate the wheat from the chaff; and, above all, to reduce the monstrous extravagance of their *chronology* to the sober and consistent standard of *sacred.*

*Mirkhond** has given two dynasties of *Persian* kings, reaching from the earliest times, to the subversion of the Persian empire by *Askander*, or *Alexander* the Great. The first, contains the race of the *Pischdadians;* the second, of the *Kaianites.*

> Et se mentitis *superos* celasse figuris:
> Duxque gregis, dixit, fit *Jupiter;* (unde recurvis
> Nunc quoque formatus, *Libys* est cum cornibus *Ammon*)
> *Delius*, in corvo; *proles Semeleia*, capro;
> Fele, *soror Phœbi;* niveâ *Saturnia*, vaccâ;
> Pisce *Venus* latuit; *Cyllenius* Ibidis alis." METAM. v. Fab. 5.

This metamorphosis marks the corruption of the pure and spiritual Patriarchal Theology, by the *hieroglyphic symbols* of *Egyptian* Mythology. The different attributes and perfections of the DEITY were marked by the characteristic excellencies of different animals; the *ram* and *bull* indicating *strength* in their horns; the *cow*, plenteousness, or abundance; the *goat*, stability; the *cat*, seeing in the dark, or all-seeing; the *fish*, prolific fecundity; the *crow*, longevity; the *ibis*, or *stork*, serpent destroyer, &c. But at length the symbols were forgotten, and the vulgar sunk into the most brutal *polytheism*, and grovelling *idolatry.*

* This celebrated Persian historian, *Mohammed Khavendschah*, commonly called *Emirchond*, or, by elision, *Mirkhond*, observes in the preface to his *Universal History*, that "since the age of reason and discernment, he had employed his time incessantly in

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tempests and hurricanes. He was the fabled son of *Earth* likewise, produced by a stroke of the jealous *Juno's* hand, or a blast of wind. See *Homer's* account of his birth, Hymn to *Apollo*, v. 306—352.

I. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 529 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
1. *Kaiumarath*, or *Keiomarras*, (560)	40	2190
Siamek		
2. *Kaiumarath* again.	30	2150
2. *Hushang*, or *Houschenk*, called *Pischdad*, or *Chedorlaomer*	50	2120
3. *Tahmuras* (700)	30	2070
4. *Giamschid*, or *Giemschid*	30	2040
5. *Dahak*, *Zahak*, or *Zoak* (1000)	30	2010
6. *Aphridun*, *Phridun*, or *Pheridun*	120	1980
7. *Manugiahr*, called *Phirouz* (500)	120	1860
8. *Nodar*	7	1740
9. *Apherasiab*, or *Afrasiab*	12	1733
10. *Zoab*, *Zab*, or *Zoub*	30	1721
11. *Gershab*, or *Gershasp*	30	1691
End of the dynasty	529	1661

The extravagant reigns of some of these princes, 560, 700, 1000, and 500 years, are corrected by the soberer accounts of other oriental writers, so as to reduce the whole length of the dynasty to a moderate compass. The chronology is adjusted from the resemblance between the actions of *Hushang* and *Chedorlaomer*, who might alike have been slain by *Abraham*, in B.C. 2070. From this fixed epoch, counting the reigns both upwards and downwards, the dates of each are determined.

KAIUMARATH.

He is allowed by all the oriental writers to have been the first king, and of the earliest antiquity. *Budhari*, and the greatest part of the *Arabian* historians, reckoned him the first man, *Adam*, also. But the most judicious of the *Persian* writers

the reading and research of history; collecting every thing useful and agreeable from the works of the best writers: when, having been invited by the Emir *Ali Shir*, to superintend a valuable library, filled particularly with historians, carefully collected at a great expense, he had thus resolved to digest the labours of his life." This learned and magnificent prince was governor of *Chorassan*, about the end of the fifteenth century. His noble library was deposited in the city of *Herat*. *Richardson's* Dissertations, p. 243.

Khondemir, or *Khoudemir*, the son of *Mirkhond*, wrote an abridgment of his father's great work, which he called *Khilasat al Akhbar*, "the Marrow of History," he is frequently confounded with his father, and even by *Herbelot*. Art. *Khondemir*.

reckon him to have been the son (or descendant) of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, who reigned in the countries first planted after the deluge. They report, that the people of *Adherbigian*, or *Media*, including part of *Armenia*, wearied with the evils of anarchy, unanimously agreed to elect *Kaiumarath* their king, for his conspicuous virtues: he was, with much reluctance, prevailed on to accept the *Tagi*, or imperial *Tiara*; and by the wisdom and justice of his administration promoted the prosperity of his people. This induced the neighbouring provinces also to put themselves under his protection; so that his empire was extended by the same means that it was instituted. He built several cities in *Persia*, and the provinces *Balch*, &c.

His eldest son, called *Nazek*, was slain by robbers: and he resigned the crown at length, wearied with the fatigues of government, to his grandson, *Siamek*, who was slain shortly after in battle. This obliged *Kaiumarath* to resume the reins of government; after which he reigned thirty years with great applause and reputation.

This account of the *anarchy* that gave rise to his election well accords with that which probably followed the rebellion of the provinces, and dissolution of the first *Assyrian* empire, about B.C. 2237, as we have seen. For, from thence to B.C. 2190, the date of the election of *Kaiumarath*, (according to the foregoing adjustment) was an interval of forty-seven years, which was fully sufficient to give those provinces a surfeit of the evils of anarchy, Judg. xvii. 6. Precisely the same cause is stated by *Herodotus*, after the second rebellion of the *Medes*, in B.C. 710, for the election of *Dejoces*.

Some oriental authors insert an interregnum of two hundred years* between this reign and the next, of *Hushang*. But this was probably done to enhance the antiquity of *Kaiumarath*, contrary to the history; for *Hushang* was the son of *Siamek*.

HUSHANG, SURNAMED PISCHDAD.

Next to the founder of the *Persian* empire, this is the most celebrated prince of the whole series, whose title of *Pischdad*,

* See the ancient *Universal History*, Vol. II. p. 173, 174, folio edit. from which the foregoing table, of the *Pischdadian* dynasty, is collected.

"*the just*," conferred on him for his wise and impartial administration of justice, became the distinguished appellation of the dynasty. He is said to have built *Susa*.

He was no less celebrated for his courage and his marvellous exploits in a *Persian* romance, entitled *Hushang Nameh*, "*Hushang's* History," of very extensive circulation in the East. *Persia* indeed, or *Iran*, from the earliest times, seems to have been the great classic ground of oriental *mythology* and *romance*, which diverged and spread from thence, with its roving tribes, the *Palli* and *Pelasgi*, &c. to almost every surrounding and distant country, both of the east and of the west. The fabled wars of the *gods* and *giants*, which pervade the Greek and Latin classics, as we have seen, most probably originated from the wars of their heroes, or ancient kings, with the *Dives*, or rebellious *demons*, in which they were supposed to be assisted by the *Peris*, or *fairies*, the good *demons* and *guardian angels* of mankind; both acting under controul of THE SUPREME BEING *.

* ANCIENT PERSIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Some knowledge of the *popular mythology* of the East is no less necessary to understand their classic writers, their historians and moralists, poets and fabulists, than of the *Grecian mythology*, to understand the classics, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Pindar*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*.

The fabulous ages of *Asiatic mythology* stretch far beyond the creation of man. The world is supposed to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation; who were successively annihilated, or banished, for disobedience to the SUPREME BEING. An Eastern romance, entitled *Caherman Namè*, or "*Caherman's* History," introduces that hero in conversation with the monstrous bird, or griffin, *Simurgh*, who tells him that she had already lived to see the earth seven times filled with creatures, and seven times reduced to a perfect void. That the age of *Adam* would last *seven thousand* years; when the present race of men would be extinguished, and their place be supplied by creatures of another form, and more perfect nature, with whom the world would end. She declared that she had then seen *twelve periods*, each of seven thousand years; but was denied the knowledge of the term of her own existence. And *Sadi*, a *Persian* moralist of the first class, praises PROVIDENCE for providing so bountifully for all his creatures, that "even the *Simurgh*, notwithstanding her immense size, finds on the mountains of *Kaf* sufficient for her sustenance."

In this *Persian* tale we trace the *Jewish* legend of the seven millennary ages of the world; the *Babylonian* and *Cumean* Sibyls' ages of the world, and restoration of the Golden Age, recorded in *Hesiod*, *Virgil*, and *Ovid*; and the several Hindu *Avatars*, or successive transformations of *Vishnu*, in the *Asiatic Researches*.

The last race of beings supposed to inhabit the earth immediately before the creation of *Adam* were called *Peris* and *Dives*, or good and bad *genies*; both formed of the element of fire; and though long-lived, subject to death. The former are described as beautiful and benevolent, and though guilty of errors which had offended Omnipotence, they were supposed, in consequence of their repentance, still to enjoy distinguished marks of

In *Persian* romance *Hushang* is represented as attacking and subduing giants and monsters, mounted upon a monstrous

Divine favour. The latter, on the contrary, are pictured as hideous in form, and malignant in disposition, roaming perpetually round the world, to scatter discord and wretchedness among the sons of *Adam*. The *Peris* are, by some writers, supposed to be all females, and the *Dives* males, but without having any communication; each having the separate power of continuing their species: yet the brothers of the *Peri Merjan* are noticed in the *Tahmuras Namè*; and the kings of *Shaskekam* in the *Caherman Namè*.

Beside these, there are other winged monsters of the imagination: the *Simurgh*, already noticed; the *Rakshe*, whose ordinary food was serpents and dragons, who was tamed by *Houshang*, king of Persia, and rode by him in his wars with the *Dives*; the *Soham*, with a horse's head, and four eyes, and the body of a flame-coloured dragon, who was conquered by a Persian hero, called *Sam Neriman*; the *Ouranabad*, described as a fierce flying hydra; the *Ejer*, the *Eshder*, or *Eshdeha*, dragons of different kinds; the *Syl*, or Basilisk, the sight of which makes every creature fly, the approach to it being certain death.

There were also nations with the heads of fishes, dragons, &c. The most whimsical of these creatures was the *nim juzè* and *nim chebr*, supposed to be a human figure split in two, the male forming the right half, and the female the left; each having half a face, one eye, one arm, and one foot, yet running with incredible speed, and reckoned very dangerous and cruel.

These various creatures, who preceded *Adam*, were supposed to have been governed by a succession of either forty or seventy-two kings, of the name of *Soliman*. The *Mohur Solimani*, the ring, or seal of *Solomon Jared*, the fifth monarch of the world *, gave to its possessor the command of demons, elements, and every created thing. The shield of the last monarch, surnamed *Jan*, *Ben Jan*, his impenetrable cuirass, and flaming sword, were more famous in the East than the shield of *Achilles*, and his celestial armour, in the West.

This last monarch, having offended Omnipotence, the angel *Hares*, (signifying a "*guardian, or protector,*" whence the *Hara* of the *Hindus*, and the Latin *Herus*, "master,") was sent from heaven to chastise him, which he did, and governed in his stead; but being intoxicated with power, *Adam* was created, and all the earth ordered to obey him. *Hares* scorned submission to a clay-formed creature, and rebelled against the Divine will, and was joined by the *Dives*. But the *Peris*, submitting thereto, became thenceforth the friends and protectors of the human race. *Hares*, with his chief followers, was cursed by God, and doomed to a long period of torment in the infernal regions. On his fall his name was changed into *Iba*, "the refractory;" *Eblis*, "the desperate;" and *Sheitan*, "the proud," among the *Arabians*.

The residence of these imaginary beings, was supposed to be the mountain *Kaf*, which was long thought to surround the earth, as a ring the finger; denoting the "*stony girdle*" of mount *Taurus*; so called by the *Arabian* Geographers, in its several divisions of *Caucasus*, *Imaus*, &c. *Atlas*, and other great ridges in *Asia* and *Africa*. The whole of this visionary region of *Fairy* land, was called *Jinnis Tan*, or "the country of *Jin*," or *Jan*, and

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* The *Tarikh Moutekheb*, and other oriental histories, suppose that this was *Soliman ben Daoud*, "the son of *David*;" but the earlier work of the *Tahmuras Namè*, says he was the *Præadamite* king. And the *Kaiumarath Namè* says the giant *Hussam* told that prince that he had served under three different *Solimans*, for 3000 years past. See *Herbelot*, p. 801.

griffin, which he had tamed, called *Raksche*. Among his other conquests he reduced the people of *Mahier*, famous for fishes

supposed to be divided between the *Peris* and the *Dives*. The cities of the former were called *Shadukam*, "pleasure and desire;" *Gouherabad*, "the city of Jewels;" *Amberabad*, "the city of Ambergris." The capital of the *Dives*, was called *Ahermanabad*, "the city of the principle of evil;" where was the enchanted castle, palace, and gallery of the Dive king, *Arzshenk*, so celebrated in Eastern fable.

Between the *Dives* and *Peris*, there was incessant warfare. Whenever the *Dives* took any of the *Peris* prisoners, they shut them up in iron cages, hung them on the highest trees, and exposed them as a public spectacle to the chilling blasts. In their confinement, their companions brought them the choicest perfumes, the only nourishment of *Peris;* possessing also the virtue of repelling the *Dives*, whose malignant nature can endure nothing fragrant.

Whenever the *Peris* were in danger of being overpowered by the *Dives*, they always solicited the assistance of some mortal hero, which furnished a wonderful fund of picturesque machinery for eastern poetry and romance. To put the knight on a par with the gigantic *Dives*, he was generally armed with enchanted armour, furnished with talismans, and mounted on some winged monster. One of the most famous adventurers in *Fairy* land was *Hushang*, the second *Pishdadian* king. He tamed the monstrous griffin *Rakshe*, and mounted on her back, subdued the people of *Mahiser*, with fishes heads, and performed other wonderful exploits. His successor, *Tahmuras*, was honoured with a splendid embassy from the *Peris*, entreating his aid: the *Dives* also, who feared him, sent another. He consulted the griffin *Simurgh*, who spoke all languages, and knew future events. She advised him to prefer the *Peris*, and to assist them; and forewarned him of the dangers he was to encounter in the expedition, and she offered to carry him herself to *Jinnistan*. As a mark of her regard, she pulled some feathers from her breast, to form a plume for his helmet; and then, mounted on her back, and armed with the shield of *Jan ben Jan*, he crossed the dark abyss, which mortals could not pass, without supernatural assistance, and at length arrived at the castle of *Arzshenk*, and defeated him. He then vanquished another fiercer Dive, called *Demrush*, living in a gloomy cavern, surrounded with vast piles of plundered wealth. Here he liberated a fair captive, the Peri *Merjan* (or "pearl") whom her brothers had long sought in vain, and he chained the vanquished demons in the centre of the mountain *Kaf;* whence he got the title of *Divebend*, "binder of the *Dives*;" but he was slain himself at last by another more powerful Dive, called *Houdkonz*.

In the *Shah namè* of *Ferdousi** the celebrated *Rostam*, several ages after, slew, in fierce combat, the dive *Arzshenk*, who had escaped from the chains of *Tahmuras*, and fought with a human body, and head of a bull, and afterwards he killed the *Dive Sepid*, or "white *Dive*." And *Gershab*, the last king of the *Pishdadian* dynasty, wounded the Dive *Munheras* with an arrow in the mouth; and *Sohrab*, the son of *Rostam*, afterwards slew him, after he had assumed various forms; first, the head of a hog; next, a head with two faces, of a lion on one side, and of a wild boar on the other.

These *Peris* and *Dives*, the friends and foes of mankind, and all the machinery of their conflicts, seem to have furnished the ground-work of the prevalent notions of good and bad *demons*, of *gods* and *giants*, that pervade the whole of eastern and western romance. We find them in *Jewish*, *Indian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman* Mythology. The apocryphal book of *Tobit*, written during, or after, the *Babylonish* Captivity, introduces *Raphael*,

* *Ferdousi*, who may be reckoned the *Homer* of *Persia*, spent thirty years in the composition of this work. He died at an advanced age, in A.D. 1018.

heads, probably the *Ichthyophagi*, or "*fish-eaters*" of the Greeks, residing on the *Persian* gulph. At length, after a glorious reign

the guardian angel of *Tobias*, the wicked spirit *Asmodeus*, who was fond of *Sarah*, and destroyed her seven husbands on their wedding nights; who was driven from her bed-chamber by the perfume of the burnt heart and liver of the fish that attempted to devour *Tobias*, when bathing in the *Tigris*; the flight of *Asmodeus* to *Egypt*, where the angel bound him, we may presume in the *Red Sea*, with *Pharaoh* and his magicians. The *Hares* of the Persians, *Hara* of the Hindus, *Eblis* and *Sheitan* of the Arabs, correspond to "*Beelzebub*, the prince of *Demons*," to whom the Scribes and Pharisees compared CHRIST. And our Lord refuted them upon their own principles; "when *the strong* (ὁ ισχυρος) armed, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace; but when *the stronger* (ὁ ισχυροτερος) cometh upon, and conquereth him, he taketh from him his *panoply*, in which he trusted, and distributeth his spoils." Luke xi. 21, 22. And the deeply-learned *Paul* adopted this beautiful imagery, when warning his *Gentile* converts of their *spiritual* conflict with the foes of the Gospel. "Put on the *panoply* of GOD, &c." Eph. vi. 10—17.

In Europe also, this machinery forms the basis of *Gothic Romance*. We trace it in the *Ippogriffo*, mounted on which, *Astolpho* took his flight to heaven; and the *magic* ring of *Bradamante*, in the *Orlando Furioso* of *Ariosto*; the various enchantments of *Armida* and *Ismeno*, in the *Gierusalemme liberata* of *Tasso*; the *many-headed* monster of *Duessa*, and the shield of King *Arthur*, in the *Faery Queen* of *Spencer*; the faery *Morgain* (the copy of the Peri *Merjan*) who conveyed away king *Arthur* from the battle of *Camelon*, to the delights of *Faery land*, in the old *British Romance*; *Satan's* journey from *Pandemonium* to this earth, across the *chaotic* abyss, in the *Paradise Lost*; and the Masque of *Comus*, in *Milton*; the play of the *Tempest*, in *Shakspeare*, &c. &c. &c.

Some ingenious Antiquaries have considered this *Romantic Mythology* as of *Arabian* growth; because it abounds in Arabian authors, especially in that most entertaining work, the *Thousand and one Nights*; in which it is fully displayed. But neither the *scenes* are laid, nor the *technical* terms of this *mythology* found, in *Arabia*. The warriors who figure in Faery land, are exclusively *Persian*, the kings and heroes of the first *Pishdadian* dynasty; and the *Arabic* language has no appropriate terms to express the *Peris*, *Dives*, *Simurgh*, *Rakshe*, or *Ouranobad*, &c. For the terms it substitutes, *Angels*, *Devils*, *Genies*, *Giants*, *Afrites*, *Gules*, &c. are only figuratively applied to these imaginary beings; radically denoting creatures which really exist. The *Peris* and *Dives* of Persian romance, are neither *angels* nor *devils*, but supposed intermediate classes between both; nor do they accurately correspond to the *demons* of the *Jews* and *Greeks*, which were generally supposed to be the spirits of dead men, good or bad. See Vol. III. pp. 104, 520.

A very early intercourse subsisted between *Iran*, and *India* eastwards, and *Europe* westwards, in the time of the *Pischdadian* dynasty; which was renewed under the *Kaianian*. And many traces of the *Syriac*, or ancient *Persic*, are to be found in the *Sanscrit*, and other dialects of *India*, and in the *Greek* and *Latin*, and *Celtic* languages of *Europe*. The *crusades* afterwards introduced many more, into the modern languages, *Italian*, *French*, *German*, *English*, &c. In the last, the number of pure *Persic* words is very considerable; as, CHODA, or GODA, "*God*," DIV, "*Divel*, or *Devil*;" PERI, "*Fairy*;" PADER, "πατηρ, pater," or PHADER, "*Father*;" MADER, "μητηρ, *mater*," or MODER, "*Mother*;" BRODER, "*Brother*," DOCHTER, "*Daughter*;" HOKOPAZ, a "conjuror;" whence the vulgar *hocus pocus* tricks, &c.

The curious and recondite information contained in this note, is chiefly collected from

of fifty years, he was slain by a fragment of rock hurled against him by the *giants*, his mortal foes, who had occupied the strength of the mountains of *Damavend*, in the province of *Adherbigian*.

This remarkably corresponds to *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, in *Abraham's* days, who subdued the *Pentapolis*, and probably the eastern countries of *Arabia*, stretching to the *Arabian* and *Persian* gulfs; for among his auxiliaries, was *Arioch*, king of *Ellasar*, or *Arabia:* and he might have been slain, either when surprised by *Abraham* in his camp, in the mountainous country, near the springs of the *Jordan;* or afterwards, upon his return home, in some later engagement. It is also remarkable, that the *giants* in *Horace*, hurled rocks against *Jove*, and his confederate *gods;* as shewn in the preceding note. This seems to leave scarcely a doubt of the identity of *Chedorlaomer* and *Hushang;* and therefore tends to remove the veil that has hitherto been spread over the chronology of the romantic accounts of the oriental historians.

To this famous monarch is ascribed a very ancient book entitled *Ghiovidan Chrad*, or, "*Eternal Wisdom;*" which, among many other fine sentences, contains the following.

"*Great kings are* GODS *upon earth, and have all the attributes of power, wisdom, and mercy, in a superior degree, with respect to private persons, as the* ALMIGHTY *has over them. Let not this, however, encourage them to use their subjects with rigour. Thunder* is seldom heard, but the *sun* shines every day: we see ten thousand instances of GOD'S goodness, for one extraordinary act of vengeance. Let *kings* imitate him, by doing all the good they can: and always remember, that though *death* is in their power, yet *life* is not. They may order a man to be cut into a thousand pieces, but there their dominion ends; they cannot call him into being again. Beware, therefore, of *sudden judgments*, and of repentance coming too late." What an admirable comment does this furnish on our Lord's divine discourses. Matt. v. 45—48; Luke vi. 36.

the learned and ingenious orientalist, *Richardson's Dissertations*, *Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale*, and *Hyde's Religio veterum Persarum*.

The high antiquity of the primitive Persian language, is also held by Sir *William Jones*, who considers it as the original *Syriac*, or *Chaldean* tongue, and the mother of the *Sanscrit*, and consequently of the *Zend*, and *Parsi*, as well as of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gothic*. Sixth Discourse on the *Persians*, Asiat. Res. ii. p. 54, 64.

TAHMURAS.

This prince was the son, grandson, or kinsman of *Hushang;* and, succeeding him, reigned with high reputation. Finding that the *wars of his predecessor* had impoverished his subjects, and introduced disorder and licentiousness into his dominions, he first remitted all taxes for three years, repressed irregularities by new laws, and took care that they should be duly executed by the magistrates. He fortified the frontiers of *Persia*, in order to prevent sudden invasions; and shewed himself not inferior to his illustrious predecessors, in the arts of government, and with the like success: for he gained the confidence of the neighbouring nations, who voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At length, after a glorious reign of 30 years, he died of a raging and epidemic pestilence.

He also was one of the most famous adventurers in *Faery* Land, as shewn in the foregoing note.

GIEMSCHID.

It is not clear whether this prince was the son, or grandson, or nephew, of his predecessor; but all agree, that he was of the royal line of *Kaiumarath*, and was inspired with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling, his ancestors. He divided his subjects into three classes, of *soldiers*, *husbandmen*, and *artizans*. He first corrected the *Calendar*, and instituted the festival of the *Neuruz*, or new year, at the vernal equinox, which lasted six days. He built the great city of *Estechar*, which some think to be *Persepolis*, and others *Schiras*. But at length, elated with prosperity, he fancied himself *immortal*, and required to be worshipped with divine honours. This lost him the hearts of his subjects, who revolted; and, under the command of *Dahak*, defeated, and took him prisoner; when that cruel tyrant immediately ordered him to be sawn asunder in his presence.

DAHAK, OR ZOHAK.

This prince was an *Arab*, by the father's side, but descended from *Kaiumarath* by the mother's. As he gained the crown by

the sword, so he ruled by the sword. His outrageous cruelty at length excited an insurrection, headed by *Kaoh*, a smith, in revenge for the death of his sons, slain by *Dahak*. He made use of his leathern apron, as a standard for the insurgents, defeated the tyrant, and recalled the rightful heir of the throne, *Phridun*, the son of *Giemshid*, who was only three years old at his father's death, and had been concealed from the jealous tyrant's continual researches, by his careful mother, *Phramak*. *Dahak* marched with an army to oppose his rival; but being deserted in the engagement by his troops, was taken prisoner, and confined in the caves of *Damavend*. This victory, being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, gave rise to the anniversary feast of *Mihragian*, celebrated at that season.

The authors of the *Lebtarikh*, and *Tarik Montekheb*, *Mirkhond*, and *Chondemir*, all make *Abraham* contemporary with *Zohak*; furnishing a valuable chronological character, corresponding to *Sacred Chronology*, which represents *Abraham's* birth B.C. 2153, and his death, B.C. 1978, two years after *Zohak's* death. This furnishes an additional proof of the accuracy of the present adjustment of the *Pischdadian* Chronology.

PHRIDUN, OR FERIDUN.

The first act of this prince was to appoint *Kaoh*, the smith, general of his armies. This faithful partizan, in the course of twenty years, recovered many of the refractory provinces that had revolted during the late troubles, and added considerably to the empire, on the western side. To reward his long services, *Feridun* made him governor of the first province of the realm, *Aderbigian*, and provided nobly for his family. The *leathern apron*, which had been the original standard of insurrection against *Zohak*, he made the royal standard of *Persia*, entitled, *Dirfesch Kaviani*, "the standard of *Kaoh*." And it was continually adorned with the richest jewels, by this prince and his successors, so that it became at last of inestimable value; and when taken in the decisive battle of *Cadesia*, A.D. 636, which put an end to the last Persian dynasty, with *Jezdejird*, it enriched the whole army of *Omar*, the second Caliph of the *Saracens*.

Feridun was an excellent prince, who consulted the happiness of his people. He was a zealous worshipper of the true

God, and repressed the *Zabian* idolatry. His wise maxims were treasured up by the oriental writers.

To his successors, he bequeathed the following advice:

"Reckon that all the days of your reign are *so many leaves of your book of life.* Be careful then to write nothing thereon, that shall not be worthy of being handed down to posterity."

On the front of one of his pavilions was this inscription.

"Remember, whoe'er thou art, the failures of this world:
Give then thy heart to the world's CREATOR,
For He will never fail thee.
Trust not in *power*, nor in *riches*, here below;
For this age has reared many, such as thee,
Whom, notwithstanding, she leaves to perish.
When a good man is on the verge of another life,
What imports it, whether *he die upon a throne,*
Or *upon the floor* * ?"—*Herbelot.* Art. *Feridoun.*

These are advantageous specimens of the primitive religion of the *Persians,* before it was corrupted by the errors of *Zabiism* at first, and of *Magism* in later times, receding from the purity of the original *Magian religion* †. It was, indeed, that which

* The following fine poetic paraphrase of this inscription is given in the *Universal History,* Vol. II. p. 183, folio.

"Man should weigh well the nature of himself,
The *varying frailness of this flattering world,*
And the true excellence of Heaven's high LORD;
Then would he this despise, and trust in Him:
The world deceives us all; in GOD *is truth.*
Let not thy *riches* nor thy *power* prevail,
To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride;
Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,
And mark if thou hast never seen them sink:
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable Death commands,
That we should follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattrass, thrown upon the ground,
We rise to take our journey?"

† PRIMITIVE MAGIAN RELIGION.

The *Magian* Religion seems to have been originally designed to correct the errors of the *Zabian* idolatry, or worship of the sun, moon, and stars, which began to prevail in the fifth generation of *Nimrod,* after the deluge, and reached *Arabia,* in *Job's* days, xxxi. 26—28.

The founder of this religion was the elder *Zerdasht, Zerdusht,* or *Zoroaster* of the Greeks, king of *Bactria,* who is supposed by *Diodorus* and *Justin,* to have been slain by

Newton calls the *oldest* (and it may justly be called the *noblest*) of all religions: "A firm belief that ONE SUPREME GOD made

Ninus, the first king of *Assyria*, and by many of the *Persian* writers, to have been the contemporary of *Abraham*; and, according to others, of *Thamuras*, the third *Pischdadian* king, coeval with *Abraham*. Some think he was *Dahak* himself. The near concurrence of these accounts seems to fix his time within the limits of the *Pischdadian* dynasty. He is not therefore to be confounded (as he is by several oriental authors) with the younger *Zoroaster*, in the days of *Darius Hystaspis*, the reformer of the *Magian* Religion.

Porphyry cites the following testimony of *Eubulus*, concerning the elder *Zoroaster's* religion.

"*Zoroaster*, first of all, in the mountains [of *Bactria*] adjoining to *Persia*, consecrated a natural cave, adorned with flowers, and watered with springs, in honour of *Mithras*, the maker and father of all things; this cave affording him a symbol of the world which *Mithras* made." And this "*Mithras*," whom the ancient *Magi* called ὁ κρυφιος Θεος, "*the hidden God*," thus represented by the darkness of the cave; could not possibly denote *the Sun*; to which the term was misapplied in after ages, by the worshippers of the *solar light*. See the original passages; *Cudworth's* Intellect. System, p. 285, 286.

This primitive *cave-worship* of *Mithras* is finely described by *Maurice*, in his *Elegy* on Sir *William Jones*.

"Where the dark cliffs of rugged *Taurus* rise,
From age to age by blasted lightnings torn,
In glory bursting from the illumined skies,
Fair *Science* poured her first auspicious morn.

"The hoary *Parthian* seers, who watched by night,
The *eternal fire* in *Mithras'* mystic cave,
(Emblem sublime of that PRIMÆVAL LIGHT,
Which to yon starry orbs their lustre gave,)

"Exulting saw its gradual splendors break,
And swept symphonious, all their warbling lyres,
'Mid *Scythia's* frozen glooms, THE MUSES wake,
While happier *India* glows with all their fires."

The *sacred fire* was not peculiar to the Persian *Magi*. It was kept constantly burning on the altar before the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, and the Temple at *Jerusalem*; and was *never to go out*, Lev. vi. 13. It was kindled from heaven, in the time of *Aaron*, Levit. ix. 24; of *David*, 1 Chron. xxi. 26; of *Solomon*, 2 Chron. vii. 1, and was not to be rekindled with *strange fire*, nor any other to be used in sacrifices, under penalty of death, Lev. x. 1, 2. Among the *Persians*, it was to be rekindled only from the sun, or with a flint, or from some other sacred fire. And the *Persian* usages resembled those of the *Jews* in many respects. See *Hyde*, p. 19.

The following sublime description of THE SUPREME BEING, by "*Zoroaster*, the *Magian*," contained in *a sacred collection of the Persian rites*, is furnished by *Eusebius*, Præpar. Evangel. Lib. I. cap. ult. p. 42.

Ὁ Θεος εστι κεφαλην εχων ιερακος· ουτος εστιν ὁ πρωτος, αφθαρτος, αιδιος, αγενητος, αμερης, ανομοιοτατος, ηνιοχος παντος καλου, αδωροδοκητος, αγαθων αγαθωτατος, φρονιμων φρονιμωτατος· εστι δε και πατηρ ευνομιας και δικαιοσυνης, αυτοδιδακτος, φυσικος, και τελειος, και σοφος, και ιερου φυσικου μονος ευρετης.

"THE GOD is [represented] having a *hawk's* head. He is *the First, Incorruptible, Eternal, Unmade, Indivisible, Most unlike every thing, the Leader, or Author, of all good,*

the world by his *power*,, and continually governed it by his *providence*; a pious fear, love, and adoration of Him; a due re-

Unbribable, the Best of the good, the Wisest of the wise: He is also the Father of equitable law and justice, Self taught, Perfect, and the only Inventor of the natural Holy."

This admirable description of the attributes of THE DEITY, is disgraced, however, by the frontispiece, representing him with a *hawk's* head; expressive, in reality, of his *sharp sightedness*; with one glance viewing and inspecting the whole creation, throughout the universe. That *Zoroaster* indeed could have understood this literally, is impossible; because it would be utterly inconsistent with the *spiritual* attributes, immediately following. Indeed the expression, εστιν εχων, indicates representation; for otherwise it would be εχει, "*Hath*," if meant of the actual head of a *hawk*. This is perhaps the first instance on record of *symbolical* representation blended with pure *spiritual* description. And in this respect, it is highly curious, as furnishing, perhaps, the earliest specimen of those *animal hieroglyphics*, attributed to the Deity so copiously in *Egypt*, still to be found on their ancient monuments; which, when the recondite or mystical meaning came to be lost, in process of time, produced all that multifarious *Polytheism*, which corrupted the primitive theology of the *Egyptians*, and *Indians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*; as shewn in a preceding note.

The primitive *Magi* held to first principles; one, the sole uncreated principle of Good, or GOD, called in their language, *Yezad*, or *Izad*, "adorable;" and the other, a created principle of Evil, called *Ahariman*, or *Ahriman*, and by the Greeks, Αρειμανιος, *Arimanius*: from *Ahar*, "*filthy*," or "*vile*;" and *Raiman*, or *Reiman*, "a deceiver;" as "deceiving the whole world." Rev. xii. 9. And to mark their detestation of him, in their old books, the name is usually inverted thus, *uvuμuvμr*. This compound term corresponds to the scriptural phrase, "*the foul spirit*," Mark ix. 25; or, to the old English, "*the foul fiende*." And their religion is thus explained by *Ibn Shahna*, a Mahometan Arab.

"The religion of the *Persians* is very ancient, and the proficients therein are called *Keiomarsians*, (or followers of *Kaiumarath*.) They state, that there is an eternal Being, whom they call *Yezdan*, meaning thereby GOD: and another, created from darkness, whom they call *Ahreman*, denoting the *Devil*. They maintain, that God the Creator, created both *light* and *darkness*; and that He is alone, and hath no associate: and that good and evil, right and wrong, are made of a mixture of light and darkness, (for that if these two had not been mixed, the world could not have existed;) and that these mixtures will not cease until *the good* shall be appropriated to its world, [*heaven*], and *the evil*, to its world, [*hell*; both at the consummation of all things]." *Hyde*, p. 161—163.

The genuineness of this curious account, is vouched by SCRIPTURE. *Isaiah* introduces his prophecies concerning *Cyrus*, with the following sublime and magnificent statement of the doctrine, as from THE ALMIGHTY himself.

> "I am THE LORD, and none else;
> Beside Me, there is no GOD:——
> I form light, and create darkness;
> I make peace, and create evil.
> I, THE LORD, do all these." Isa. xlv. 5—7.

And the significant parable of the *Wheat* and the *Tares*, left to grow together in the field of this world, until the harvest, or general judgment, is an apt illustration of the mysterious subject; tending "to vindicate the ways of GOD to *man*," from the charge of partiality or injustice, at the final retribution; which clearly appears to have been the

verence for parents and aged persons; a paternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." See his excellent summary of the *Primitive Religion*, or precepts of the sons of *Noah*. Chron. p. 182—184.

Feridoun, for his wisdom, called "the *Solomon* of *Persia*," divided his extensive dominions, in his life-time, between his three sons. A division of considerable importance, because it still subsists in *Oriental Geography*. To *Irage*, his youngest, and most deserving son, he gave the body of the *Persian* empire, thence called IRAN *, consisting of *Persia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Arabia*. To *Tur*, his eldest, he gave all the Eastern provinces, beyond the river *Gihon*, or *Oxus*, including *India* and *Tartary*, as far as *Cathai* and *China*, thence called TURAN, and afterwards TURKESTAN, whence the *Turks* derived their name. And to his second son, *Salme*, all

belief of the pious and moral race of *Pischdadian* kings, from the specimens here given of their conduct, and of their maxims.

From *Ibn Shahna*, we also learn, that *Zoroaster* was not the author of this religion: he ascribes it, and with truth, to *Kaiumarath*, the illustrious founder of the *Pischdadian* Dynasty. Nor was he the inventor: it flourished in *Job's* age, or the seventh generation after the Deluge, as we have seen, in the foregoing analysis of his book, Vol. II. p. 55, of this work, &c. before the primitive patriarchal religion of *Noah*, came to be gradually corrupted, all over the face of the earth.

Another Persian title of the Supreme Being, was *Oromasdes*, signifying "*holy*, or *beneficent*, *lights*," from the Hebrew, אורים חסדי, *Aurim Hasdei*; and corresponding to the scriptural phrase, "THE FATHER OF LIGHTS." Jam. i. 17. See *Jackson*, Vol. III. p. 302, 371.

* See Sir *William Jones'* description of the boundaries of *Iran*; in his sixth discourse on the *Persians*. Asiat. Research. Vol. II. p. 64, 65.

It may seem strange, that such extensive regions as *Iran* and *Turan*, and such titles as *Fagfour*, *Kaisar*, and *Schah*, should so long survive these three short-lived princes, who all died in their father's life-time, and even soon after the partition of his dominions between them. But the wonder will cease, when we attend to the circumstances of the history. The death of these princes, entailed a long *hereditary war* between their descendants, who founded their claims thereon. The whole empire belonged to *Feridoun*. Hence, the posterity of *Tur*, the eldest son, claimed the whole, in right of primogeniture. On the other hand, the posterity of *Irage*, or *Manugiahr*, asserted the right of *Feridoun*, to divide his dominions as he pleased.

The Turkish historians derive their name, *Turks*, from *Turk*, the eldest son of *Japheth*, their ancestor; who seems to be the *Tiras* of Scripture. Gen. x. 2. But the account of the Persian historians seems more probable. For *Amurath*, the first Ottoman Emperor, seems to have assumed the title of the first *Pischdadian* monarch, *Kai-Umarath*; and his successors, especially after they got the upper-hand of the *Persians*, were proud to add to their titles, that of *Afrasiab*, the grandson of *Tur*; both to mark their nobility and their valour. See *Herbelot*. Art. *Turk* and *Afrasiab*.

the provinces of MOGREB, "the West," beyond the river *Euphrates*, comprehending *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, *Europe*, the Isles of the *Mediterranean* Sea, *Africa*, stretching to the *Atlantic* Ocean. *Feridoun* also gave his sons titles, which are remarkably handed down to the present day. To his eldest, the title of *Fagfour*, which is still retained by the Porcelain *China* ware, in the Levant, corruptly called *farfouri*. To his second, *Kai-sar*, or *Cæsar*, still assumed by the emperor of the West; and to his youngest, *Schah*, the leading title of the Persian Monarch, at this day.

MANUGIAHR, OR MANUGEHER.

He was either the son or the cousin of *Irage*, appointed by *Feridoun* to avenge that virtuous prince's death upon his unnatural brothers, *Tur* and *Salme*, who basely assassinated him, envying his lot, and conspiring to divide it between themselves. *Manugiahr* slew them both in battle, with his own hand, and was rewarded with the *Tagi*, or Tiara, which his aged grandfather, now blind, took off his own head, to place on his.

Manugiahr was an excellent prince: he cultivated the arts of peace, during the first part of his reign. He cut *canals* * from the great rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, to water the lands: he studied gardening, and explored the virtues of plants, and made many wise regulations.

In the sixtieth year of his reign, *Apheresiab*, or *Afrasiab*, the reigning king of *Turan*, invaded *Iran* with a prodigious army, under the pretence of avenging his ancestor, *Tur's* death; against whom, being unable to contend, *Manugiahr* ceded to him all the country eastward of the great river *Gihon*, or *Oxus*, which rises at the foot of mount *Imaus*, and runs into the *Caspian* Sea; which tract, thenceforth, took the name of *Ma over al nahar*, "over," or beyond "the river."

Tabari, an ancient *Persian* author, has recorded the following pious speech of *Manugiahr*, delivered in a great council of

* Major *Rennel*, in his curious map of *Babylon*, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 335, traces seven canals of communication between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*: one of which he calls, the "Ancient *Nahrmalka*," signifying "the Royal River," or grand Canal, running from *Ctesiphon*, on the *Tigris*, to Neapolis, on the *Euphrates*. Might not this, and some of the others, have been the works of *Manugiahr*?

his nobility, when he heard that the *Turks* had passed the river *Gihon* to invade him.

"THE MOST HOLY and MOST HIGH GOD *gave me this kingdom, that I might render him praise and glory, and that I might be the guardian of my kingdom, and consult the welfare of my subjects, and exercise judgment among the people, that so* GOD, THE BEST AND GREATEST, *may increase this my kingdom. But if I be found guilty of ingratitude, in not giving him thanks, He will take away from me this kingdom, and will, moreover, torment me in the other world.*——GOD, *of his greatness, hath granted us this grace, and we are thankful; and we beseech Him, to keep us in the right way, and to guard our heart in the truth; for we know that all this* (the *Turkish* invasion) *is from Him; and to Him let us return.*" See *Hyde*, p. 156—158.

How nearly does this resemble the substance of *Daniel's* speeches to the haughty *Nebuchadnezzar*, iv. 19—37; and the impious *Belshazzar*, v. 17—29.

The surname of this illustrious prince, was *Firouz;* signifying "*happiness*," "*victory*," or a precious stone, called a *turquoise*, of a deep blue colour, found in the mountains of *Farganah*.

In his days, according to the *Persian* historians, "the prophet *Schoaib*, (or *Jethro*, the father-in-law of *Moses,)* was sent, by GOD, to preach the Faith to the *Midianites;*" and afterwards "*Moussa* and *Haroun, (Moses* and *Aaron)* were sent, by GOD, to *Valid*, the *Pharaoh* *, or king of *Egypt*, who was of the race of *Had*." *Herbelot*, p. 559, 772.

Moses was born B.C. 1728, twelve years after the death of *Firouz:* therefore *Jethro*, his father-in-law, and high-priest of *Midian*, must have flourished in his reign. The embassy of *Moses* and *Aaron*, to the king of Egypt, in B.C. 1648, was only thirteen years after the end of the Dynasty.

The critical coincidence of these *chronological* characters with the preceding adjustment of the period of this Dynasty, affords a satisfactory proof of its correctness.

* *Pharaoh*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, signified "*a king;*" *Phiraon*, in *Arabic*, "*a crocodile.*" The Arabs call the *Egyptians, Phiraon kumi*, "the people of the crocodile;" rather as a name of contempt. It may be questioned, whether the *Egyptians* themselves ever gave this title to their kings. *Richardson*, p. 260.

NODAR.

Firouz was succeeded by his son, *Nodar*, whose reign was short and unfortunate. Taking advantage of the weakness of the *Persian* empire, occasioned by the intrigues and seditions of the grandees, *Parhang*, the next king of *Touran*, invaded *Iran*, a second time, with a prodigious army of 400,000 horse and foot, under the command of his eldest son, *Apheresiab*; who defeated *Nodar*, and slew him with his own hand. This decided the war; and left the kingdom in possession of the *Turks*.

APHERESIAB.

The cruelties of this Intruder, and his haughtiness and insolence, roused the *Persians* to revolt; and at length, under the conduct of that famous general, *Zalzer*, the son of the Visier *Soham*, he was so harassed, and weakened by repeated engagements, though not decisive, that the *Turkish* prince agreed to retire into *Turan*, without molestation, and leave *Iran* under the protection of *Zalzer*. This loyal subject, refusing the crown, sought out *Zab*, or *Zoub*, the legitimate heir of the house of *Kaiumarath*; and put the crown upon his head.

ZAB.

This prince applied himself to restore, as well as he could, the shattered affairs of *Persia*: and associated in the empire his nephew, *Gerschasp*, or *Gershab*, to whom he resigned the crown, having been advanced in years at the time of his accession.

GERSCHASP.

He was a prince of great merit, and deserved a better fate than he met. *Afrasiab*, disregarding the former treaty with *Zalzer*, took advantage of the disorders of the kingdom, to invade it, a third time; and, in a pitched battle, defeated the *Persians*, and slew their king. With him the *Pischdadian* Dynasty ended, by the general consent of the Persian historians; though *Khondemir* supposes, that it ended with his predecessor, *Zab*.

This *Persian* Dynasty differed widely from its precedessor, the *Assyrian;* that was founded in *rebellion* against GOD, and *usurpation* against man: this, in *piety* and *virtue*, and the willing consent of its constituent provinces, and it was rightly termed *Pischdadian*, or "the *just*," from the uniform endeavours of its princes to administer justice, and promote the happiness of their subjects. It is much to be regretted, that the *Grecian* writers, who adopted the *romantic* mythology of the *Pischdadian* Dynasty, were strangers, in great measure to their history.

That the *Pischdadian* Dynasty indeed, ended about B.C. 1661, or not long after, we may collect from HOLY WRIT. For the *Israelites* were reduced to servitude by *Chusan Rishathaim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, in B.C. 1572; and were rescued eight years after, by *Othniel*, their first judge, who defeated *Chusan* in battle. After which, the land had *rest* forty years. Judg. iii. 8—10. *Chusan* appears to have been an independant prince, who made war on his own account, from the change of the former title of *Shinar*, into *Mesopotamia;* but he seems to have been only a petty prince, since he was not able to retrieve a single defeat: for we hear no more of him, or his people, in the book of Judges.

This first *Persian* dynasty was succeeded by a very long interregnum of more than a thousand years. During which, *Iran* was subject to the empire of *Turan*, and afterwards of *Assyria*, until the revival of the second *Persian* dynasty of the *Kaianites*, B.C. 641.

The grand and fundamental error of the *Persian* historians and chronologers, was the supposition that the *Kaianian* dynasty followed the *Pischdadian*, in continuity, or immediate succession. This gave rise to the enormous reigns which they assigned to their kings, in order to fill up the chasm; and it precluded all possibility of adjusting them with those of the *Greek* historians and chronologers; insomuch, that some learned antiquaries have questioned the veracity of the latter, and represented their accounts of the *Persian* dynasty either as fictitious, or as relating only to some *provincial* transactions of the mighty *Persian* empire, by their satraps, or deputies *.

* The learned Orientalist *Richardson*, so well skilled in *Oriental etymology* and *Persian romance*, as we have seen, has failed, most lamentably, in the important subject of *chronology*. Not being able to reconcile the dissonant accounts of the second, or *Kaianian*

The existence of this chasm, or long interregnum, is proved from the *Persian* historians themselves. *Mirkhond* and the rest

dynasty, as delivered by the *Greek* and *Persian* historians, and giving undue credence to the latter, he has sceptically rejected the former, in great measure, as fabulous and unfounded. His objections are thus stated by himself.

" From every research," says he, " which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of *England* and *Japan*, as between the *European* and *Asiatic* relations of the same empire of the *Medo-Persians*, during the *Kaianian* dynasty, commencing with the *Cyaxares* of the Greeks, about B.C. 610, according to Sir *Isaac Newton's* conjecture, and ending with the *Macedonian* conquest. The *names* and *numbers* of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most *splendid facts* of the *Greek* historians, the *Persians* are entirely silent. We have no mention of the *Great Cyrus*, nor of any *king of Persia*, who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no *Crœsus*, king of *Lydia*; not a syllable of *Cambyses*, or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. *Smerdis Magus*, and the succession of *Darius Hystaspis* by the neighing of his horse, are to the *Persians* circumstances equally unknown as the numerous assassinations recorded by *Greeks*. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battles of *Marathon*, *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, *Platæa* and *Mycale*; nor of that prodigious force which *Xerxes* led out of the Persian empire to overwhelm the states of Greece. These famous invasions may possibly therefore have been simply the movements of the Governor of *Asia Minor*, to enforce a tribute, which the *Persians* might often pay, and the *Greeks* might never pay. *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and other celebrated battles, may indeed have been real events:—but the Grecian writers to dignify their country, may have swelled *the thousands* of the *Persian satrap* into *the millions* of *the Persian king*." Dissert. p. 52—54.

To these objections it may be answered,

1. That there is not so great a dissimilitude as he represents, between the *Grecian* and *Persian* accounts throughout. There subsist, indeed, several strong and striking traits of resemblance.

2. There is a remarkable analogy between the *names* of several of the kings. 1. The Persian *Kai-chobad* is equivalent to *Kai-achsueros*, and this is the parent of the Greek variation, Κυ-αξαρης, *Cyaxares*. 2. *Kai-chosru*, dropping the prefixed title *Kai*, leaves the remainder analogous to כורש, *Churos*, or Κυρος, by only reversing the three last letters, כשרו, *Chosru*. (See the foregoing note on *Oriental titles*.) 3. *Gushtasp* is plainly *Hystaspes*, by interchange of gutturals. 4. *Ardshir* has little analogy to *Artaxerxes*, but his epithet, *Dirazdest*, signifies μακρο-χειρ, *longimanus*, or " *long-handed*." 5. The two last *Darabs* correspond to *Darius Ochus* and *Codomannus*. Three of the *Grecian* kings, indeed, *Xerxes*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, are altogether omitted in the *Persian* account. And Queen *Homai*, on the other hand, is omitted likewise in the *Grecian*. But these omissions, and the other diversities, may be easily accounted for.

For, 1. where historical materials are copious, but scattered, different writers may select differently, according to their opportunities of information, or their views. 2. The *Greek* writers, in general, had not access to the *Persian* records; and the *Persian* writers, from a principle of *national vanity*, or through *adulation* of the reigning princes, by whose command they wrote, might naturally wish to omit disastrous events, and even to suppress entire reigns that tarnished the glory of the empire; and such were those of *Xerxes*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. They did not hesitate, we see, to adulterate their *chronology*, and can we imagine they were more scrupulous in their *his-*

unanimously agree, that the *Kaianian* dynasty ended when *Darab* II. was conquered by *Ascander*, or *Darius Codomannus*,

tory? 4. They deal also to the full, as much, or more, in the *marvellous*, on the one side, as the Greeks on the other. 5. The supposed *exaggerations* of the Greek writers, even in the *Persian* war, are not confined to a single author, *Herodotus;* others vouch them likewise, and the *variations* in their accounts, upon which *Richardson* reckons so much, p. 308—310, only prove, that they were *independent* writers, that collected from different sources; while their general agreement, in the greatness of the armament of *Xerxes*, corroborates the curious and valuable catalogue given by *Herodotus* of the different provinces of the mighty *Persian* empire, which furnished their contingents of troops and ships for the Grecian war. B. VII. A catalogue which, in the main, bears strong internal marks of authenticity; so various and so minute in the description of the several remote nations especially, and their habits and weapons, that no *Grecian* could possibly have forged. And *Herodotus* travelled to *Babylon* and *Assyria*, and probably *Media*. 6. On the other hand, the history of *Kaikaus* and *Kai Chosru* in the *Persian* writers, is much more credible than the history of *Astyages* and *Cyrus*, in *Herodotus;* and it is supported, in the main, by *Æschylus*, *Xenophon*, *Josephus*, and HOLY WRIT. 7. *Richardson* himself candidly allows weight to the counter-objection, that "the principal historians of *Persia* now known in Europe, are all subsequent to the *Mohammedan* era; that Persian literature was almost entirely annihilated in the consequences of the *Arabian* conquest: that the *Greeks* wrote *nearer* to the events which they have recorded; and therefore, though *foreigners*, have a superior claim to our credence, than the *natives* of *after ages*, who must have compiled their annals under many circumstances of *discouraging obscurity*." P. 42.—This satisfactorily accounts for much of the rubbish of the *Persian* historians, as well as for their omissions, the latter not having been supplied in such *ancient* Persian writings as escaped the *Arabian* proscription of such as inculcated the religion of the *Magi*. P. 64, 65.

3. The *chronological* speculations of *Richardson* are fanciful in the extreme, and tend to unsettle the fundamental dates of ancient chronology.

1. Misled by the supposed continuity of the *Pischdadian* and *Kaianian* dynasties, he places *Zohak* and *Gemshid* about or above 800 years before the Christian era, p. 154, 181, or about 1200 years below their truer time. In this he is followed by Sir *William Jones*.

2. He supposes that the Persian king, called כורש *Churos*, (not *Choresh,*) by *Isaiah* in his prophecies, destined to release the Jews from captivity, and order the rebuilding of the temple, Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1, who, after the conquest of *Babylon*, B.C. 536, "when GOD had given him *all the kingdoms of the earth*," issued a proclamation to that effect, Ezra. i. 1—4, was not *Cyrus* the Great, of the Greeks, or *Kai Khosru* of the Persians, but another *Coresh* (or *Kiresh*) who lived in the reign of *Ardeshir Dirazdest*, and was appointed by him Deputy Governor of *Babylon*, in the room of the son of *Bakhtunassar*, (or *Nabocodnassar,*) who was deposed for oppressing the Jews. That *Coresh* issued the proclamation in question about B.C. 385, or B.C. 388, near the end of *Ardeshir's* reign, and consequently, that the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity began B.C. 458, near the end of the reign of *Lohoras*, by whose orders *Nabocodnassar* conquered *Syria*, *Palestine*, and other western districts. P. 90—93.

This hypothesis, to adopt his own expressions, "is founded on imaginary eras; and introduces, in consequence, a variety of *anachronisms*, in direct opposition to the *historical books of Scripture*, to *Josephus*, and to all observations on the *longevity* of man:" it is also at variance with the curtailed *Jewish Chronicles*, and even with the *Persian reigns* of the *Kaianian* dynasty, upon which it is professedly built. For,

by *Alexander* of *Macedon*, B.C. 331, which leads to the discovery and adjustment of the rest, and of their erroneous reigns, amounting to 712 years, according to *Mirkhond*, or 734 years, according to others; more than double the truth.

1. His first supposed date of the proclamation, B.C. 315, is deduced from the alleged date of the Jewish larger Chronicle, [or *Seder Olam Rabba,*] which finishes the building of the temple about thirty-four years before the fall of the Persian empire, B.C. 331, and after the building had been stopped by the *Samaritans* near twenty years. But B.C. 331 + 34 + 20 = B.C. 385.—His second date, B.C. 388 is deduced by counting upwards from the end of the reign of *Darab* II. or *Codomannus*, B.C. 331, *fourteen* years for his reign; *twelve* for *Darab* I. *thirty* for Queen *Homai*, and the *two* last of *Ardeshir*. But B.C. 331 + 13 + 12 + 30 + 2 = B.C. 388. And from this supposed date of the proclamation, again he counts upwards, *thirty-eight* years more for *Ardeshir*, and about *thirty* for the reign of *Kishtasb*, or *Gushtasp*, and the *two* last of *Lohorasb*, till the commencement of the *seventy years captivity*. But B.C. 388 + 38 + 30 + 2 = B.C. 458.

Every step almost of this *chronological* computation is faulty. *David Ganz*, p. 55, reckons that the second temple was finished in the year of the world 3412, or B.C. 348, instead of B.C. 365, here assumed. And the reigns of the *Persian* kings, all except the last, are altered at random from the table of the *Kaianian* dynasty, some shortened, others lengthened, according to his fancy; "like the *ancient tyrant*, he tortures every circumstance to adapt it to his *iron bed*: where defective he stretches it upon the rack, and lops the superfluities where it threatens to prove too much." According to his own excellent description of *systematic writers*, or *framers of systems*. P. 39.

2. He contradicts the *historical books of Scripture*, in making his imaginary *Coresh* a deputy of the Persian king *Ardschir*, instead of the sovereign of the *Median*, *Persian*, and *Babylonian* empire; and he degrades the mighty and haughty *Nebuchadnezzar* to the same dependant state, acting as general under *Lohorasb*, or *Cambyses* the son of *Cyrus*, by a glaring anachronism!

3. He misunderstands *Josephus*. For "*Sanballat*," the Samaritan governor appointed by *Darab* II. or *Codomannus*, "*who was alive in the time of Alexander*," was quite different from the *Sanballat* in the time of *Nehemiah*, who gave so much interruption to the building of the temple. See Vol. II. p. 534, note. And he arbitrarily curtails the administration of the high priests down to *Jaddua*, in *Alexander's* time; asserting, contrary to fact, that "the *Jewish* high priesthood was remarkable for a very quick succession." See the lengths of their long administrations, Vol. II. *Seventh Period*, p. 448, and *Eighth Period*, p. 529.

4. He contradicts all observations of the *longevity* of man in that age, by making his imaginary *Coresh*, B.C. 388, the contemporary of the prophet *Daniel*, who was alive in the first year of "*Cyrus* the Persian," B.C. 536, when the proclamation was really issued, (and most probably by *Daniel's* counsel) 148 years before the fictitious proclamation!

The chronology of *Cyrus* is critically ascertained and adjusted, by means of *Ptolemy's* Scientific Canon, as it may justly be styled; and it forms the basis of all chronology, sacred and profane. See Vol. I. p. 270 of this work. To unsettle it is to unsettle *all chronological history*.

These strictures on an author, from whose learned works we have often derived instruction and entertainment, respecting "the *languages*, *literature*, and *manners of Eastern nations*," are a tribute to his celebrity. "It *is error* alone we should wish to reprobate: it is the path of *truth* we should wish to clear." *Dissertations*, p. 42.

II. DYNASTY OF THE KAIANITES.

	Y.	Y.
1. *Kai kobad*, or *Cyaxares*.....	100	120
2. *Kai kaus*, or *Astyages*.	150	150
3. *Kai chosru*, or *Cyrus*.....	60	60
4. *Lohorasb*, or *Cambyses*.....	120	120
5. *Gushtasp*, *Kishtasp*, or *Darius Hystaspes*. ..	120	120
6. *Ardschir*, *Bahaman*, or *Artaxerxes* I.	112	112
7. Queen *Homai*	32	32
8. *Darab* I. or *Darius* I. *Ochus*	4	14
9. *Darab* II. or *Darius* II. *Codomannus*.....	14	6
	712	734

Hence we get the accession of *Kai kobad*, or *Cyaxares*, B.C. 331 + 712 = B.C. 1043, according to the former computation; or B.C. 331 + 734 = B.C. 1065, according to the latter. Both long after the *Pischdadian* dynasty, even by their own accounts of its remote antiquity.

To fill up the chasm, of which they were aware, the *Persian* historians not only more than doubled the amount of the reigns of the second dynasty, but inserted the enormous reigns of the first, so as to carry up the antiquity of their empire beyond the deluge, by making their first king *Kaiumarath* contemporary with *Alorus*, the founder of the *Babylonian* dynasty of *Berosus*, in B.C. 4355, as we have seen. For if we subtract from this date the true end of the *Kaianian* dynasty, B.C. 331, the true interval is 4024 years. And with this nearly agrees the gross amount of the uncorrected reigns of the two dynasties. For the *Pischdadian*, including the four extravagant reigns, and 200 years interregnum after *Kaiumarath*, amounted to 3269 years, adding thereto the *Kaianian* of 734 years, we get the sum total, 4003 years, which differs only twenty-one years from the correct interval *.

So near a concurrence is not more curious than useful and valuable. It tends, 1. to verify and establish the present system of chronology, even from the very errors of the *Persian* histo-

* It is further remarkable that the *Persian* and *Hindu* era of the deluge *Kali Yug*, B.C. 3102, falls short only fifty-three years of the established era, B.C. 3155; and the birth of *Abraham*, according to the *Chinese* era of the *Tchou*, in B.C. 2131, falls short only twenty-two years of the established B.C. 2153. See Vol. I. p. 197, 200, of this work.

rian's; and, moreover, to detect the source of those errors and enormous lengths of reigns, by tracing them up to the *national vanity* of claiming a high *Antediluvian* origin for their empire. 2. To shew that the errors of the ancient chronographers consisted rather in filling up or adjusting the parts of long periods of time, than in the outlines themselves; as instanced formerly in the case of *Josephus*, Vol. I. p. 300, 301, of this work, and afterwards of *Ctesias* and *Herodotus*, &c.

The same *national vanity* during the second dynasty led the *Persian* historians of that age to trace the foundation of their empire, in a continued series of kings, up to *Ninus* I. or *Nimrod*, to flatter the vanity of the reigning monarchs.

Hence *Ctesias*, the Greek physician, who was taken prisoner in the rebellion of *Cyrus* the younger, against his brother *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, B.C. 401, and spent seventeen years at the Court of *Persia*, in great favour with that monarch, for curing him of a wound he received in battle from his brother, who was slain, wrote a history of *Persian* affairs, as he says, "from the *Royal* records;" which he afterwards published in Greece with great applause, and was followed by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, and many other Greek and Latin writers.

Ctesias fabricated a list of thirty-six kings, from *Ninus*, B.C. 2127, to *Thonus Concolerus*, ending B.C. 821, during a period of 1305 years, or 1300 years in round numbers, according to *Justin*. The entire list is to be found in *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, and the early chronographers, with considerable variations, and is skilfully corrected by *Jackson* *.

* The learned and laborious *Jackson* has given two lists, the one useful, the other fanciful. The first, Vol. I. p. 247—253, is the list of *Ctesias*, corrected from *Eusebius*, by critical comparison of other chronographers; raising the amount of the reigns from 1240 years, (or 1239 in the detail of *Eusebius*) to 1305 years. This list is valuable.

In the second list, p. 276—280, *Jackson* has altered the chronology of *Ctesias* for the worse, lowering it 111 years throughout, beginning B.C. 2016, instead of B.C. 2127, in order to accommodate it to the hypothesis, that *Thonus Concolerus*, the last king, denoted *Esarhaddon*, whose reign began with the revolt of the *Medes*, B.C. 710. Whereas, upon *Jackson's* own principles, he should rather denote *Sennacherib*, "whose *death* gives the true time of the revolt of the *Medes*." P. 282. Both suppositions, however, are unfounded: *Thonus* more correctly represents the predecessor of that king of *Nineveh* who reigned in *Jonah's* time, from comparison of sacred and profane chronology.

Jackson himself has furnished sufficient proof of the superior correctness of the chronology of the former list. He states, that *Cassiodorus* placed the first king of *Athens*, *Cecrops*, in the reign of *Sparthæus*, the fifteenth in the list. But the accession of *Cecrops*, in B.C. 1582, according to the *Parian Chronicle*, (see Vol. I. p. 112) fell on the 25th year of *Sparthæus*, according to *Ctesias*; but only on the 12th year of *Ascalius*, the

The first twenty-four reigns of *Ctesias'* list are not "*true* *," for they encroach on the first *Assyrian* interregnum and first *Persian* dynasty. The last twelve reigns will be found fully "*sufficient* *" for the duration of the second *Assyrian* dynasty, as follows.

SECTION III.

II. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 431 YEARS.

	Y.	B. C.
25. *Mithræus*, or *Ninus* II.	37	1252
26. *Tautanes*, or *Teutamus*	32	1215
27. *Teutæus*	44	1183
28. *Thinæus*	30	1139
29. *Dercylus*	40	1109
30. *Eupalis*, or *Empachmes*	38	1069
31. *Laosthenes*	45	1031
32. *Pertiades*	30	986
33. *Ophratæus*	21	956
34. *Epecheres*, or *Ofratanes*	52	935
35. *Acraganes*, or *Acrazapes*	42	883
36. *Thonus Concolerus*	20	841
End of the Dynasty	431	821

The first prince in this table might have been surnamed *Mithræus*, from *Mithras*, the sun, for the brilliancy of his exploits. And such was the character of *Ninus* II. to whom the conquests of the first *Ninus*, or *Nimrod*, were attributed. "*Ninus*," says *Justin*, "was the first that made war on h[illegible] st

twelfth in the list, according to *Jackson*. Which shews, that he "has fixed the era of the *Assyrian* kings" too low; and not "*Ctesias* too high." See p. 275 note (77) of his work.

The average of the twelve last reigns in 431 years, here selected, is nearly 36 years apiece. This is rather high; Dr. *Gillies* therefore increased them to 17, which would give the average 25 years; nearer to the general standard. But the exact number of reigns is immaterial, provided the period itself of 431 years be correct. The present number, however, is supported by the agreement of the reigns of *Teutamus* and *Laosthenes*, with the references of *Diodorus* and *Cyril*; noticed in the text.

* Causas rerum naturalium *non plures* admitti debere, quam quæ et veræ sint, et earum phænomenis explicandis *sufficiant*. *Reg.* I. *philosophandi*. *Newton. Principia*, Lib. iii.

neighbours, [finitimis] and having subdued them, made use of their aid to conquer, in succession, all the nations of the west, as far as *Libya;* and of the east, as far as *India:* that he died shortly after the reduction of *Bactria*, where he slew the king of that country, *Zoroaster*, the inventor of *Magism* and of *Astrology:* that he left a young son *Ninyas*, under the guardianship of *Semiramis* his wife: that she assumed the crown, built *Babylon*, invaded *India*, and, at last, was slain in the 42d year of her reign, (when she was an *old woman)* by her son, for courting him to her embraces! *Justin* i. 1, 2.

These conquests of *Ninus* are evidently an exaggeration of the conquests of *Nimrod*. The conquests of *Nimrod*, according to the soberer account of HOLY WRIT, did not go beyond *Babylonia* and *Assyria*, the first peopled countries of the earth. *Herodotus* and the *Greek* Historians (except *Diodorus*, whom *Trogus Pompeius*, or *Justin* copied) are silent respecting the *western* conquests of *Ninus*. But they were too remarkable to have been overlooked, and therefore were probably fictitious. On the contrary, 1. *Herodotus* states, that "the *Assyrians* held the sovereignty of all *Upper Asia* not more than 520 years before the defection of the *Medes*." B. I. § 95. But the *Medes* revolted, B.C. 710, and counting backwards, from thence, 520 years, we get the commencement of the *Assyrian* dominion, B.C. 1230.

2. *Appian* says, that the *Assyrians, Medes*, and *Persians* successively ruled *Asia* 900 years. Procm. c. 9. But the *Persian* empire ended with the death of the last *Darius*, B.C. 330, from which, counting backward, 900 years, we get the commencement of the *Assyrian* dominion, B.C. 1230, as before.

The shorter period of 520 years, is evidently referred to by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in the following judicious remark: "The *Assyrian* empire, though *ancient* indeed, and carried up to the *fabulous times*, yet held the dominion of *Asia* but a *short while*." Antiq. Rom. Lib. i. p. 2.

Surely then, the concurrent testimony of these three celebrated historians, *Herodotus, Appian*, and *Dionysius Hal.* greatly outweighs the authority of *Ctesias* and *Justin*, and the indecision of *Diodorus Siculus*, wavering between both accounts *.

* To the learned and industrious *Diodorus Siculus*, and his various and copious *historical library*, even in its present mutilated state, we owe, next to *Herodotus*, the most

The history also furnishes internal evidence in favour of the shorter account.

1. By a gross blunder, arising from ignorance of Oriental languages, *Diodorus* and *Justin* confound נינוה, *Ninuah*, or Νινευη, "the city of *Nin*," or *Ninus*, with his supposed son *Ninuas*, or *Ninyas!* And his wife *Semiramis*, with her namesake, the wife or mother of *Nabonassar*, who really walled *Babylon*, about B.C. 747; as we learn from *Herodotus*. See Vol. II. p. 48, of this work.

2. *Justin* confesses that *Ninus* lived after *Sesostris*, the famous *Egyptian* king, whom he calls *Vexoris;* and after *Tanaus*, king of *Scythia*. But *Sesostris* began to reign B.C. 1308; and in the course of his nine years' expedition, invaded *Libya*, southwards; *Asia*, including *Assyria*, eastwards; and advanced as far as *Scythia*, northwards, and returned home, about B.C. 1299, after having been checked, or perhaps defeated, by *Tanaus*, the sixth king of *Scythia*, in *Pontus*, as will be shewn in the ensuing Analysis of *Egyptian Chronology*.

The accession, therefore, of the twenty-fifth Assyrian king in the list of *Ctesias*, called *Mithræus*, B.C. 1252, critically cor-

curious and valuable information respecting the ancient kingdoms of the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Egyptians*.

His accounts, however, of the duration of the *Assyrian* empire, are various and perplexed. In one place, he states the amount of the reigns of their kings 1360 years, as from *Ctesias;* and afterwards 1400 years, according to others. The former period counted backwards from the end of *Thonos Concolerus'* reign, in *Ctesias*, B.C. 821, would commence B.C. 2181; the latter, B.C. 2221. Hence he concludes, that "the *Assyrians* had been lords of *Asia* above a *thousand* years before the commencement of the *Trojan* war." For 1000 + B.C. 1193, = B.C. 2193.

And yet, a great part of this period, according to his own account, was barren of events. He gives a detailed account of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, and *Ninyas*, and there he stops, with this observation: "It is needless to recite the *names* of the rest, or *how long* each of them reigned, since none of them did any thing worth remembering; save only that it may deserve an account, how the *Assyrians* assisted the *Trojans*, by sending them some forces, under the command of *Memnon*, the son of *Tithonus*." B. ii. chap. 1 and 2.

In his ensuing account of the *Medes*, he produces also, without expressing the least disapprobation, the counter-testimony of *Herodotus*, greatly reducing the foregoing period.——"*Herodotus*, who lived in the time of *Xerxes*, says, that the *Assyrians* were conquered by the *Medes*, after they had held the empire of *Asia* for the space of *five hundred* years," in round numbers; which *Herodotus* had reckoned, more accurately, 520 years.

Upon both accounts, therefore, we may reasonably infer, that *Diodorus* had a considerable leaning toward the shorter period, though he did not openly venture to oppose the prevailing authority of *Ctesias*, who wrote later than *Herodotus*.

responds, in time, to *Ninus* II. For *Ninus* might have finished his conquests, B.C. 1230, according to *Herodotus* and *Appian*, in the twenty-second year of his reign, according to *Ctesias*.

Instead of the second anachronous reign of *Semiramis*, in *Diodorus* and *Justin*, here follows the twenty-sixth in *Ctesias*, namely *Teutamus*, who reigned during the *Trojan* war, till the destruction of *Troy*, B.C. 1183. But according to *Diodorus*, he sent the son of *Tithonus*, then prefect of *Persia*, *Memnon*, with an army of 20,000 foot, and 200 chariots, to the assistance of his vassal *Priam* in this war; in which *Memnon* signalized his valour against the Greeks, until he was surprised and slain by the *Thessalians:* when the *(Asiatic) Ethiopians* rescued his body, and carried his ashes to his father *Tithonus*. Diod. Lib. II. c. 2.

Leosthenes also, the thirty-first in the list, was reigning 165 years after the destruction of *Troy*, or in B.C. 1018. *Cyril* contr. *Julian*, p. 11. But this was actually the thirteenth year of his reign, by the table.

Such remote and incidental coincidences of sacred and profane history and chronology, are highly curious and valuable. They tend strongly to corroborate the validity of the present adjustment, by the harmony and consistency of the parts, without altering the original documents, but only omitting such as are proved to be superfluous, or unsound.

Thonus Concolerus, the last in the list of *Ctesias*, has been injudiciously confounded either with *Sarac*, the last *Sardanapalus*, who perished in the overthrow of *Nineveh*, B.C. 606; or else with *Esarhaddon*, the former *Sardanapalus*, who began to reign when the *Medes* revolted, B.C. 710. But the end of the reign of *Thonus*, B.C. 812, according to *Ctesias*, so long before either of these princes, cannot possibly agree to either. It does, however, critically correspond to the commencement of the third and last *Scriptural* Dynasty; beginning with that king of *Nineveh* who reigned in the time of the prophecy of *Jonah;* and by a speedy and sincere *national humiliation* and *repentance*, averted the divine judgments and threatened overthrow of the city; and postponed it for nearly 200 years, until the iniquity of that exceeding great and corrupt city came to the full. Dr. *Gillies* supposes that the king meant was *Pul.* Vol. I. p. 65. But his predecessor is more probable.

By a signal providence, the mighty *Assyrian* power, before

this dynasty, was restrained and kept within its proper bounds, eastward of the river *Euphrates*, in order, we may presume, that it should not interfere with the divine grant of the promised land to the *Israelites*, from the great river *Euphrates*, northwards, to the river *Nile*, southwards; and from *Arabia*, eastwards, to the great sea or *Mediterranean*, westwards, during the whole time of its accomplishment; at first by *Moses* and *Joshua*, and afterwards by *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*. But when the *Israelites* grew great and prosperous, and waxed wanton and corrupt, and forgot THE LORD THEIR GOD, and fell into *rebellion* and *idolatry*, then, as they had been repeatedly warned by *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and not before, "GOD *stirred up the spirit of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings against them*," in succession, until both kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were overthrown, and the whole nation carried away into captivity. This is the true scriptural solution of "the *mild* and *pacific* reigns of the former kings of *Assyria*," noticed by *Gillies*, Vol. I. p. 65. Compare 1 Chron. v. 26, with Deut. xxviii. 36—48; Amos v. 25—27; Isa. vii. 17—20; viii. 6—8; Hosea iii. 4, &c.

The following table of the last and scriptural dynasty of the kings of *Assyria*, is framed from careful comparison with *Ptolomy's* Canon, of the reigns of the contemporary kings of *Babylon;* and the leading occurrences are endeavoured to be interwoven in their proper order of time. It is made to commence from B.C. 821, taking up the end of the third dynasty from *Ctesias*.

III. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 215 YEARS.	B.C.
1 King of *Nineveh*	821
Jonah's prophecy	800
2. *Pul*, or *Belus* II.	790
I. Invasion of *Israel*	770
3. *Tiglathpilesar*	747
II. Invasion of *Israel*	740
4. *Shalmanasar*	726
III. Invasion of *Israel*	722
Samaria taken	719
5. *Sennacherib*	714
I. Invasion of *Judah*	711

BABYLONIAN KINGS.		
1. *Nabonassar*	14	747
2. *Nadius*	2	733
3. *Chinzirus*	5	731
4. *Jugæus*	5	726
5. *Mardok Empad*, or *Merodach Baladan*	12	721
—— revolts from *Assyria*		710
—— writes to *Hezekiah*		

ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, *continued.*	B.C.
6. *Esarhaddon, Asaradin,* or *Sardanapalus* I.	710
Medes and *Babylonians* revolt	710
Babylon regained	680
II. Invasion of *Judah,* and Captivity of *Manasseh*	674
7. *Ninus* III.	667
8. *Nabuchodonosor*	658
Defeat of *Arphaxad,* or *Phraortes* the *Mede*	641
III. Invasion of *Judah,* by *Holofernes*	640
9. *Sarac,* or *Sardanapalus* II.	636
Nineveh taken	*606

BABYLONIAN KINGS, *continued.*		
6. *Arcianus*	5	709
I. Interregnum	2	704
7. *Belibus*	3	702
8. *Apronadius*	6	699
9. *Regibelus*	1	693
10. *Mesessemordach*	4	692
II. Interregnum	8	688
11. *Asaradin,* or *Esarhaddon*	13	680
12. *Saosduchin*	20	667
13. *Chyneladon*	22	647
14. *Nabopolassar,* or *Labynetus* I.	21	625
Nineveh taken by the *Babylonians* and *Medes*		*606

* The destruction of *Nineveh,* B.C. 606, forms a *fundamental* date in *Profane Chronology,* both upwards and downwards; upon which depends the adjustment of the antecedent periods of *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Chronology, and also of the subsequent periods of *Babylonian, Median,* and *Persian* Chronology; and by its connexion with the Eclipse of *Thales,* (determined chiefly from thence, to B.C. 603) of *Lydian* and *Græcian* Chronology also.

This date is not specified in the Canon of *Ptolomy,* but may be collected from thence, and from a fragment of *Berosus,* cited by *Josephus,* Ant. 10, 11, 1; which states, that *Nebuchadnezzar,* (whom both *Berosus* and *Ptolomy* call *Nabokolassur*) having heard of his father's death, during his own expedition into *Syria, Phœnicia, Judea,* and *Egypt,* left his army and captives to the care of his friends, and hastened across the desert, with a small party, to *Babylon,* in order to take possession of the kingdom. The accession of *Nebuchadnezzar* is dated by the Canon in B.C. 604; but his father, *Nabopolassar,* died earlier, or in the *Julian* year before, B.C. 605, the date of the *Babylonish* captivity; as we have seen, Vol. II. p. 439 of this work. The capture of *Nineveh,* therefore, must have taken place in the year before his death, or not later than B.C. 606. *Herodotus* also mentions the capture of *Nineveh* among the *last* events of the reign of *Cyaxares* I. ending B.C. 601. Book i. §. 106. It probably, therefore, was not earlier than B.C. 606.

2. We learn from Scripture, that *Pharaoh Necho,* king of *Egypt,* went up against the *king of Assyria,* as far as the river *Euphrates,* to besiege *Carchemish,* (or *Circutium,* which belonged to *Assyria,* Isa. x. 9.) but *Josiah,* king of *Judah,* opposed *Necho,* and was slain at *Megiddo,* 2 Kings xxiii. 29. This determines the year of the invasion to B.C. 608, at which time there was a *king of Assyria;* who was then unable to oppose *Necho,* we may presume, on account of the siege of *Nineveh,* his capital, by the *Babylonians* and *Medes,* that same year; but the siege lasted two years, according to *Diodorus Siculus,* B. ii. ch. 2; and therefore was taken in B.C. 606: which also agrees with

PUL.

This prince was probably the son of the king of *Nineveh*, in *Jonah's* time. He first began to interfere in the concerns of the Western States; and invaded *Israel*, B.C. 770, in the twentieth year of his reign, commencing B.C. 790, according to *Newton;* and after having received a contribution of a thousand talents of silver, from *Menahem*, who had usurped the crown of *Israel* in the same year, and wished to purchase the favour and protection of *Pul*, as his vassal, he returned home. 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xv. 19, 20. See Vol. II. p. 416.

Pul was, perhaps, the second *Belus* of the *Greeks;* who built the temple of that name at *Babylon;* and, like the first, was deified after his death *. He probably attracted their notice by his excursions into *Syria* and *Palestine*.

TIGLATHPILESAR AND NABONASSAR.

Newton ingeniously conjectures, that at *Pul's* death, his dominions were divided between his two sons; when the sovereignty of *Assyria* was given to the elder, *Tiglathpilesar*, and the prefecture of *Babylon* to the latter, *Nabonassar;* from the date of whose reign, or government, the celebrated era of that name took its rise, B.C. 747. See Vol. I. p. 155, of this work. The celebrated *Semiramis*, who built the walls of *Babylon*, according to *Herodotus*, might have been either his wife, or his mother.

The ferocious *Tiglathpilesar*, in the seventh year of his reign, found an opportunity of intermeddling in the disturbances that

the deaths of *Tobit* before, about B.C. 610; and of *Tobias* after, about B.C. 605, as shewn in the sequel.

3. When the siege was over, and the *Assyrian* empire destroyed, "*the king of Babylon*," *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the very first year of his reign, B.C. 605—604, retaliated, with a vengeance, on *Necho*, and stript him of all his conquests, 2 Kings xxiv. 7, Jer. xlv. 2—26.

Hence we may conclude, with *Eusebius* and *Jackson*, that B.C. 606, is the correct date of the capture of *Nineveh*. See *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 343—346.

* *Jackson* antedates *Belus* II. supposing that the celestial observations at *Babylon*, 1903 years before *Alexander* visited it in B.C. 330, were made B.C. 2233, at the Observatory, built by him. Vol. I. p. 242, 267. They might have been made still earlier; even from the days of *Nimrod*, or *Belus* I.

broke out in *Syria* and *Palestine;* having been invited by *Ahaz*, king of *Judah*, to assist him against *Pekah*, king of *Israel*, and *Rezin*, king of *Damascus*, who had confederated to dethrone *Ahaz*, and the family of *David*, and to substitute the son of *Tabeal*. They invaded *Judea*, and besieged *Ahaz* in *Jerusalem*, but could not take the city. During the siege a gracious sign of deliverance to *Ahaz*, and of stability to the house of *David*, was offered to him, from THE LORD, by *Isaiah* the prophet; which *Ahaz* incredulously refused, trusting to the king of *Assyria*. *Tiglathpilesar* accordingly came to his assistance, slew *Rezin*, and took *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria*, and carried away the inhabitants captives to *Kir*, or *Assyria Proper;* fulfilling the prophecies of *Amos:* "*Syria* shall go into captivity to *Kir*," i. 5; "Have not I brought the *Assyrians* from *Kir?*" ix. 7. Compare 2 Kings xvi. 5—9, and Isa. vii. 1—11. And see the article *Ahaz*, Vol. II. p. 417 of this work.

At the same time the king of *Assyria* carried away the *Transjordanite* tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *half Manasseh*, captives to *Media*, where he planted them in *Halah*, *Habor*, and on the river *Gozan*, 1 Chron. v. 26; and also the other half of *Manasseh*, in *Galilee*, 2 Kings xv. 29. See Vol. II. p. 419. The geographical position of those several places in *Media*, and the policy of the kings of *Assyria*, in transplanting the captives thither, are explained, Vol. I. p. 460, 461.

SHALMANASSAR, OR SHALMAN.

This prince, called simply *Shalman*, Hos. x. 14, in the fourth year of the reign of *Hezekiah*, B.C. 722, invaded the kingdom of *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and took it the third year of the siege, in the sixth of *Hezekiah*, B.C. 719, and transplanted the seven remaining western tribes to *Media* likewise, in the same stations with their brethren, 2 Kings xvii. 3—6, xviii. 9—11. See Vol. II. p. 426.

The remainder of *Shalmanassar's* reign was spent in endeavouring to reduce the revolted western provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and in the blockade of *Tyre*, which was raised at his death, as we learn from the *Tyrian* Annals, cited by *Josephus*, Ant. 9, 14, 2.

SENNACHERIB*.

Sennacherib succeeded his father, *Shalmanassar*, in the *Assyrian* throne. He made immense preparations for invading *Judea;* because *Hezekiah* had rebelled against him, and served him not, or withheld the stipulated tribute which his father, *Ahaz*, had paid to the king of *Assyria*, as his vassal, 2 Kings xviii. 7. For this cause, indeed, *Shalmanassar* had threatened to dethrone him, but was prevented by more urgent avocations, as we have already seen. The execution now devolved on *Sennacherib*, who, in the fourteenth year of *Hezekiah's* reign, B.C. 711, came with an immense army, besieged, and took all the fenced cities of *Judah;* and having reduced *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, by his general, *Tartan*, and taken *Libnah*, while he was besieging *Lachish*, (three important frontier towns toward *Egypt*, preparatory to his invasion of that country also, because *So*, king of *Egypt*, had encouraged the *Jews* to rebel,) he sent off a great part of his army to *Jerusalem*, under his generals, *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rabshakeh*, to intimidate *Hezekiah* into a surrender, after having been guilty himself of a notorious breach of faith, in not accepting *Hezekiah's* humiliation, when he had taken his money. But this army was miraculously destroyed in one night, by a pestilential *blast;* and the faithless and arrogant *Sennacherib*, who had defied the God of *Israel*, fled in disgrace to his own country; where he was, fifty-two days after, assassinated by his two eldest sons, who fled into the land of *Armenia*, fulfilling prophecy. See the article *Hezekiah*, Vol. II. p. 426—430.

ESARHADDON.

This prince, on their flight, reigned in his father's stead. He was variously named, *Sargon*, Isa. xx. 1; *Sarchedon*, Tobit i. 21; and *Asaradin*, by *Ptolemy*, in his Canon. He came to the crown at a disastrous season of general rebellion and revolt of the provinces. The *Medes* first led the way; and, after a severe

* By a curious and valuable coincidence with Sacred History, *Herodotus* expressly mentions *Sennacherib* by name; and he notices his invasion of *Egypt*, and sudden flight from thence, by a divine judgment inflicted at the prayer of *Sethon*, the king.

battle, regained their liberty, and retained their independence. They were followed by the *Babylonians*, *Armenians*, &c.

The epoch of this general revolt is fixed by the defeat and death of *Sennacherib* to B.C. 710. In this same year, we may conclude, *Merodach Baladan* sent a letter of congratulation to *Hezekiah*, on his recovery, and a present; wishing, probably, to form an alliance with him against the common enemy. It is remarkable that *Merodach* is the first "*king* of *Babylon*," noticed in Scripture: his predecessors having been properly *præfects*, or viceroys, under the king of *Assyria*.

For several years after his accession *Esarhaddon* found full employment in retrieving his embarassed affairs, and in reducing the revolted provinces to their allegiance. At length, in the thirtieth year of his reign, he recovered *Babylon;* the government of which seems to have fallen into great disorder and confusion after *Merodach Baladan*, if we may judge from the recurrence of five reigns and two interregnums of ten years, all in the course of twenty-nine years, preceding its reduction again under the *Assyrian* yoke.

When he had sufficiently re-established his dominion, and confirmed his authority at home, *Esarhaddon* undertook an expedition against the states of *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, to avenge his father's defeat, and to recover the revolted provinces on the western side of the *Euphrates*; and for three years he ravaged those countries, and brought away many captives, as foretold by *Isaiah*, xx. 3, 4. About two years after, he invaded and ravaged *Judea;* and the captains of his host took *Manasseh*, the king, alive *, and bound him with fetters, and carried him away captive, with many of the nobility and people, to *Babylon*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Judith v. 19.

Esarhaddon was a great and prosperous prince. He seems not only to have recovered all the former provinces of the Assyrian empire, except *Media*, which still supported its independence; but to have added considerably thereto, if we may judge from the several states which his grandson, *Nabuchodonosor*, summoned as his auxiliaries in the war with the *Medes;* namely, *Babylonia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*,

* Instead of בהוהים, *Behohim*, "*among the thorns*," according to the present Masorete text, the *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions seem to have read בחיים, *Behaiim*, "*in vivis*," or "*alive*," which gives a better sense. *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 331, note.

Persia, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, unto the borders of *Ethiopia* or *Abyssinia*, Judith i. 6—10. See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 332. He is ranked by *Ptolomy*, in his Canon, among the *Babylonian kings*, probably because he made it his chief residence during the last thirteen years of his reign, to prevent another defection *.

This prince was the *Sardanapalus* of *Diodorus* and *Justin*, in whose reign happened the revolt of the *Medes*, B.C. 710; and whom both these historians unskilfully confounded with the last king, *Sarac*, who perished in the overthrow of *Nineveh*, above a century afterwards, in B.C. 606. This is the grand error which has hitherto chiefly perplexed and embarrassed the *Assyrian* Chronology, and given rise to the supposed double capture of *Nineveh*. See Vol. I. p. 217.

The distinction between the two *Sardanapaluses*, is clearly marked by the *Greek* historians.

1. *Athenæus* relates, from *Clitarchus*, that "*Sardanapalus* died of old age, after he had lost the *Syrian* (or *Assyrian*) empire." Deipnos. Lib. xii. p. 53. This is partly true and partly false; he lost the empire in his youth, but he recovered it in his age.

2. His statue was erected at *Anchiale*, in *Cilicia*, with this remarkable inscription: "*Sardanapalus*, the son of *Anacyndaraxes (Sennacherib)* built *Anchiale* and *Tarsus* in one day. Stranger, *eat, drink, and play;* for all other human concerns are not worth *this*:"—a *fillip*, which the statue was in the attitude of giving with his fingers. And to this inscription, *Paul*, of *Tarsus*, evidently alluded:

> "*Let us eat and drink,*
> *For to-morrow we die!*"——

"Be not deceived," replied the Apostle, in the following Iambic of *Menander*:

> Φθειρουσιν ηθη χρησθ' ὁμιλιαι κακαι.
> "*Evil communications corrupt good morals.*" 1 Cor. xv. 32, 33.

Thus elegantly and classically intimating, from a better *heathen* authority, that the conversation of such *sensualists*, as

* When *Esarhaddon* transplanted a colony of *Babylonians*, *Cuthites*, and *Syrians*, into the waste cities of *Samaria*, about B.C. 675, (see Vol. II. p. 431 of this work,) it was probably to punish these nations for their revolt.

ridicule the hope of another life, is subversive of sound *morality*, as well as *religion*.

3. *Herodotus* also, so well skilled in *Assyrian* affairs, (whose promised History of *Assyria*, it is much to be regretted, either was not written, or has been lost) records the following curious incident.

"Some robbers having formed a design to steal the immense treasures of *Sardanapalus*, king of *Nineveh*, which were laid up in subterraneous vaults, began to carry on a mine in that direction, from the house in which they dwelt, to the king's palace. During the night, they threw the earth, which they had dug out in the day, into the *Tigris*, which flows beside *Nineveh*; and so they continued their work, until they effected their purpose." B. II. § 150.

This demonstrates, that the last *Sardanapalus* could not be meant; for he perished with his treasures.

NINUS III.

Syncellus observes, from *Castor*, that a prince, of the name of *Ninus*, succeeded *Sardanapalus* at *Nineveh*. And we learn from *Ptolemy*, that *Saosduchin*, who was either his son, or his deputy, succeeded him also at *Babylon*. Both, therefore, began to reign in the same year of the Canon, B.C. 667.

NABUCHADONOSOR.

Nabuchadonosor succeeded *Ninus*. His accession to the empire is dated B.C. 658, seventeen years before the defeat of *Arphaxad*, or *Phraortes*, king of the *Medes*, B.C. 641, as determined in the ensuing rectification of *Median Chronology*, Judith i. 1—15. In the twelfth year of his reign, B.C. 646, *Nabuchadonosor* declared war against *Arphaxad*, and summoned all the states of his mighty empire to his aid. But the western and southern provinces of *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Egypt*, refused to obey the summons, and furnish their contingents of troops; and even insulted and ill-treated his ambassadors. It was not therefore, till his seventeenth year, that he was in a condition to take the field; when he defeated the *Median* army, near *Ragau*, or *Rages*, in their own territories; took *Arphaxad* prisoner, and slew him the

same day; stormed *Ecbatana*, his capital; which he had strongly fortified; demolished its towers, and spoiled its palaces; and then returned triumphant to *Nineveh*; where he feasted his various troops, for 120 days, or four months. This decisive battle was fought about November or December, near the close of the year B.C. 641. Compare Judith i. 16; with ii. 1.

The ensuing spring, B.C. 640, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent *Holofernes*, commander-in-chief of his forces, with a mighty army of 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, to chastise all the refractory states, who had refused to assist him in the *Median* war. Accordingly, *Holofernes* ravaged and reduced *Cilicia* and *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, *Ammon*, and *Edom*, about the time of *wheat harvest*, Judith ii. 1—27.

These rigorous measures struck a panic terror into the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and of all the sea-coast, unto *Azotus* and *Askelon*; so that they humbly sued for peace. *Holofernes* granted it; but put garrisons into their towns, obliged them to furnish recruits for his army, destroyed the barriers on their frontiers, and cut down their sacred groves. "He destroyed all the *gods of the land*, that all nations should worship *Nabuchadonosor* alone, and that all tongues and tribes should invoke him as *God*," Judith iii. 1—8.

After he had spent "*a full month*" in the plain of *Esdraelon*, on the confines of *Judea*, waiting to collect the carriages of his army, *Holofernes* encamped in the valley over against *Bethulia*, the key to the hill country of *Judea*, with an army encreased to 170,000 foot; and by the advice of the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Philistines*, those old and inveterate foes of the *Jews*, he secured their fountains, and blockaded the town for four and thirty days; expecting to compel them to surrender for want of water. And he reduced them, at length, to such extremity, that they stipulated to surrender at the end of *five days*, if not relieved in the interim.

In this emergency, the pious heroine, *Judith*, exhorted her townsmen to trust in God for deliverance, and undertook "to do a deed which should be recorded to all generations:" and after praying fervently to God, that "he would make her speech and stratagem to be the wound and the stripe of the enemies of God, and of his sanctuary and people," she immediately put it in execution. She visited the *Assyrian* camp, attended only by her maid, and so fascinated *Holofernes* with her charms, that she

at length slew him in his own tent, and brought away his head to the *Bethulians;* who, thereupon, sallied forth, and routed, with great slaughter, the *Assyrians,* when filled with dismay and consternation at the strange assassination of their chief commander. Judith v.—xv.

Thus did THE GOD OF ISRAEL punish the impious arrogance of the kings of *Assyria;* at first, by a pestilential *blast,* which weakened the empire; and afterwards, he inflicted a deadly blow, by the hand of a *woman!* The destruction of the army of *Holofernes,* humbled the pride, and reduced the power of *Assyria* to the lowest ebb. *Nabuchadonosor* did not long survive: he died three or four years after.

SARAC, OR SARDANAPALUS II.

This prince came to the throne at a disastrous crisis. Revolt and rebellion raged throughout the empire. The *Medes* not only recovered their spirits, after their late overthrow, but soon regained *Ecbatana,* and the territory they had lost. And the warlike *Cyaxares,* their king, eager to revenge his father's death, attacked and defeated the *Assyrians,* early in his reign, and besieged *Nineveh* in turn. But he was himself attacked and defeated by a powerful *Scythian* army, who possessed themselves of *Upper Asia,* and ruled, with great rigour, for 28 years; till *Cyaxares* massacred their chieftains at a banquet, and shook off their yoke, B.C. 612; as will be shewn in the ensuing article of *Median Chronology.*

Cyaxares next formed an alliance with *Nabopolassar,* king of *Babylon,* who also had recovered his independance, taking advantage of the disaster of *Holofernes;* and a marriage having been concluded between *Nebuchadnezzar,* son of *Nabopolassar,* and *Amytis,* the daughter of *Cyaxares,* the two kings of *Media* and *Babylon* jointly besieged *Nineveh* again, about B.C. 608.

Justin represents *Sardanapalus* as a most effeminate prince, who betrayed the utmost pusillanimity on the revolt of the *Medes;* and, instead of strenuously defending his crown, fled, after a feeble resistance, to his palace, and burnt himself and his treasures, on a pile, which he had erected for the purpose. "*In this alone,*" says Justin, "*imitating a man.*"

But the account of *Diodorus* is widely different, more circumstantial, and by far more probable. He states that, relying upon

an ancient prophecy, that *Nineveh should never be taken, until the river became its enemy, Sardanapalus* omitted nothing that prudence and courage could suggest for his defence and security. He sent off a great part of his treasures, along with his children, to the care of his intimate friend, *Cotta*, governor of *Paphlagonia;* and provided ammunition and provisions in abundance for the siege, and for the support of the inhabitants. At length, after the confederates had besieged the city for two years, without effect, a prodigious inundation of the *Tigris*, occasioned by continual rains in the mountains of *Ararat*, and sources of the river, overflowing its banks, rose up to the city, and threw down twenty furlongs of its great wall. The king, therefore, struck with dismay and despair at the unexpected fulfilment of the prophecy, burnt his concubines, his treasures, and himself, upon a great pile in the court of his palace, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy; who, having entered by the breach, sacked the city, and razed it to the ground, after it had stood about 1900 years *, from the days of *Nimrod*.

PROPHECIES CONCERNING NINEVEH.

GOD never left himself unwitnessed, at any time, in the *heathen* world. The light of Revelation, indeed, shone most copiously upon the *Hebrews*, and their descendants, the *Jews*, His most highly favoured people; but it was not withheld from the *Gentiles*. Significant *visions* and *dreams* disclosing futurity, were frequently vouchsafed to heathen Diviners and Princes; in the days of *Job*, iv. 15—19; xxxii. 18—20; xxxviii. 1, &c.; of *Abraham*, Gen. xx. 6, 7; of *Isaac*, Gen. xxv. 22, 23; of *Jacob*, Gen. xxxi. 24; of *Joseph*, xli. 1—8, &c. And in the days of *Moses*, the *Assyrian* diviner, *Balaam*, was a prophet of the first class, not inferior to *Jacob* and *Moses* themselves, whose prophecies he so admirably expounded and enlarged. See the article of his Prophecies, Vol. II. p. 119, &c.

The *Hebrew* Scriptures, however, were made the chief vehicles of the prophetic judgments denounced against the surrounding *heathen* nations, with whom God's chosen people had intercourse, either as friends, or as foes, in alliance, or in capti-

* Of the heathen classical historians, the nearest who has approached to the true duration of this city, is *Velleius Paterculus;* reckoning it 1700 years.

vity. And not long before *Nineveh* was appointed to scourge *Samaria* and *Jerusalem*, for their backslidings; a *Galilean* prophet, *Jonah*, was sent with a divine commission to warn that "*exceeding great* and corrupt *city*," the mistress of the *Gentile* world, at that time, and soon after, of the *Holy Land* also, that unless she repented, "*ere forty days, Nineveh should be overthrown.*" The *Ninevites* repented at the preaching of *Jonah*, and the threatened judgment was deferred. For "GOD saw their works, that *they turned from their evil way;* and God repented of the evil that he said he would do unto them, and *He did it not.*" Jonah iii. 1—10.

But *Nineveh* was spoiled by prosperity, and her inhabitants relapsed into their evil ways; they recalled the prophecy, which was more explicitly renewed, as the time of its fulfilment drew nigher. *Jonah*, about B.C. 800, had simply foretold the overthrow of *Nineveh;* but how she was to be overthrown, whether by a "*great earthquake*," such as afterwards visited the land of *Israel*, about B.C. 791; and was foretold by *Amos*, viii. 8, 9, (See Vol. II. p. 413,) or by some other calamity, was then a mystery. This mystery was revealed about fourscore years after, by another *Galilean* prophet, *Nahum*, B.C. 721, or 115 years before the catastrophe, according to *Josephus*, Ant. 9, 11, 3. And at the time of *Shalmanasar's* invasion of *Israel*, when the *Assyrian* empire was in the zenith of its power and grandeur, and *Nineveh* in full splendour.

2. *Nahum* described "*the burden*, or doom, *of Nineveh*," as to be effected by *water*, *fire*, and *sword*.

"With an *overflowing flood* shall the Lord make an utter end of the place thereof," i. 8.

"The *flood gates of the river shall be opened*, and the *palace* and *the fortress shall be dissolved*," ii. 6, 7.

"*The gates of thy land shall be set wide open to thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy barriers.*"

"Draw thee water for *the siege;* fortify thy strong holds; step into the clay, and tread the mortar; repair the brick kiln: there shall *the fire* devour thee, shall *the sword* cut thee off: it shall devour thee, like the locust," iii. 13—15.

And her final desolation is thus described:

"And it shall come to pass, that every one who seeth thee, shall flee from thee; and shall say: *Nineveh is laid waste, who will bewail her!* Whence shall I seek for the comforters?" iii. 7.

3. Nearer to her doom was the prophecy of *Zephaniah*, delivered in the 18th year of *Josiah*, B.C. 621, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 45, a century after the former; foretelling her desolation, as the punishment of her pride and arrogance.

" THE LORD will stretch forth his hand against the *North*,
And will destroy *Assyria*, and will make *Nineveh*
A desolation, a dry place like the desert.
And *the flocks* shall lie down in the midst of her,
And every kind of *wild beast*: the *pelican*,
And the *porcupine*, shall lodge in her carved doors,
Their cry shall resound in the windows;
The *raven* shall be found in the porch.
For HE hath laid bare her cedar-work.
Is this the joyous city? that sat in security;
That said in her heart, *I am*, and, *there is none*
Beside me?—How is she become a desolation!
A place for wild beasts to couch in!
Every passenger shall hiss at her, and shake his hand!"
Zeph. ii. 13—15.

4. The last and nearest, was *Tobit's* warning to his son, *Tobias*, shortly before his death, to quit the devoted city.

" Go into *Media*, my son, for I surely believe the things which *Jonah*, the prophet, spake concerning *Nineveh*; and that, *for a time*, peace shall be rather in *Media*.——And now, my son, depart out of *Nineveh*: for the things spoken by the prophet, *Jonah*, shall surely come to pass." Tob. xiv. 4—8.

Tobit died about B.C. 610, four years before the catastrophe; as may be collected from the following *chronological* computation.

Tobit was 58 years old when he lost his sight; xiv. 2. He lost it shortly after *Sennacherib's* death, and *Sarchedon's* accession to the crown, in B.C. 710; Chron. i. 22; ii. 1—10. But he lived in all, 158 years; xiv. 12; and consequently died, B.C. 610. He was buried at *Nineveh*; and his wife, *Anna*, after him, xiv. 11, 12.

Tobias then, after her death, departed, with his family, to *Ecbatana*, the capital of *Media*; unquestionably, before the siege of Nineveh began, in B.C. 608; and died there, aged 127 years. But before he died, he heard of the destruction of *Nineveh*, which was taken by *Nabuchadonosor*, [or *Nabopolassar*, king of the *Babylonians*], and *Ahasuerus*, [or *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*]. And before his death, he rejoiced over *Nineveh*, xiv. 13—15.

That *Tobias*, indeed, out-lived the capture of *Nineveh*, may be collected from his age, and the circumstances of his history.

He was born before the captivity of his tribe, in B.C. 719, i. 9, 10. He was married in B.C. 702, eight years after his father lost his sight; xiv. 2. And probably was not less than thirty years old, at his marriage; for he was grown up, when his father became blind; ii. 1—3. And probably was not younger than his wife, *Sarah*, who had lost seven husbands, iii. 8. This would bring his birth to B.C. 732; and his death, to B.C. 605; the year after the destruction of *Nineveh*. If *Tobias* was born in B.C. 732, his father, *Tobit*, was 36 years old at his birth. And he did not marry early. Tobit i. 9.

The apocryphal book of *Tobit*, therefore, independent of its admirable *piety* and *morality*, is a valuable *historical* record *; for it contributes to confirm the correctness of the aforesaid date of the destruction of *Nineveh*, in B.C. 606. And also proves, in what high estimation the prophecy of *Jonah* was held in that age; and how the prophecies of the captivities and restorations of the *Jews*, were understood, before the coming of CHRIST.

SECTION IV.

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

	Y.		B.C.
Nineveh taken	2	..	606
1. *Nabokolassar, Labynetus* I. *Boktanser*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*	43	..	604
——— subdues *Elam*, or *Persia*			596
2. *Ilverodam*, or *Evil Merodach*	3	..	561
3. *Niricassolassar, Neriglissar*, or *Belshazzar*	5	..	558
4. *Nabonadius*, or *Labynetus* II. appointed by *Darius*, the *Mede*	17	..	553
Babylon taken by *Cyrus*	70	..	536 †.

* See some remarks on the machinery of this book, in the preceding note on *Oriental Mythology*.

† The capture of *Babylon*, B.C. 536, is a fundamental date, upon which, principally, depends the adjustment of the antecedent and subsequent periods of *Sacred Chronology*. It is reckoned B.C. 538, in *Ptolomy's* Canon, two years higher. But deducting two

Nothing can exceed the various and perplexed accounts of the *names* and *reigns* of the princes of this dynasty, in sacred and profane history. This table is constructed from critical comparison of *Ptolomy's Canon*, *Berosus*, *Abulfaragi*, and *Daniel*, with *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, *Josephus*, *Ctesias*, *Justin*, and the modern historians and chronologers, *Scaliger*, *Marsham*, *Jackson*, &c. and the *Universal History* *, &c. And the leading historical events of the period are recorded, Vol. II. p. 448—469, of this work.

The reduction of the *Elamites*, or *Persians*, in the eighth year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was foretold in prophecy, Jer. xxv. 22; xlix. 34—36; Ezek. xxxii. 24; and confirmed by *Xenophon*, in his account of *Abradates*, king of *Susa*, revolting to *Cyrus*, in his war against the *Babylonians*, *Lydians*, &c. for his generous treatment of *Panthea* in her captivity. B. 5.

Babylon stood about 2000 years from its foundation by *Nimrod*, till its capture by *Cyrus*. See the article *Babylon*, Vol. I. p. 453—460, of this work.

PROPHECIES CONCERNING BABYLON.

Notwithstanding her boasted *antiquity*, this city was founded in impious *pride* and *rebellion* against GOD, and retained her pristine character unto the end; surpassing her rival sister, *Nineveh*, in corruption and oppression, blasphemy and idolatry.

Hence severer and more circumstantial woes are denounced against her in SCRIPTURE, for all her crying sins and abominations; and that, both before and while she was in the zenith of her glory, and of her presumption.

1. The duration of her empire for *seventy* years, while she was destined to scourge the corrupt nations of the earth; and her own ensuing punishment and desolation, are thus minutely described by the prophet *Jeremiah*, in the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 604. Jer. xxv. 1.

years redundant, in the second and third reigns, for reasons before stated, Vol. I. p. 166—169, we get the correct date, adopted by *Jackson* and others.

The names of *Labynetus* I. and II. occur in *Herodotus*, and are here introduced to connect his history with the other profane authors, and with Scripture.

Boktanser was the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in *Abulfaragi*, p. 46.

* See a learned note of these discordant opinions, *Univers. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 23—26, folio, and the reduction of the *Elamites*, p. 81.

"And this whole land [of *Palestine*] shall become a desolation and astonishment, and the nations shall serve the king of *Babylon seventy* years *.

"And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, I will visit their iniquity upon the king of *Babylon*, and upon the land of the *Chaldeans*, and I will make it perpetual desolations. And I will bring upon that land all my sayings, which I have spoken concerning it; all that is written in this book, which *Jeremiah* hath prophesied against all these nations.

"For thus saith THE LORD, the GOD OF ISRAEL, to me, Take the cup of the wine of this wrath from my hand, and tender it unto all the nations to drink, unto whom I shall send thee; and they shall drink, and stagger, and become mad, because of *the sword* which I am going to send among them.

(So I took the cup from the hand of the Lord, and tendered it unto all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me:

To *Jerusalem* and the cities of *Judah*, and to the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, and astonishment, and hissing, and curse; as at this day;

To *Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, and his servants, his princes, and all his people;

And to all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of *Uz*;

And to all the kings of the land of the *Philistines*, *Askelon*, *Gaza*, *Ekron*, and the remnant of *Ashdod*;

To *Edom* and *Moab* and the children of *Ammon*, and to all the kings of *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Sidon*, and the kings of the sea coast [of the *Mediterranean*;]

And to *Dedan* and *Tema* and *Buz*, and to all that are in the utmost corners [of the *Arabian* Peninsula,] and to all the kings of *Arabia*, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the *Desert*;

And to all the kings of *Zimri*, and all the kings of *Elam*, [or *Persia*,] and to all the kings of *Media*; (compare Jer. xlix. 34—36, and Ezek. xxxii. 24.)

* This does not mean, that the captivity of the surrounding heathen nations should last as long as that of the *Jews*; but that in the course of this *Babylonian* dynasty, they *all* should be subdued, some earlier, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, &c.; others later, the *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, &c.

And to all the kings of the *North*, both near and afar off, one with another;

And to all the kingdoms of *the world* that are upon the face of the earth;)

And the king of *Sheshach* [" the *drunkard**" city of *Babylon*,] shall drink after them." Jer. xxv. 15—26.

2. The retaliation of Divine vengeance, in the invasion of *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Persians;* the surprize of the city unawares, the slaughter of its inhabitants, old and young, and its final destruction, are thus circumstantially described, in continuation, by *Jeremiah*, in the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, B.C. 593. Jer. l. 1; li. 59.

" Declare among the nations, and publish, and lift up a standard; publish, and conceal not; say, *Babylon* is taken, *Bel* is confounded, *Merodach* is broken; her idols are confounded, her images are broken!

" A nation from the *North* is come up against her, which shall lay waste her land; there shall be no inhabitant therein. Both man and beast are fled, are gone!——

" Remove out of the midst of *Babylon*, and depart from the land of *Chaldea*——

" For lo, I am raising up, I am bringing upon *Babylon* an *assemblage of great nations* from the land of the *North*. They shall array themselves against her; from thence shall she be taken. Their *arrows*, like those of a successful warrior, shall not return in vain.——

" Lo, I will visit the king of *Babylon* and his land, as I visited the king of *Assyria*. Go up, *O sword*, against the land of bitter afflictions. Visit upon it, and upon its inhabitants, and utterly destroy their posterity; even perform, according to all that I have commissioned thee.—There is a sound of war in the land, even great destruction.

" How is the *hammer* of the whole earth cut off and broken! How is *Babylon* become an astonishment among the nations!

" I have laid a *snare* for thee, *O Babylon*, and thou hast

* ששך, *Sheshach*, here, and afterwards, Jer. li. 41, denoting *Babylon*, is most naturally derived from ש, the abridgment of אשר, "*who*," in composition, and שקה, "*to drink*," whence Σακας, *Sacas*, "a *butler*," or "*cupbearer*," in Persic. Cyroped. I. And the season called Σακεα, and Σακεαι ἡμεραι, "*carousal*" and "*days of carousal*" at *Babylon;* corresponding to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*. Q. *Curtius* represents the *Babylonians* as excessively addicted to wine and the consequences of ebriety. B. v. 1.

been caught, even when thou wast not aware. Thou art *found out*, and *taken by surprize*, because thou hast contended against THE LORD.

"The Lord hath opened his armoury, and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation: for this is the work of the Lord in the land of *Chaldea*.——

"*A sword* shall be upon the *Chaldeans*, saith THE LORD, and upon the inhabitants of *Babylon*, and upon the princes thereof, and upon the wise men thereof; a sword upon the impostors, and they shall be infatuated; a sword upon her mighty men, and they shall be dismayed; a sword upon her horses and chariots, and upon all the mixed multitude in the midst of her; and they shall become like women; a sword upon her treasures, and they shall be plundered; a sword upon *her waters*, and *they shall be dried up*; because it is the land of *graven images*, and in *idols* do they glory." Jer. l. 18—38.

3. Most circumstantially does the prophet describe, in continuation, the particulars of the *siege* and *surprize* of the idolatrous city:

"*Babylon* is a *golden cup* in the hand of THE LORD, *intoxicating the whole earth*; the nations have drunk of her wine, therefore are the nations mad. *Babylon is fallen suddenly*, and *destroyed!*——

"Sharpen the arrows, fill the quivers; THE LORD *hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes*; for His purpose is against *Babylon* to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of THE LORD, the vengeance of his *Temple*.

"Set up the standard near the walls of *Babylon*, strengthen the watch, station the guards, *prepare the liers in ambush*; for as the Lord devised, so shall He do that which He hath spoken against the inhabitants of *Babylon*. O thou *that dwellest upon many waters, abounding in treasures*, thine end is come, *O slave of thy covetousness*.——

"Set up the standard in the land, sound the trumpet among the nations, enlist the nations against her; summon the kingdoms against her, *Ararat*, *Armenia*, and *Phrygia*; appoint a captain [*Cyrus*] against her, bring up the horse like the bristled locust.——

"The mighty men of *Babylon* have ceased to fight, they have remained in the fortresses; their strength hath failed, they have become like women: *her houses are burned, her bars are*

broken: post runs to meet post, and messenger to meet messenger, to inform *the king of Babylon,* [*Nabonadius,*] *that his city is taken at* [*each*] *end; and that the passes* [from the river] *are surprized,* and that *the reeds* [or thatch of the houses] *are set on fire, and that the men of war are dismayed.*

" For thus saith THE LORD OF HOSTS THE GOD OF ISRAEL, the daughter of *Babylon* is like a threshing floor, yet a little while, and the time of her threshing shall come :——*And I will drain her sea and dry up her spring; and Babylon shall become heaps of ruins, a habitation of dragons, an astonishment, and a hissing, without inhabitant!*——

" *In their heat I will supply them with drink, and I will make them drunken,* that they may carouse, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake again, saith THE LORD.

" How is *Sheshach* [" the *drunkard*" city] *taken!* and *the praise* of the whole earth *surprized!* How is *Babylon become an astonishment among the nations!*

" Thus saith THE LORD OF HOSTS, The *broad wall* of *Babylon* shall be broken, and her *lofty gates* shall be burnt with fire; and the [hostile] people shall labour, with *the power of havoc,* and the nations, with *the power of fire,* even till they shall be weary." Jer. li. 7—58.

4. *Habakkuk,* who prophesied shortly before the *Babylonian* captivity, adopting the same allegory, represents the retaliation of Divine vengeance on *Babylon,* for seducing the world with her cup of idolatry.

" Woe unto him that maketh his neighbour drink, who putteth his flagon to him, and also maketh him drunken, that he may look on their nakedness! Thou art filled with shame instead of glory; drink thou likewise, thyself, and uncover thy foreskin; for unto thee shall be returned the cup from the right hand of THE LORD, and shameful spewing shall be upon thy glory." Hab. ii. 15, 16.

5. *Isaiah,* at an earlier period, still more awfully and sublimely predicts the stupendous desolations of *Babylon,* in the year that *Ahaz* died, B.C. 725. xiii. 1, xiv. 28.

" Lo, I [THE LORD] will raise up against them the *Medes,* who shall not regard silver, nor shall they delight in gold*:

* It is remarkable that *Xenophon* represents *Cyrus,* when setting out, as praising the *Medes* and his army, for their disregard of riches. " Ye *Medes,* and all here present,

their bows* shall dash to pieces the young men; they shall have no pity even on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare the children; and *Babylon*, the beauty of kingdoms, the glory of the proud *Chaldeans*, shall become as *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which GOD overthrew. It shall never be rebuilt, neither shall it be inhabited from generation to generation. The *Arab* shall not pitch his tent there, nor shall the shepherds make their folds there: but the wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and howling monsters shall fill their houses, and the daughters of the ostrich shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and jackalls shall howl in their palaces, and dragons in their banquetting houses: for her time draweth nigh, and her days shall not be prolonged." Isa. xiii. 17—22.

6. *Isaiah* introduces an *elegiac ode*, or funeral dirge, upon the downfal of some tyrannical king of *Babylon;* supposed to be sung by a chorus of Jews.

" And it shall come to pass in that day, when THE LORD shall give thee a *respite* from thy sorrow, and from thy dread, and from the hard bondage laid upon thee, that thou shalt utter this parable against the king of *Babylon*, and say,

ISAIAH xiv. 3—27.

" How hath the oppressor ceased, the golden tribute ceased!
The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, the rod of the rulers.
He who smote the peoples in wrath, with unremitting stroke,
He who ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth.
The *whole earth* is at rest, is quiet; they burst forth into shouting;
Even the fir trees rejoice over thee, the cedars of *Lebanon:*
Since thou art laid low, no feller is come up against us!
Hades from beneath is moved, for thee,
To meet thee at thy coming;
He rouzeth the mighty dead for thee,
All the chieftains of the earth:
He maketh to rise from their thrones†

I well know that ye accompany me on this expedition, *not coveting wealth.*" Cyroped. Lib. V.

* The *Persian* bows were three cubits long, according to Xenophon, Anab. IV. and therefore, when used as *clubs*, in the sack of a city, were powerful weapons of destruction.

† This is one of the noblest and boldest *prosopopœias*, even in oriental poetry. *Hades*, " the king of terrors," or the heathen *Pluto*, is represented as raising from their cells or niches, disposed around a vast subterraneous vault or gloomy cavern, the shades of the *mighty dead*, who lay there in state; each, as it were, on his own couch or throne, with their swords and armour, to meet the fallen king of *Babylon*, at the entrance of the vault, and to receive him with mockery and insult.

All the kings of the nations:
All they shall answer, and say unto thee,
Art thou also become weak as we!
Art thou made like unto us!
Is thy pomp brought down to Hades!
The noise of thy musical instruments!
Is the worm strewed under thee,
And doth the earth worm cover thee!
How art thou fallen from heaven,
O *Lucifer*, son of the morning!
How art thou cut down to the ground,
Who didst weaken the nations!
Even thou, saidst in thine heart,
I will mount up to the heavens,
I will exalt my throne above the stars of God:
I will sit upon the mount of congregation [*Moriah*]
On the sides of the North, [of *Sion* *]
I will ascend above the lofty clouds,
I will be like the MOST HIGH †.
But thou shalt be brought down to *Hades*,
To the sides of the pit.
Thy spectators shall gaze at thee,
They shall contemplate thee:
Is this the man who made the earth tremble,
Who shook the kingdoms!
Who made the world a desert,
And destroyed the cities thereof!
Who opened not the prison for his captives?
All, even all the kings of the nations,
Lie down in glory, each in his own tomb,
But thou art cast out on the mountains,
As a detestable corpse, covered with the slain,
With them who are pierced with the sword,
Who go down to the stones of the pit.
As a carcase trodden under foot,
Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial,
Because thou hast destroyed thy country,
Thou hast slain thy people.
The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned.
Prepare slaughter for his children,
For the iniquity of their father:
Let them not rise and inherit the land,
Nor fill with cities the face of the world:
For I will arise against them, saith THE LORD
THE GOD OF HOSTS; and I will cut off from *Babylon*

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* *Mount Moriah*, on which the temple was built, when the whole congregation of Israel assembled to worship THE LORD, lay northward of *Sion*. See Vol. I. p. 426, the *Map of Jerusalem*, and its *explanation*, p. 437, &c.

† This marks the most gigantic impiety; such as *Belshazzar* was guilty of, when he profaned the sacred vessels of the temple of the Lord, at his sacrilegious banquet.

The *name* and *remnant, the son* and *grandson,*
Saith THE LORD; and I will make it an inheritance
For the porcupine, even pools of water;
And I will sweep it with the besom of destruction,
Saith THE LORD OF HOSTS.
THE LORD OF HOSTS hath sworn, saying,
Surely as I have devised, so shall it be,
And as I have purposed, so shall it stand:
To crush the Assyrian in my land,
And to trample him upon my mountains.
Then shall his yoke depart from them,
And his burden be removed from their shoulder.
This is the purpose purposed in the whole earth,
And this, the hand stretched over all the nations.
For THE LORD OF HOSTS hath purposed,
And who shall disannul it?
His hand is stretched out,
And who shall turn it back?"

This majestic prophecy, of unrivalled excellence, was delivered, B.C. 725, as we have seen, when the *Assyrian* power was in the zenith of its glory; whose destruction, therefore, is foretold at the conclusion. *Isaiah*, in the foregoing part, describes *some Babylonian* king, of later date, who was a remarkable oppressor of the *Jews*. Commentators are divided in opinion, whom he intended. Bishop *Lowth* supposes, that the last king of *Babylon*, at the end of the captivity, is meant. But *Nabonadius* "was not slain, nor his carcase cast out on the mountains;" for *Cyrus*, when he had conquered him, treated him well, and made him Governor of *Carmania* in *Persia*, where he spent the remainder of his days, as judiciously remarked by Mr. *Dodson*, the lay translator, p. 227.

Dodson supposes that *Neriglissar*, or *Evilmerodach* was meant; and *Jackson* supposes *Laborosoarchod*, son of *Belshazzar*. But *Evilmerodach* indeed, though slain by *Cyrus* in battle, was rather favourable to the *Jews;* for he released *Jehoiachin* from captivity, upon his accession to the crown, Jer. lii. 31—34; whereas, the king here meant, "*opened not the prison for his captives*," or did not liberate any of them.

And *Laborosoarchod* was a child, and slain after a few months, by conspiracy; he could not therefore have been guilty of the enormities here described; and indeed is omitted, as insignificant, in *Ptolomy's* canon.

There remains, therefore, only *Belshazzar*, the grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for the king meant; and to him the whole

description critically corresponds throughout. For, 1. He was remarkable for his oppression of the *Jews*. *Isaiah*, immediately after, ver. 29, describing this dynasty, calls *Nebuchadnezzar*, the father, "*a serpent;*" *Evilmerodach*, the son, "*a cockatrice;*" and *Belshazzar*, the grandson, "*a fiery flying serpent,*" the worst of all.

2. *Belshazzar* was remarkable for his wanton cruelty to his own subjects; witness his atrocious injuries to *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, the foremost conspirators against him; recorded by *Xenophon*. See Vol. II. p. 46.

3. He was most remarkable for his profaneness and impiety, which drew down the dreadful judgment denounced against him, in the *hand writing upon the wall*, recorded by *Daniel*, v. 1—30.

4. After he was slain, "*Darius, the Mede, took*, or received the kingdom." He was a mild and a merciful prince, and we may presume, also upon *Daniel's* account, who stood so high in his favour, gave the *Jews some respite*, or mitigation of their captivity, and relaxation or remission of the heavy "tribute of *gold*" laid on them by *Belshazzar*, here noticed in the prophecy.

5. If *Sennacherib*, king of *Assyria*, was so distinguished for his blasphemy, by the prophet *Isaiah*, is it likely that his sacrilegious compeer, *Belshazzar*, king of *Babylon*, should be passed over in silence by the same prophet, who has entered so minutely into the abominations of *Babylon*, and her dreadful doom? No surely. And since all the circumstances of this prophetic dirge critically correspond throughout to *Belshazzar*, and to none else, can we any longer question who was meant?

These awful prophecies against *Babylon*, acquire an additional interest from the numerous references thereto in the NEW TESTAMENT. *Rome*, the corrupt and idolatrous mistress of the *western* world, is compared to her prototype in the *East*, by the Apostle *Peter*, in his Epistles, and by *John* in the Apocalypse. Indeed, the rise of a similar power, in the *latter times*, was pointed out even in the OLD TESTAMENT, especially in the chronological prophecies of *Daniel*, whose descriptions of the *little horn* and *wilful king*, (as we have seen) remarkably resemble the sacrilegious impiety of *Belshazzar*, "*who lifted up himself against the* LORD OF HEAVEN, *and glorified not* THE GOD *in whose hand was his breath, and whose were all his ways.*" Dan. v. 24.

Similar judgments are also denounced against *Rome*, the mystical *Babylon*, and grand corruptress of the *Christian Church*. Rev. xiv. 8; xvii. 1—18; xviii. 1—24.

SECTION V.

MEDIAN AND PERSIAN CHRONOLOGY.

From the *Babylonians*, the sceptre passed into the hands of the *Medes*, and soon after, of the *Persians*. Their history, indeed, was intermixed, from the earliest times, under the *Pischdadian* dynasty; and now at length, their empire, after a very long interval of suppression, came to be revived; when the *Medes* revolted from the *Assyrians*, B.C. 710; and in their turn, acquired the sovereignty of *Asia*.

The political incorporation of the *Medes* and *Persians*, is aptly represented in prophecy, under the emblem of "a *goat* with two horns; of which the second," or *Persian* "horn" of power, sprouted "later, and grew up higher than the first," or *Median*. Dan. viii. 3. These emblems are still discoverable among the ruins of *Persepolis*. And accordingly, the *Persian* historians, as we have seen, unite the kings of both races, in their second, or *Kaianian* dynasty.

SECOND KAIANIAN DYNASTY. PART I.

MEDIAN KINGS. 159 YEARS.

	Y.		B.C.
Median revolt, and interregnum	7	..	710
1. *Dejoces*, or *Artæus*	40	..	703
2. *Phraortes*, or *Artynes*, or *Arphaxad*	22	..	663
3. *Cyaxares* I. or *Astibaras*, or *Kai kobad*, or *Ahasuerus*	1	..	641
—— first siege of *Nineveh*, and *Scythian* invasion	28	..	640
—— *Scythian* expulsion	4	..	612
—— *Lydian* war, and second siege of *Nineveh*	2	..	608
—— *Nineveh* taken	3	..	606
—— *Lydian* war ended with *Thales'* eclipse	2	..	603
	40		
4. *Astyages*, *Astyigas*, or *Aspadas*, or *Kai kaus*	35	..	601

MEDIAN KINGS. 159 YEARS—*continued.*

5. *Cyaxares* II. or *Fraiborz*, or *Darius* the *Mede*	13	..	566
—— succeeds *Belshazzar* at *Babylon*, and appoints *Nabonadius* prefect there.....	2	15 ..	553
Accession of *Kai kosru*, or *Cyrus* the *Persian*....	159	..	551

In this intricate and complicated period, so miserably embarrassed and perplexed hitherto, by the great variety of the names of the several kings, and of the duration and dates of their reigns, in sacred and profane history, I have endeavoured to harmonize the jarring and discordant accounts of *Æschylus*, *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Xenophon*, *Mirkhond*, &c. with each other, and with HOLY WRIT; following the last principally, in the adjustment of the chronology, as our surest and safest guide.

Ctesias, immediately after *Thonus Concolerus*, interpolates four *Median* kings, *Arbaces*, *Mandauces*, *Sosarmus*, and *Artïcas*, as reigning in *Assyria* for 108 years in succession, from B.C. 821, until B.C. 713, (his incorrect date of the *Median* revolt). See *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 253. But they are unnoticed by *Herodotus*, who was better informed in *Assyrian* history; and therefore, we may conclude, with *Jackson*, that they were no more than prefects of *Media*, governing it with kingly powers, under the four last kings of *Assyria*. That *Media*, indeed, was not independant during their time, we may collect from Holy Writ; for in B.C. 719, only nine years before the revolt, *Shalmanassar*, king of *Assyria*, transplanted the captive *Israelites* into various districts of *Media*, 2 Kings xvii. 6. He must, therefore, have been then, in full and undisturbed possession of that province.

Ctesias, however, in the ensuing *Median* dynasty, nearly agrees with *Herodotus*, and has given more correctly, the length of the dynasty, 159 years; as may appear from the following harmony.

HERODOTUS.	Y.	B.C.
1. *Median* revolt, and interregnum ..	(6) ..	710
2. *Dejoces*	53 ..	704
3. *Phraortes*	22 ..	651
4. *Cyaxares* I.....	40 ..	629
5. *Astyages*	35 ..	589
Cyrus the *Persian*	156 ..	554

CTESIAS.	Y.	B.C.
1. *Arbianes*, and interregnum....	22 ..	710
2. *Artæus*.....	40 ..	688
3. *Artynes*	22 ..	648
4. *Astibaras*.....	40 ..	626
5. *Astyigas*, or *Aspadas*	(35) ..	586
Cyrus the *Persian*	159 ..	551

Herodotus has not expressly given the length of the interregnum; but he has furnished the data: He reckons the *Scythian* dominion in *Media*, 28 years, and the whole length of the *Median* dynasty, 128 years more; or 156 years in all; but the reigns of the four kings, *Dejoces*, *Phraortes*, &c. amount to 150 years; which being subtracted from 156 years, leaves six years for the interregnum alone.

The difference of the names of those kings in *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, and *Mirkhond*, might originate from the difference of their proper names before their accession, from their titles after. But the sameness of the persons may fairly be collected from the sameness of their reigns. Hence *Phraortes* and *Artynes*, &c. and the last, *Astyages* and *Astyigas*, are evidently the same; we may supply therefore from the former, his reign of 35 years, which is wanting in the latter. See *Diodorus Siculus*, B. II. ch. 2.

The only variation in the times, between *Herodotus* and *Ctesias*, lies in the two first articles, the interregnum and first reign; yet their amounts nearly agree, 59 and 62 years; differing only three years, and producing the same difference in the totals. Hence we may collect, that the *interregnum*, and the reign of *Dejoces*, from their discordance, are incorrect in both writers. But their respective errors in defect and excess, may be rectified by comparison with *Xenophon* and *Sacred Chronology*.

Their common error lies in their joint omission of the reign of *Cyaxares* II. Nor is this error peculiar to them; it was countenanced by *Æschylus*, by *Mirkhond*, and the *Persian* writers; and by the apocryphal author of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, ver. 1. See Vol. II. p. 466, 468, note. There it was attempted to be accounted for, from the greater celebrity of his nephew, son-in-law, and successor, *Cyrus*, which eclipsed his reign; during which, *Cyaxares* was nominally, but *Cyrus* really, king; by "that ascendancy which great souls have always over little ones."

If then we reduce the excessive reign of *Dejoces*, from 53 years, in *Herodotus*, to 40, in *Ctesias;* and the excessive interregnum of 22 years in *Ctesias*, to 7 years, only one more than in *Herodotus;* and if we subtract the sum $7+40=47$ years, from the amount, 62 years in *Ctesias*, there will remain 15 years; which is the actual amount of the whole reign of *Cyaxares* II.

including his accession to the throne of *Babylon*, on the death of *Belshazzar*, which he survived two years, according to *Sacred Chronology*. See Vol. II. p. 466.

But if we substract the same sum, 47 years, from the amount 59 years, in *Herodotus*, there will remain 12 years for the reign of *Cyaxares* in *Media* alone; to which if we add three years, the difference between him and *Ctesias*, in the full amounts, it will give his additional reign in *Babylon* also, and critically harmonize both with each other, and with *Sacred Chronology*; supposing that *Darius* reigned three *current*, or two *full* years, as sovereign of the united empire of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and 12 full, or 13-current years, before, in *Media* alone.

The only alteration here made in the chronology of *Ctesias*, is the reduction of his *Median* dynasty from B.C. 713, to B.C. 710, the true date of the *Median* revolt; as proved in the foregoing analysis of *Assyrian Chronology*.

Thus, are these independent authors, *Herodotus* and *Ctesias*, hitherto at variance, not only reconciled to each other, but also rendered unintentional vouchers of the veracity of HOLY WRIT, and of that admirable philosophical historian *Xenophon*, and of the genuine fragment of *Berosus*.

DEJOCES.

The *Median* States, at the time of their revolt from the *Assyrians*, consisted of the *Busians*, *Paratacenians*, *Struchates*, *Arizantines*, *Budians*, and *Mages*. Herod. I. § 101. These states were independent of each other, and governed by their own magistrates. Of these magistrates, *Dejoces* distinguished himself, in his own district, by a vigilant and impartial administration of justice, at a time when the general government was lax and corrupt. Hence, his fame extended to the neighbouring districts, who flocked to his tribunal, in preference to their own,—so that, at length, he was most honourably elected *king*, by common consent of all the states, for his preeminent merit.

The first act of his government was the requisition of a life guard, to secure his person and maintain his dignity; the next, to build himself a strong and magnificent palace; and afterwards to build the royal city of *Ecbatana*, which Major *Rennel* places on, or near the scite of *Hamadan*, in *al Jebal*. It was

fortified with seven concentrical walls, of which, the outmost and largest, equalled the circuit of *Athens* *, and the inmost contained the royal palace and treasury. He then drew the main body of the people to reside around his new city. After this, he withdrew himself from public view, in order to encrease the public respect and veneration for his person and government. And he dispensed justice, in which he was rigorous, by written depositions, conveyed to him from his official servants, to which he regularly returned his own decisions †. He also sent spies and informers into different parts of his dominions, wherever he heard that any outrage had been committed, and then the offender was brought before him, and punished according to his guilt ‡. Herod. I. § 96—100.

Dejoces was a great and wise prince, and a blessing to his country. His reign of *forty* years was fully sufficient for all his works and regulations; and the preceding interregnum of *seven* years sufficient to afford a fair trial of his judicial talents.

PHRAORTES.

Dejoces was succeeded by his son *Phraortes*, the *Arphaxad* of Scripture. He was a martial prince, and the first who subdued the *Persians*, his next neighbours; afterwards, by the accession of their forces, he overran and subdued *Upper Asia*, until he at length invaded the *Assyrians* of *Nineveh*; who, though weakened by the defection of their allies, were still strong enough to defeat and destroy him, with the greater part of his army, in the twenty-second year of his reign, B.C. 641, at

* *Herodotus* here writes like an eye-witness, who had seen *Ecbatana*, and naturally compared it with the first of the *Grecian* cities.

† The same policy was imitated by our *Norman* kings. *Henry* II. instead of the immediate application for justice, to the king himself, in the *Aula regis*, or "great court," that constantly attended his person, instituted two other courts, of *King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*, to be stationary at *Westminster*; where all judicial proceedings were thenceforth to be conducted by pleadings before the Judges. By this regulation, justice was more orderly and more skilfully administered.

‡ This also resembles the institution of *itinerant* judges of *assize*, who were regularly sent on circuits, *to take cognizance*, in the law phrase, *of offences and misdemeanors*; corresponding to the historian's, "to *spy out*, or *obtain information*" of such; while "*Achmutha*," or *Ecbatana*, the capital, became the established place of public records, in after ages. Ezra vi. 2.

These two last notes we owe to *Beloe's* Translation of *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 160, note, second edition.

the decisive battle of *Ragau*, or *Rages*. Herod. I. § 102. Here the father of *Grecian* history confirms the testimony of the apocryphal book of *Judith*, as we have seen in the foregoing analysis of *Assyrian Chronology*. With him, therefore, the *Median* kingdom sunk again into subjection to the *Assyrians*.

CYAXARES I. OR KAI KOBAD.

This prince was the son and successor of *Phraortes*, and the most celebrated of the *Median* kings; insomuch that *Æschylus*, and the Persian historians, *Mirkhond*, &c. remarkably agree, in representing him as the founder of the second, or *Kaianian* dynasty. This dynasty seems to have taken its name from the ancient Persian title, *Kai*, or "king." Which was also attributed to his two next successors, by the *Persian* writers, as heirs to his "celebrity," indicated by *Kobad*, from the Hebrew *Chabod*, "glory." See 1 Sam. iv. 21.

Æschylus, who was born B.C. 525, forty-one years before *Herodotus*, and fought against the *Persians* in the famous battle of *Marathon*, and had opportunities of information, introduces the ghost of *Darius Hystaspes*, in his tragedy of the *Persæ*, v. 767, &c., thus describing the several kings of *Persia*, from their *Median* founder, to his own son, *Xerxes*:

——— *Asia's* brave hosts
A *Mede*[1] first led. The virtues of his *son*[2]
Fixt firm the empire; for his *temperate* soul
Breathed *prudence*. *Cyrus* third[3], by fortune graced,
Adorned the throne, and blessed his grateful friends
With peace. He to his mighty monarchy
Joined *Lydia* and the *Phrygians*; to his power
Ionia bent reluctant; but the gods
With victory his gentle virtues crowned.
His son[4] then wore the regal diadem.
Next, to disgrace his country, and to stain
The splendid glories of the ancient throne,
Rose *Mardus*[5]. Him, with righteous vengeance fired,
Artaphrenes and his confederate chiefs
Crushed in his palace. *Maraphis*[6] assumed
The sceptre. After him *Artaphrenes*[7].

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[1] *Cyaxares.* [2] *Astyages.* [3] *Cyrus.*
[4] *Cambyses.* [5] *Smerdis Magus.* [6] *Maraphis.*
[7] *Artaphernes.*

Me[8] next, to the exalted eminence,
Crowning my great ambition Fortune raised.
In many a glorious field, my glittering spear
Flamed in the van of *Persia's* numerous hosts;
But never wrought such ruin to the state,
[As] *Xerxes*[9] my son. [He] in all the pride of youth,
Listens to youthful counsels, my commands
No more remembered: hence, my hoary friends,
Not the whole line of *Persia's* sceptred lords,
(You know it well!) so wasted her brave sons."

Potter's translation.

The *Persian* historians represent *Kai kobad* as renowned for his valour, wisdom, and piety, and as recovering the whole of *Iran*, or the ancient bounds of the empire, from the king of *Turan*, chiefly by the skill and courage of his famous generals, *Zalzer*, and his son, *Rostam*, or *Rustan*. Peace having been made, he applied himself to restore the affairs of his kingdom. He chose *Ispahan*, from its central situation, for his chief residence. He regulated the pay of his soldiers, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, and for every four thousand paces of road, (a space called *phersengh* by the *Persians*, and *parasang* by the *Greeks*,) he set up stones to mark the distances. These regulations mark a considerable progress in civilization, at that early age.

Herodotus has recorded several particulars of the reign of *Cyaxares*, agreeing with *Kai kobad*, and with *Æschylus*, and the *Persian* historians. He relates that *Cyaxares* was superior in valour to his ancestors; that he was the first who regularly trained the *Asiatics* to military service; dividing the troops, which had been embodied promiscuously before his time, into distinct companies of lancers, archers, and cavalry. He then adds, parenthetically, (this was he who waged war with the *Lydians*, when, during the battle, *the day became night**,) when he had confederated all *Upper Asia* beyond the river *Halys*, he marched with all that were under his command, against *Nineveh*, resolving to avenge the death of his father, by the destruction of that city. After he had defeated the *Assyrians*, he laid siege to the city, but was forced to raise it, by a

[8] *Darius Hystaspes.* [9] *Xerxes.*

* This parenthetical remark evidently refers to the foregoing fuller account of the eclipse, and of the issue of the battle. B. i. §. 74. See that account, Vol. I. p. 77, of this work.

sudden invasion of his territories. For a numerous army of *Scythians*, headed by *Madias*, made an irruption into *Media*, who defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced him and all *Upper Asia*, under subjection to them, for eight and twenty years. Then, in revenge for their galling impositions and exactions, he slew their chieftains, when drunk, at a banquet to which he had invited them, and expelled the rest, and recovered his former power and possessions.

After this, the *Medes* took *Nineveh*, and subdued the *Assyrian* provinces, all, except the *Babylonians*, their confederates in the war. Afterwards *Cyaxares* died, having reigned forty years, including twenty-eight years of the *Scythian* dominion. Herod. B. 1, § 102—106.

From this abridged account, in the historian's order, we are to collect the real and actual order of the events.

1. The first siege of *Nineveh* ranks among the first occurrences of his reign. He undertook it before the *Assyrians* had recovered from the consternation into which they were thrown, by the total defeat of their army, under *Holofernes*, B.C. 640, and when he was eager to revenge his father's defeat and death the year before.

2. The next was the *Scythian* invasion and victory, which raised the siege of *Nineveh*, and rendered him necessarily inactive during their dominion for twenty-eight years.

3. The *Lydian* war, which lasted five years, must have succeeded the *Scythian* expulsion. For it was occasioned by the refusal of *Alyattes*, king of *Lydia*, to deliver up some *Scythian* refugees, who, for a trifling offence*, had served up a *Thyestean* banquet to the king of *Media*, from whom they had found, at first, a hospitable asylum.

4. About the same time, probably, *Cyaxares*, and his ally, *Nabopolassar*, king of *Babylon*, renewed the siege of *Nineveh*, and took it, B.C. 606, as shewn in the foregoing analysis of *Assyrian Chronology*.

5. During the siege, the *Lydian* war languished, and was protracted five years, with various success; but was brought to a crisis in its sixth year, B.C. 603, by the terror of a great and

* The provocation mentioned by *Herodotus*, namely, the king's hasty reprimand, because they had not brought home game from hunting, seems by far too slight for such a barbarous revenge. Might not the *Scythians* rather intend to revenge the massacre of their countrymen at the banquet? Why else should *Alyattes* screen them?

total eclipse of the sun, during a battle between the *Medes* and *Lydians*, which it ended, and gave room for the powerful mediation of *Labynetus* I. or *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*, in behalf of his ally, *Cyaxares*, to conclude a match between *Astyages*, the son of *Cyaxares*, and *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Alyattes*.

This eclipse, indeed, is noticed as the most remarkable occurrence of the reign of *Cyaxares*, at the very beginning of his history, parenthetically, and by anticipation. Whereas, it must necessarily have happened towards the end of it; for it was at the close of the *Lydian* war, which lasted full five years; but the *Lydian* war necessarily followed the *Scythian* dominion for twenty-eight years; and, therefore, upon both accounts, the eclipse could not possibly have been earlier than the thirty-third year of *Cyaxares*' reign, or B.C. 608, it was probably later, but not so late as the end of his reign, B.C. 601. Between these limits there were only two solar eclipses, that could answer the history; the former, B.C. 607, July 30, near the second hour in the afternoon; and the latter, B.C. 603, May 18, at nine hours and thirty minutes in the morning; the former was but partial, only eight digits; and the moon's shadow traversed the earth's disk in the vicinity and direction of the Equator, remote from the field of battle, and upon both accounts must be rejected; whereas, the latter was total, et *cum morâ*, and the moon's shadow traversed the earth's disk, near the mouth of the river *Halys*, the boundary of the two contending kingdoms; as shewn, Vol. I. p. 77, 78. Since, then, this is the only eclipse that will answer all the conditions of the history, we cannot hesitate to adopt it as the true eclipse, excluding every other as irrelevant. Two years after, *Cyaxares* died, full of years and of glory.

ASTYAGES, OR KAI KAUS.

This prince was the son of *Cyaxares*, according to *Æschylus*, *Herodotus*, and several of the oriental historians; though others say, the grandson. But the former is more probable; for though he married *Aryenis* only two years before his accession, yet *Herodotus* calls him γερων, "*an old man*," not long after it; when *Cyrus*, his grandson, was born of his daughter, *Mandane*, and his son, *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the *Mede*, was born fourteen years before his accession. See Vol. II. p. 466. *Cyaxares* was

called *Fraiborz*, by the *Persian* historians; thus confirming the accounts of *Xenophon* and *Daniel*, and refuting *Herodotus*, who represents *Astyages* as not having any son.

Mirkhond relates, that in the beginning of his reign a rebellion broke out in *Mazandran*, a province bordering upon the *Caspian* sea, which he soon quelled by his prudent policy. For having besieged the rebellious chief in his capital city, and not being able to take it by force, he counterfeited a great want of provisions; and, by his emissaries in the city, purchased provisions from the keeper of the stores, at an immense price, until the stores were exhausted; and then he summoned the citizens to surrender, which they were compelled to do, by the discovery of this treachery.

His next war was with the king of *Turan*, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner, but was rescued by his famous general, *Rustan*; and afterwards carried his arms into *Shamah*, or *Syria*; *Rum*, or *Asia Minor*; *Mezr*, or *Egypt*; and *Yemen*, or *Arabia*.

Herodotus also incidentally confirms this testimony; for he observes that "*Nitocris*, (the queen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and regent of the kingdom during his mental derangement) fortified *Babylon*, and the passes leading to *Media*; when she observed that the *Medes*, having become powerful, could not remain at rest after they had taken the city of *Ninus*, with *many others*." B. I. § 185.

Mirkhond represents *Kai kosru*, or *Cyrus* *, as the grandson

* This evidence of *Mirkhond*, stating that *Kai Chosru* was the grandson of *Kai kaus*, confirms the account of *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* was the grandson of *Astyages*. The Grecian account, that he was the son of *Mandane*, the daughter of *Astyages*, is more credible than the Persian; because *Xenophon* lived much nearer to their time than *Mirkhond*; and from his travels through *Media* and *Persia*, learned the tradition of the natives, who were remarkably attentive to the genealogy of their most celebrated princes. And *Herodotus* agrees with *Xenophon* in this point. Hence, we are fully warranted to adopt the following judicious remark of Sir *William Jones*.

"That the Grecian writers before *Xenophon* had *no* acquaintance with *Persia*, and that *all* their accounts of it are *wholly* fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained: but their connection with it in war or peace had indeed been generally confined to *bordering kingdoms* under *feudatory* princes; and the first *Persian* emperor, whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great *Cyrus*, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, *Cai khosrau*; for I shall then only doubt that the *Khosrau* of *Ferdausi* was the *Cyrus* of the first *Greek* romance, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that *Louis Quatorze* and *Louis the Fourteenth* were one and the same king." *Sixth Discourse* on *the Persians*. *Asiat. Research.* Vol. II. p. 45. 8vo.

of *Kai kaus*, by his eldest son, *Siavek*, who was assassinated shortly after his birth; and *Khosru* was then concealed by his mother, *Franghiz*, the daughter of the king of *Turan*. *Kai kaus* long sought his grandson, who, at length, was discovered at a hunt, by a Persian nobleman, and brought to the *Persian* court, received with great joy, and made commander-in-chief of the *Persian* forces. That some time after a competition for the succession to the crown took place between *Cyrus*, and his uncle, *Fraiborz*, or *Cyaxares*, the surviving son of *Astyages*. When *Astyages*, unwilling to decide between his son and his grandson, told them both that he would appoint his successor, whichever of the two should first, with equal forces, reduce a rebel town, investing it on both sides. The skill and valour of *Cyrus* prevailed, and to him the town surrendered; whereupon his grandfather declared him his heir, and soon after retired from the world to solitude, and left *Cyrus* in *peaceable* possession of the kingdom.

Herodotus' account is widely different, B. 1. § 107—130. He represents *Cyrus* as dethroning his grandfather, after he had routed and taken him prisoner in battle: and he represents *Astyages*, during the course of his reign, as foolish, mad, and infatuated. His whole conduct, indeed, is a tissue of the strangest absurdities and contrarieties, refuting itself.

1. Why should *Astyages*, who is supposed to have no son, marry his only daughter to a *Persian* prince, though he considered the highest *Persian* as greatly inferior in rank to the lowest *Mede*, merely because he had a significant dream, foretelling "*the inundation of all Asia*," or its subjugation by her offspring? Or rather, why should he suffer her to marry at all, if he was "*terrified* at the interpretation?"

2. Why should he, after he had a second significant dream also, of the "*vine overspreading all Asia*," while his daughter was pregnant, send for her from *Persia*, confine her like a criminal until her delivery, in order to destroy her child, for fear of being dethroned by his infant grandson, when himself was *old?* Or rather, why should he not have rejoiced exceedingly in a pregnancy of such high promise? Or how could he bear his daughter's reproaches for such unnatural and monstrous cruelty? as he apprehended himself. B. 1. § 118.

3. Why should his trusty friend, *Harpagus*, to whom he gave the infant, with a commission to destroy him, declare that *As-*

tyages was *mad* and *infatuated*, B. 1. § 109; and refuse to destroy the infant himself, as being his own relation; and also, for fear of incurring the vengeance of his mother, when she should ascend the throne; and yet, most strangely and inconsistently, immediately after give the infant to the king's herdsman, to be exposed on the mountains, and left to perish?

4. Why should *Astyages*, as inconsistently, inflict such a cruel and horrible revenge on *Harpagus*, for disobeying his orders, after he had discovered his grandson, and declared him heir to the crown?

5. What but *demoniacal possession*, (as *Herodotus* himself intimates, B. 1. §. 127,) could induce *Astyages* to give the command of his forces against *Cyrus* to *Harpagus*, whose son he had killed, and served up to the wretched father, in a pie?

6. What could possibly induce *Cyrus* to rebel against his aged grandfather, after he was appointed his heir?

7. Is it not passing strange how *Herodotus* could not only swallow such complicated absurdities himself, but be followed by *Ctesias*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Strabo*, *Justin*, &c. and the general current of modern historians, in the supposed dethronement of *Astyages*, by his grandson *Cyrus!* in opposition to *Æschylus*, *Xenophon*, *Josephus*, the *Persian* historians, SCRIPTURE, and *common sense!*

The chief blots, indeed, in the history of *Herodotus* *, are, unquestionably, his fabulous accounts of *Astyages* and *Cyrus*. The deserved celebrity of this great historian renders it more necessary to expose his failures when he is wrong: to vindicate his character from misrepresentation when he is right has been often attempted in the course of this work. We shall consider, when we reach the reign of *Cyrus*, the motives that might have influenced the historian to describe those illustrious kings in such unfavourable colours.

* *Juvenal* has censured his *romantic* account of the expedition of *Xerxes*.

——Creditur olim
Velificatus *Athos*, et quicquid *Græcia mendax*
Audet in Historia.—— SAT. X. 173.

CYAXARES II. FRAIBORZ, OR DARIUS THE MEDE.

This prince succeeded his father, *Astyages*, at the age of forty-nine years. Being naturally of an easy, indolent disposition, and fond of his amusements, he left the burden of military affairs, and the care of the government, to *Cyrus*, his nephew and son-in-law, who married his only daughter, and was therefore doubly entitled to succeed him.

Xenophon notices this marriage as taking place after the conquest of *Babylon*, Cyropæd. B. 8. But to this Sir Isaac *Newton* justly objects:

"This daughter," saith *Xenophon*, "was reported to be very handsome, and used to play with *Cyrus* when they were both children, and to say that she would marry him: and therefore they were much of the same age. *Xenophon* saith that *Cyrus* married her after the taking of *Babylon;* but she was then an *old woman*. It is more probable that he married her while she was young and handsome, and he a young man." Chron. p. 310.

Cyrus was born B.C. 599; and therefore, at the taking of *Babylon*, B.C. 536, was sixty-three years old. He married early; for his son, *Cambyses*, was arrived at manhood when he succeeded *. *Herodotus* represents him as the son of *Cyrus*, by *Cassandana*, the daughter of *Pharnaspes*, B. 2. § 2. But is it likely that he married any other wife prior to his cousin, the heiress of the crown? *Herodotus*, upon his plan, was necessitated to marry him to another. *Cassandana* is unnoticed by *Xenophon*.

Newton supposes that *Darius the Mede* was the son of *Cyaxares*, and nephew of *Cyrus;* and that *Cyrus* rebelled against and dethroned him, two years after the capture of *Babylon*. But this is unfounded, for *Darius the Mede* was sixteen years older than *Cyrus*. We may therefore rest assured that he was *Cyaxares* himself, and none else.

* *Smerdis*, the younger brother of *Cambyses*, was come to his full strength and vigour when he bent the *Ethiopian* bow, which no other man in the *Persian* army could do.

SECTION VI.

KAIANIAN DYNASTY. PART II.

PERSIAN KINGS. 228 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
1. *Cyrus*, or *Kai Chosru*, in Persia.... 8		.. 559
Media.... 15	30	.. 551
Babylon.. 7		.. 536
2. *Cambyses*, or *Lohorasp*..... 7 5*m*.		.. 529
Smerdis Magus ..... 7*m*.	8	
3. *Darius*, son of *Hystaspes*, or *Gushtasp*	36	.. 521
4. *Xerxes*	21	.. 485
5. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, or *Ardshir Dirazdest*, or *Bahaman*	41	.. 464
6. *Darius Nothus*	19	.. 423
7. *Artaxerxes Mnemon*	46	.. 404
8. *Ochus*, or *Darab* I.	23	.. 358
9. *Darius Codomannus*, or *Darab* II.....	4	.. 335
Conquered by *Alexander*, or *Ascander*	228*	.. 331

The chronology of this period is adjusted chiefly by the help of *Ptolomy's* Canon, with some improvements, of 1. Supplying the accessions of *Cyrus*, to the thrones of *Persia* and *Media*, omitted by *Ptolomy*; and reducing the term of his sovereignty from the conquest of *Babylon*, to seven years, with *Xenophon*, instead of nine; as shewn Vol. I. p. 166—173, of this work. And 2. Annexing the oriental names of the princes of this dynasty, corresponding to those of the Grecian, recorded by the Persian historians.

CYRUS, OR KAI CHOSRU.

The birth, successive reigns, and death of this illustrious prince, the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, equally celebrated in sacred and profane history, form the most important epochs in the whole range of *Ancient Chronology:* since thereon depend, in great measure, the adjustment of the dates of the *antecedent* and *subsequent* periods; and the entire harmony almost,

* *Agathias*, a Greek historian of high character, who consulted the *Persian* records, states, that from the first year of the reign of *Cyrus*, the ancient *Persian* empire subsisted 228 years.

of *sacred* with *profane history*. They require, therefore, to be determined with peculiar care and attention. *See Vol. I. p. 269, of this work.

The reign of *Cyrus* began, according to *Diodorus*, *Thallus*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and *Phlegon*, cited by *Eusebius*, Præp. Evang. Lib. 10, in the first year of the 55th Olympiad, corresponding to the Julian years, B.C. 560, and B.C. 559. He reigned in all, 30 years, according to *Ctesias*, *Justin*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius;* 29 years, according to *Herodotus;* and 31 years, according to *Sulpitius*. The mean, 30 years, is confirmed by *Cicero;* who, on the authority of *Dino*, a Persian writer, (whom he calls *Dionysius*), relates a remarkable "dream of *Cyrus*, in which he thrice attempted to catch the *Sun* in his hands, which thrice eluded his grasp, in its revolution. This the *Magi* expounded, to denote a reign of [three *sari*, decads, or] thirty years. Which so happened; for he lived till his seventieth year, and began to reign when he was forty years of age." *De Divin.* Lib. 1. § 23.

The year of his death, B.C. 529, is ascertained by a *lunar* eclipse, in the seventh year of *Cambyses*, B.C. 523. See Vol. I. p. 170. This determines the birth of *Cyrus*, B.C. 599, two years after his grandfather, *Astyages*, succeeded to the crown of *Media*, B.C. 601, which critically corresponds with the two dreams in *Herodotus*, between both dates.

Cyrus succeeded first to the crown of *Persia* on the demise of his father, B.C. 559, as determined by the thirty years of his whole reign. This corrects an error of *Xenophon*, who represents *Cambyses* as still alive after the capture of *Babylon*, B.C. 536; an error into which he was led perhaps, by confounding this capture with the death of *Belshazzar*, that "*impious king*," as he calls him, who was slain seventeen years before, B.C. 553, when *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the *Mede*, "*took*" possession of the kingdom of *Babylon*. *Cyrus* succeeded his uncle, two years after, in the crown of *Media*, B.C. 551, as we learn from the foregoing adjustment of *Herodotus*, with *Ctesias* and SCRIPTURE. And when *Nabonadius*, who had been appointed viceroy of *Babylon*, by *Darius* the *Mede*, at length rebelled, and joined *Crœsus;* he was defeated, B.C. 538, and *Babylon*

* *Chronologiæ totius* cardinem et fundamentum *Cyri primordia* continent: a quibus, et *antecedentium* fere *temporum*, et *posteriorum*, ratio, et omnis fere *sacræ historiæ* cum *profanâ* concordia, dependet. *Petavius*, Vol. II. p. 99.

was taken by *Cyrus*, B.C. 536. This was the actual commencement of his full sovereignty. See Vol. I. p. 168, of this work.

We now proceed to sketch an outline of the history of *Cyrus*, guided principally by *Xenophon*, who, in his admirable *Cyropædia*, or "education of *Cyrus*," professed "to write, from careful *enquiry* and accurate *information*, the leading circumstances of the *family*, *disposition*, and *education* of this prince; so justly celebrated for excelling all others in the art of conciliating and governing men." See his preface.

The basis of the *Cyropædia*, therefore, is true history, adorned and refined by philosophy. The exquisite traits of genuine simplicity, humour, and festivity, that adorn the childhood of *Cyrus*, seem to be faithfully drawn from the life, in the entertaining conversations, recorded in the first book. While the more serious dialogues that follow, are seasoned with much political and religious wisdom, skilfully invented, and adroitly introduced by the accomplished author, to illustrate by example, the morality of his *Memoirs of Socrates*, and to hold forth, as a pattern for imitation, the life and actions of a prince trained in the ancient *Persian* school of the *Pischdadians*, the parent of the *Socratic* *.

The grand difficulty of explaining the history of the *Cyropædia*, lies in the *total want of dates*. This has contributed much to give it the air of a romance. However, from the few characters of time, interspersed throughout, carefully compared with the corresponding accounts of *Herodotus*, and the miscellaneous information afforded by other *Greek* writers, and the *Persian* historians, its chronology may be adjusted with all the precision of true history.

Xenophon traces the pedigree of *Cyrus* up to *Perses*, who gave name to the country. And *Herodotus* notices his ancestors, *Achemenes*, the father of *Teispes*, the father of *Cambyses*, the father of *Cyrus*. B. VII. § 11. Hence it appears, that even during the *Median* and *Assyrian* dominations, the *Persians*

* "There is so much invention in the plan, such just conception of the endowments requisite towards constituting an illustrious and good character, in the virtues ascribed to *Cyrus*; so much propriety in the words and actions of the several personages introduced; so many exquisite strokes of true politeness; so much *Attic* festivity in the symposiac parts; and so much civil, military, political, and religious wisdom in the more serious dialogues, that for genius, and useful knowledge, and instruction, the *Cyropædia* perhaps is superior to any work whatever, either of *Plato* or *Aristotle*." Bishop *Huntingford's Greek Exercises*, p. 292; an *elementary* work, most useful for explaining the niceties and elegancies of the *Greek* tongue.

were still governed by their native princes; according to the usage universally prevalent throughout the east, from the earliest ages. A measure founded in sound political wisdom, in order to secure the attachment of the conquered countries, by the semblance, at least, of their former government.

Cyrus spent his childhood with his parents in *Persia*, where he was trained in the *Persian* simplicity of manners, and early inured to fatigue and hardship, till he was twelve years old. Then he went on a visit, with his mother, to his grandfather *Astyages*, B.C. 587, to whom he much endeared himself, and gained the affections of the courtiers, and of the *Medes* in general, by his winning behaviour, in the most entertaining part of the *Cyropædia*, B. I. p. 14—44.

When he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, B.C. 584, *Evilmerodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*, on a hunting match, a little before his marriage, made a predatory incursion into the *Median* territories, but was repulsed by *Astyages*, and his troops; chiefly by the valour of young *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in the expedition *, p. 14. The next year he returned home to *Persia*, where he continued till the death of *Astyages*, and accession of his uncle *Cyaxares*, B.C. 566, p. 44.

Evilmerodach succeeded his father *Nebuchadnezzar*, at *Babylon*, B.C. 561; and influenced, we may presume, no less by resentment at his former disgraceful defeat, than by the ambition of adding *Media* to his mighty empire, which comprehended *Syria* and *Assyria*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*, he set himself to form a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the *Lydians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Cilicians*, westwards, and the *Indians*, or *Turanians*, eastwards, against the *Medes* and *Persians*; alledging, that by their junction and intermarriages, they were grown great and powerful; and unless they were opposed with the united force of the confederates, they would reduce them separately. B. I. p. 45, 46.

Cyrus, now king of *Persia*, about B.C. 559 †, was appointed

* See a more particular account, Vol. II. p. 460, of this work.

† This was the year that *Cyrus* succeeded to the throne of *Persia*. *Xenophon* has assigned to *Cambyses* a long conversation with his son *Cyrus*, previous to his setting out on the expedition, containing much *military* and *political* information. *Cyropæd.* i. 51—76. This was probably an embellishment.

general of the combined army of the *Medes* and *Persians*, by *Cyaxares;* and by his promptness and activity, anticipated the threatened invasion, for which the confederates had been making preparations for three years. He first, by a rapid expedition into *Armenia*, with a chosen body of horse, surprized the king, and his family, who had revolted, to join the confederacy, obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliary troops, which he had withheld, and then restored to him his kingdom. And he afterwards attacked the confederates, routed them, and stormed their camp, after the king of *Babylon*, *Evilmerodach*, had been slain in the engagement, B.C. 558, in the fourth year of his reign. B. II.—IV. p. 77—186.

The critical harmony of *Xenophon* with *Ptolomy's* Canon, corrected, as to the length of *Evilmerodach's* reign, three years, vouches the propriety of that correction; and this, in return, confirms the accuracy of *Xenophon's* statement, as to the time of the preparations.

Crœsus, king of *Lydia*, and the rest of the confederates, being greatly dispirited, retreated homewards, as well as they could, pursued by *Cyrus*. Cyropæd. B. IV. p 186, 203.

Cyrus next invaded *Assyria*, and penetrated into the heart of the country; where he was gladly joined by *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, those noblemen who had been so heinously injured by *Belshazzar*, the son and successor of *Evilmerodach*. They now, therefore, surrendered to *Cyrus* the provinces and castles entrusted to them. *Belshazzar* took the field against *Gadatas*, Cyropæd. B. V. 274; but was encountered and defeated by *Cyrus*, p. 284, and forced to return with great loss to his capital. We may date this defeat, B.C. 554, about the fourth year of his reign. The next year he was slain by conspirators, on the night of his sacrilegious feast, at *Babylon;* and *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the Mede, "*took*" possession of the kingdom of *Babylon*, and appointed *Nabonadius*, a *Babylonian* nobleman, king, or viceroy, B.C. 553.

Upon the accession of *Cyrus* to the throne of *Media*, after the death of *Cyaxares*, B.C. 551 *, he took many cities, and re-

* That *Cyaxares* was dead, and *Cyrus* in full possession of the *Median* crown, in the ensuing *Lydian* war, may be collected from *Xenophon* himself: when *Crœsus* was taken prisoner in *Sardis*, he "*hailed Cyrus*, χαιρε, ω δεσποτα, *as sovereign.*" And he disposed of the treasures of *Crœsus*, as a *sovereign*, Cyropæd. B. vii. p. 383, 398, 481,

duced several provinces. Alarmed at his progress, *Crœsus* at length renewed hostilities; and, assembling his forces, crossed the river *Halys*, which formed the boundary of the *Lydian* and *Median* dominions, invaded *Cappadocia*, in *Syria*, ravaged the country, and took *Pteria*, the capital city, not far from *Sinope*. Thither *Cyrus* speedily marched to meet him, and a bloody battle was fought, but without any decided advantage on either side, if we believe *Herodotus*. However, *Crœsus* finding that his army was inferior in number, and yet that *Cyrus* did not seem disposed to renew the engagement next day, retreated without molestation, to *Sardis*, determined to apply for assistance to his confederates, *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*, the *Lacedemonians*, and *Labynetus*, (or *Nabonadius*,) king of *Babylon*, with whom he made an offensive and defensive alliance. Herod. B. I. § 75—77. We may date this battle of *Pteria*, B.C. 548, in which *Cyrus* had clearly the advantage, even from the accounts of *Herodotus*.

At this time, the king of *Babylon*, as we learn from *Xenophon*, joined *Crœsus*, and brought with him a considerable treasure, for the purpose of hiring mercenaries. Cyropæd. B. VI. p. 322. The confederates, therefore, raised a great army from *Asia Minor*, *Ionia*, *Thrace*, and *Egypt*, and assembled at the river *Pactolus*, in *Lydia*, waiting for the *Lacedemonians*. But *Cyrus*, with his usual promptness and expedition, marched to attack the confederates before they were joined by the rest of their forces, and totally routed them at the great battle of *Thybarra*, or *Thymbra*, an extensive plain near *Sardis*, chiefly by the stratagem of opposing his camels to the *Lydian* horse, p. 336—373. The *Egyptians* fought most bravely, and when surrounded by the *Persians*, surrendered, and were settled by *Cyrus* at *Larissa* and *Cyllene*, in the country bordering on *Sinope*, near the *Euxine* Sea, where *Xenophon* afterwards, in his famous retreat, found their settlements, still called "the cities of the *Egyptians*." P. 375—380.

To detract from the greatness of the victory, *Herodotus* represents it as fought by the *Lydians* only, before the arrival of the *Egyptian* auxiliaries. We may date this decisive battle of *Thymbra*, B.C. 548, towards the close of the year.

without any reference to *Cyaxares*: yet *Xenophon* dates his sovereignty from the capture of *Babylon*, p. 499.

The very next morning, *as soon as it was day*, *Cyrus* marched to invest *Sardis*, into which *Crœsus* had fled; and brought his machines and scaling ladders, in appearance as if he intended to assault the city in form. But the next night, he sent a chosen band of *Persians* and *Chaldeans* to climb the steepest and most rugged part of the ascent, under the conduct of a *Persian* guide, who knew a bye path leading from the citadel to the river. As soon as they shewed themselves in possession of the heights, the *Lydians* all fled from the walls, as fast as every one could; and *Cyrus* entered the town, took *Crœsus* prisoner, and humanely protected the citizens from pillage, upon the surrendering of their wealth and treasures *. *Cyropæd.* B. VII. p. 381—384.

Herodotus confirms this account in the main, but with some variations. He represents the city as taken on the fourteenth day of the siege, by the same stratagem, under the guidance of *Hyroades*, a *Mardian*; that it was given up to pillage, till stopped at the intercession of *Crœsus*; and that *Crœsus* himself, in fetters, with fourteen young *Lydians*, was ordered by *Cyrus* to be burned alive, on a great pile of wood: from which cruel death he was rescued, by thrice invoking the name of *Solon*, in his distress, which occasioned *Cyrus* to relent; and by a miraculous shower of rain, which extinguished the flames, when all human efforts had proved vain. Herod. B. I. § 86, 87.

This tale, so abhorrent from the mild and merciful disposition of *Cyrus*, is sufficiently refuted by the circumstances themselves, and by the historian's own account of the treatment of *Crœsus*, both before and after.

It was not the usage of *Cyrus* "to offer up either such *first-fruits* of victory," or "to make such savage *vows*," or to be influenced by idle curiosity, "to know whether *any of the demons* † *would save Crœsus*, on account of his piety, *from being burned alive*." Such are the different motives assigned by *Herodotus*. Nor is it likely, that *Crœsus* should calmly tell a long story of his conversation with *Solon*, after the fire was

* By a similar stratagem, *Sardis* was a long time afterwards taken by *Antiochus*; as described by *Polybius*.

† Ειτις μιν δαιμονων ρυσεται του μη ζωντα κατακαυθηναι. Herod. i. § 86. The *demons* were tutelar gods. *Nebuchadnezzar* had declared, before, in favour of the God of *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abednego*: "There is *no other God* that can deliver after this sort." Dan. iii. 29.

actually kindled, or *Cyrus* then be moved with remorse. *Herodotus* evidently introduced this tale as a set off against the remarkable deliverance of the three *Jews*, *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abednego*, from the fiery furnace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by their God, the GOD OF ISRAEL; with whom he covertly contrasts the god of *Crœsus*, *Apollo*, as saving his votary. He parodied, in like manner, the miraculous destruction of *Sennacherib's* army, by converting the pestilential *blast*, into a multitude of *field mice*, at *Pelusium*, in *Egypt*, on the prayer of *Sethos*, the king and priest of *Vulcan*. B. II. § 141.

How kindly disposed, on the contrary, *Cyrus* was toward *Crœsus*, with whom he was connected by affinity, on account of the marriage of *Crœsus*, sister, *Aryenis*, with *Astyages*, appears from *Herodotus* himself. He relates, that before the battle of *Thymbra*, *Cyrus* issued orders throughout the whole army, *not to kill Crœsus, even though he should resist after he was taken* *; immediately after, he promised to *grant all his wishes*; treated him with the utmost kindness and familiarity, consulted him, and kept him constantly about his person; and, before his

* A similar incident is recorded by the Persian historian *Khondemir*, in his life of *Kai Khrosru*. This prince possessed the royal virtues of *clemency*, &c. in a high degree, of which he gave the following instance, in the beginning of his reign. He had an elder brother, by another mother, named *Furude*, who was made Governor of a province on the frontier of *Turan*, by his father *Siavesch*, the late king; and who seems to have revolted at his death. *Khosru* gave orders to his generals, *Fraiborz*, his uncle, and *Thus*, whom he sent with 30,000 horse, to invade *Afrasiab*, king of *Turan*, to do no injury to his brother *Furude*, if he should come to oppose them, but, on the contrary, to treat him with all manner of respect and kindness.

When the *Persian* army reached his province, on their march, they were opposed by *Furude*, who charged them with much youthful bravery. *Thur*, who commanded the advanced guard, sent to entreat him to retire from so unequal a contest. But *Furude* persisting, he sent again to inform him of the orders he had received from *Khosru*, touching his person. But *Furude* rejecting all the compliments and civilities of *Thur*, would not retire from the combat, but was unavoidably killed, to the great regret of the *Persians*, who in fighting for their king, wished to spare the royal blood of his family.

Khosru was inconsolable at this disaster, and immediately deposed *Thur* from his command, and had him sent prisoner to court; and afterwards appointed *Gudarz* in his room. *Herbelot*, Art. *Cai Khosru*.

This *Persian* account, though differing in several circumstances, of persons, time, and place, yet tends, in the main, to confirm the *Grecian*, of the humane and merciful disposition of *Cyrus*, and his respect to the ties of affinity subsisting between him and *Crœsus*. It also contributes further to identify the persons of *Khosru* and *Cyrus*; which are indeed only the same name, transposed; and differ not more from each other, than from the incorrect Masorete punctuation, *Koresh*, as remarked in a former etymological note on *Oriental Titles*.

own death, recommended *Crœsus* to the protection of *Cambyses*. B. I. § 74, 80, 86, 88, 90, 208.

After the *Lydian* war, so successfully terminated, *Cyrus* reduced some revolted cities of *Media*, namely, *Larissa* and *Mespila*, about B.C. 547 *, while *Harpagus*, his general, was employed in subduing *Asia Minor*, *Ionia*, and, among the rest, *Halicarnassus*, the native city of *Herodotus*. B. I. § 162—167. This furnishes probably the true key to his unfavourable accounts of *Cyrus*. *Herodotus* viewed *Cyrus* with aversion, as the enslaver of his country †. And this antipathy biassed an

* *Justin* relates that "several cities which had been tributary to the *Medes*, on the change of empire to the *Persians*, thinking their condition changed also, revolted from *Cyrus*. This was the cause and origin of many wars to *Cyrus*." Lib. i. c. 7.

Xenophon takes notice of two of these revolted cities, *Larissa* and *Mespila*, in his *Anabasis*, B. iii.

1. Speaking of *Larissa*, whose ruins he saw on the banks of the *Tigris*, he adds, "When the *Persians took* (ελαμβανον) the empire from the *Medes*, this city revolted, and [*Cyrus*] the king of the Persians, besieged, but could by no means take it. *A cloud, however, happening to cover the sun*, the inhabitants were dismayed, and so the city was taken."

Costard and others represent *Xenophon* as contradicting himself, and as suppressing in the *Cyropædia*, the *conquest* of the *Medes* by the *Persians*, which he here confesses in the *Anabasis*.

But this is an unfounded charge: the verb, ελαμβανον, implies *peaceable*, not violent *possession*. It is so used in the *Cyropædia*, where the succession of *Cyaxares* to his father *Astyages* is thus related.

"In process of time, *Astyages* died in *Media*; and *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*, and the brother of *Cyrus'* mother, *took* (ελαβε) the empire of the *Medes*."

Here, there cannot be a doubt of the meaning. And precisely in the same sense, the prophet *Daniel* used the Chaldee verb, קִבֵּל, *kibel*, to express the accession of *Cyaxares* to the throne of *Babylon*, on the assassination of *Belshazzar*, with the full consent of the *Babylonians* themselves. "In the same night, *Belshazzar* was slain. And *Darius the Mede took* the kingdom." Dan. v. 31. See this proved, Vol. II. p. 465 of this work. Hence, *Theodotion's* version judiciously renders the Chaldee verb in question, by παρελαβε, "*received from*" the people themselves, or from the Supreme Council of the State.

2. Describing the ruins of *Mespila*, in the neighbourhood of *Larissa*, *Xenophon* continues; "When *the Medes lost* the empire *by the Persians* (απωλεσαν—ὑπο) a *Median* queen (Μηδια γυνη βασιλεως) is said to have fled hither."——Here, the verb only implies the *translation* of empire from the *Medes* to the *Persians*; while the preposition implies *succession*, not conquest. The passage only proves, that some of the *Median* nobility, (of whom was this queen, or rather *concubine*) were discontented at the change, as was natural.

Costard has been more fortunate in computing the time of the capture of *Larissa*, from a great solar eclipse, Oct. 22, B.C. 547, in which the center of the moon's shadow crossed the *Tigris*, not far from the probable site of *Larissa*. See *Costard's* Astronomy, p. 237, 238.

† *Herodotus* possessed a very free and independent spirit; he left his native city, *Halicarnassus*, and removed to *Samos*, to avoid the tyranny of *Lygdamis*; and afterwards

historian, elsewhere so candid and impartial, to prefer a worse account before the better, of which he was not by any means ignorant, and which was afterwards furnished by *Xenophon*, tacitly vindicating the character of his hero from the aspersions of *Herodotus*.

Cyrus afterwards prosecuted the war against the eastern confederates, and reduced all *Syria* and *Arabia;* Cyropæd. B. VII. p. 399; and, at last, invested *Babylon*, which was the only city that now held out against him. *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* terms him, *Labynetus*, marched out to fight him, but was defeated, and driven into *Borsippa*, the citadel of *Babylon*, where *Cyrus* besieged him and the town for two years, B.C. 538, and took it at last, by stratagem, B.C. 536, as related before, Vol. I. p. 168. See the foregoing prophecies respecting *Babylon*.

With the conquest of *Egypt*, B. VII. p. 498, *Xenophon* closes the military exploits of *Cyrus*. The seven last years of his full sovereignty, he spent in peace and tranquillity at home, revered and beloved by all descriptions of his subjects. When dying, he was surrounded by his family, friends, and children; and gave them the noblest exhortations to the practice of piety, virtue, and concord. *Cyropæd.* B. VIII. p. 501—509.

This testimony of *Xenophon* is confirmed, in the main, by the *Persian* historians. They relate, that after a long and bloody war, *Khosru* subdued the empire of *Turan*, and made the city of *Balk*, in *Chorasan*, a royal residence, to keep in order his new subjects. That he repaid every family in *Persia* the amount of their war taxes, out of the immense spoils he had acquired by his conquests; that he endeavoured to promote peace and harmony between the *Turanians* and *Iranians;* regulated the pay of his soldiery, reformed civil and religious abuses throughout the provinces; and at length, after a long and glorious reign, resigned the crown to his son *Lohorasp*, and retired to solitude, saying that "*he had lived long enough for his own glory, and it was now time for him to devote the remainder of his days to* GOD."

Saadi, in his *Gulistan*, records the sage inscription which *Cyrus* caused to be engraved on his *Tiara*.

"*What avails a long life spent in the enjoyment of worldly*

joined the friends of freedom, in expelling him. He was again compelled to leave his country by the prevailing faction, and retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*, where he spent the remainder of his days in voluntary exile.

grandeur, since others, mortal like ourselves, will one day trample under foot our pride! This crown, handed down to me from my predecessors, must soon pass in succession upon the heads of many others!" *Herbelot.* Art. *Cai Khosru.*

Xenophon thus records his great humility and pious gratitude, in his admirable thanksgiving to the Gods.

"*I am abundantly thankful for being truly sensible of your care, and for never being elated by prosperity above my condition. I beseech you to prosper my children, wife *, friends, and country. And for myself, I ask, that such as the life ye have vouchsafed to mē, such may be my end.*" Cyropæd. B. VIII. p. 500.—He lived, indeed, the life, and died the death of the righteous.

Here, *Xenophon*, a polytheist himself, represents *Cyrus* praying to *the Gods* in the plural number; but that he really prayed to one only, the PATRIARCHAL GOD, worshipped by his venerable ancestors, the *Pischdadians*, may appear from the watch-word, or signal, which he gave to his soldiers before the great battle, in which *Evil Merodach* was slain. *Cyropæd.* p. 367.

ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ 'ΗΓΕΜΩΝ.

"JOVE, OUR SAVIOUR AND LEADER."

Who this God was, we learn from the preamble of his famous proclamation, permitting the *Jews* to return from the *Babylonian* captivity: "THE LORD, THE GOD OF HEAVEN *hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He hath charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem*," &c. Ezra i. 1, 2.

But where did THE LORD, (IAHOH †, or JOVE) so charge him?—In that signal prophecy of *Isaiah*, predicting his *name* and his *actions*, about B.C. 712, above a century before his birth. A prophecy which was undoubtedly communicated to him by the venerable prophet *Daniel*, the *Archimagus*, who saw the beginning of the *Babylonish* captivity, and also its end, here foretold to be effected by the instrumentality of *Cyrus*.

* Here is no mention of "*wives*," or "*concubines*." *Cyrus* was remarkable for his continence; witness his treatment of *Panthea*, &c.

† From the Hebrew יהוה, Ιαω, was derived the Phœnician pronunciation Ιευω, and from thence, the Greek Ζευς. See my *Dissertations*, &c.

PROPHECY CONCERNING CYRUS.

Isa. xliv. Thus saith THE LORD, thy Redeemer, (O *Jacob,)*
24. And He that formed Thee from the womb, (O *Israel,)*
I am THE LORD who make all things,
Who stretch out *the heavens* alone,
And spread out the earth by myself;
25. I am HE, who frustrate the tokens of the *impostors,*
And make the *diviners* mad;
Who reverse the devices of the *wise,*
And infatuate their skill;
26. Who confirmeth the words of his servants [*the Prophets*]
And performeth the counsel of his messengers:
Who saith to *Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited,*
And to the cities of *Jerusalem, Ye shall be built,*
And, *I will raise up their ruins;*
27. Who saith to the abyss, [*Babylon* *]
Be desolate, and *I will dry up thy rivers:*
28. Who saith to *Cyrus, He is my shepherd,*
And shall perform all my pleasure:
Who saith to *Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built,*
And to the Temple, *Thou shalt be founded.*
xlv. 1. Thus saith THE LORD to his *anointed,*
To *Cyrus,* whom I hold by the right hand,
To subdue before him nations,
And ungird the loins of kings,
To open before him, [*palace*] folding doors;
Even [*river*] gates shall not be shut:
2. I will go before thee, and level mountains,
I will burst asunder the folding doors of brass,
And split in twain the bars of iron;
3. Even I will give thee the dark treasures,
And the hidden wealth of secret places:
That thou mayest know, that I THE LORD,
Who call thee by thy name, am THE GOD OF ISRAEL.
4. For *Jacob* my servant's sake, and *Israel* my chosen,
Even I, have called thee by thy name,
I have surnamed thee, [*my shepherd, my anointed,*]
Although thou hast not known me.
5. I am THE LORD, and none else,
Beside me, there is no God.
I will gird thee [with strength]
Although thou hast not known me.
6. That all the world may know,
From the rising to the setting of the sun,
That there is none beside me;
I am THE LORD, and there is none else.

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* This is the judicious interpretation of the *Chaldee Paraphrase.*

1. This magnificent prophecy opens with the omens and prognostics of the *Babylonian* Soothsayers and *Magi* or Diviners, predicting the stability of that empire, contrary to the awful prophecies of GOD'S servants and messengers; announcing the restoration of *Israel*, and rebuilding of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, according to the divine decree; and the desolation of *Babylon*, and drying up of the waters of her river *Euphrates*, by the stratagem of *Cyrus*, in turning its course.

2. It names *Cyrus* expressly, and surnames him "GOD'S *shepherd*," and "GOD'S *anointed king*," as chosen by him to execute his high behests, and, under the divine guidance and protection, to subdue and reign over many nations, *Cilicians*, *Syrians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, *Carians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*; the *Babylonians*, *Assyrians*, *Bactrians*, *Sacæ*, and *Maryandines*, throughout his extensive dominion; the grant of all which he piously ascribed to "THE GOD OF HEAVEN," in his proclamation, exactly as the LORD represented in the beginning and end of this sublime prophecy.

3. It describes the leading circumstances of the capture of *Babylon*, the gates leading from the quays to the river, providentially left open, during the disorder of the general festivity of the *Sakea*; otherwise, says *Herodotus*, the *Persians*, who entered by night through the channel of the river, would have been inclosed, and caught as in a net, and destroyed. B. I. § 191. And the folding doors of the palace or fortress, imprudently opened by the king's orders to receive the expresses and posts, coming, in quick succession, "*to tell the king that his city was taken at each end.*" See the foregoing prophecies of *Jeremiah* respecting the capture of *Babylon*.

4. It describes, in highly poetical imagery, THE ALMIGHTY going before him, as a pioneer, to remove all obstructions in his way, "*levelling mountains*, &c. The same is applied to the *Baptist*, the harbinger of CHRIST. See Vol. III. p. 64.

5. *Babylon* was celebrated for its *brazen* gates and doors; there were a hundred in the city walls, beside those leading to the river, and belonging to the temple of *Belus*. Herodot. B. I. § 179—181.

6. *Sardis* and *Babylon*, taken by *Cyrus*, were the wealthiest cities in the world. *Crœsus* gave an exact inventory of his immense treasures to *Cyrus*, which were sent off in waggons.

14.531

Cyropæd. Lib. VII. p. 503, 515, 540. *Pliny* gives the following account of the wealth taken by *Cyrus* in *Asia*. "He found 34,000 lbs. weight of gold, besides vessels of gold, and gold wrought into the leaves of a platanus, and of a vine; 500,000 talents of silver, and the cup of *Semiramis*, weighing 15 talents. (The *Egyptian* talent, according to *Varro*, weighed 80 pounds.") Nat. Hist. XXXIII. 15. *Brerewood* estimates the value of the gold and silver in this account at 126,224,000*l.* sterling.

Pliny notices the tomb of *Cyrus* at *Passagardæ* in *Persia*. *Arrian* and *Strabo* describe it; and they agree with *Curtius*, that *Alexander* the Great offered funeral honours to his shade there; that he opened the tomb, and found, not the treasures he expected, but a rotten shield, two *Scythian* bows, and a *Persian* scymetar. And *Plutarch* records the following inscription thereon, in his life of *Alexander*.

"*O man, whoever thou art, and whenever thou comest, (for come, I know thou wilt,) I am* CYRUS, *the founder of the Persian empire. Envy me not the little earth that covers my body* *."

* This is a most signal and extraordinary epitaph. It seems to have been designed as a useful *memento mori*, for *Alexander* the Great, in the full pride of conquest, "*whose coming*," it predicts with a prophetic spirit, "*for come I know thou wilt*."—But how could *Cyrus* know of his coming?—Very easily. *Daniel* the *Archimagus*, his venerable friend, who warned the haughty *Nebuchadnezzar*, that "*head of gold*," or founder of the *Babylonian* empire, that it should be subverted by "*the breast and arms of silver*," Dan. ii. 37—39, or "the *Mede* and the *Persian*," *Darius* and *Cyrus*, as he more plainly told the impious *Belshazzar*, Dan. v. 28, we may rest assured, communicated to *Cyrus* also, the founder of the *Persian* empire, the symbolical vision of the *goat*, with the notable horn in his forehead, *Alexander* of *Macedon* coming swiftly from *the west*, to overturn the *Persian* empire, Dan. viii. 5—8, under the last king *Codomannus*, the fourth from *Darius Nothus*, as afterwards more distinctly explained, Dan. xi. 1—4. *Cyrus*, therefore, decidedly addresses the short-lived conqueror, *O man, whoever thou art*, &c.

Juvenal, in that noble satire, the tenth, ver. 168, has a fine reflection on the vanity of *Alexander's* wild ambition to conquer worlds, soon destined himself to be confined in a narrow coffin; by a pointed allusion to the *epitaph* on *Cyrus'* tomb.

Unus *Pellæo* Juveni non sufficit orbis;
Æstuat, infelix, angusto limite Mundi;
Ut *Gyaræ* clausus scopulis, parvâque *Seripho*:
Cum tamen a *figulis munitam* intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erit.—*Mors sola fatetur*
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula!

"A single globe suffices not the *Pellæan* youth;
Discontented, he scorns the scanty limits of the world;—
As if within a prison's narrow bounds confined:

Alexander was much affected at this inscription, which set before him, in so striking a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of [worldly] things. And he placed the crown of gold which he wore, upon *the tomb in which the body lay*, wondering *that a prince so renowned, and possessed of such immense treasures, had not been buried more sumptuously than if he had been a private person.* Curtius, B. x. cap. 1, p. 792.

Cyrus, indeed, in his last instructions to his children, desired that "his body, when he died, might not be deposited in gold or silver, nor in any other sumptuous monument, but *committed, as soon as possible, to the ground.*" Cyropæd. B. VIII. p. 508.

These various and authentic documents of *sacred* and *profane history*, all aptly cohering together, and confirming each other, are abundantly sufficient to refute the calumnies adopted by *Herodotus* and his followers, *Justin*, &c. respecting the latter end and violent death of the righteous *Cyrus*, which also carry with them internal marks of absurdity, inconsistency, and falsehood.

Herodotus supposes that *Cyrus*, puffed up with his birth, and continual successes, fancied himself *more than man;* that he was anxious to annex the poor and barren country of *Scythia* to his rich and vast dominions; with this view, at seventy years of age, he sent an insidious proposal of marriage to *Tomyris*, queen of the *Massagetæ*, then an elderly widow; but she shrewdly suspecting that *he sought not herself, but her kingdom*, rejected his proposals. He thereupon, unjustly invaded her territories, to accomplish by violence what he could not obtain by fraud. The queen then, it seems, made him a romantic offer, either to let him march three days into her dominions, unmolested, or to let her do the same into his. By the advice of *Crœsus*, we are told, he chose the former; and he overreached the hungry *Scythians* by the simple stratagem of leaving his

> But when he shall enter the *brick-walled* city [Babylon],
> A coffin will content him.—*The epitaph alone owns,*
> *How small are the diminutive bodies of men!*"

The emotion of *Alexander*, on visiting the tomb, and reading the inscription, is not less remarkable. He evidently applied to himself, as the *destroyer*, the awful rebuke of the *founder* of the *Persian* empire, for violating the sanctity of his tomb, from motives of profane curiosity, and perhaps of avarice. And we may justly consider the significant act of laying down his *golden crown* upon the tomb itself, as an *amende honorable*, a homage due to the offended shade of the pious and lowly-minded *Cyrus* the Great.

camp filled with choice provisions and wines, and then falling upon them when they were gorged and drunk, defeated them, and took the queen's son prisoner, who killed himself, when sober, through vexation. The queen immediately raised another powerful army to revenge his death, defeated *Cyrus*, who was slain in a bloody engagement; and when his body was searched for and found, she had his head cut off, and flung into a tub filled with human blood, adding this bitter taunt, *I will glut thee, as I threatened, with blood!* or, as heightened by *Justin*, "*Glut thyself with blood; of which thou hast always been insatiably thirsty!*" And *Herodotus* thus concludes the tale: "This account of the end of *Cyrus* seems to me *most credible* of the *many* that are told*." B. I. § 204—214. It shews at once the extent of his information, and strength of his prejudices against *Cyrus*, by which he was blinded to chuse the most unfavourable. He was, however, sufficiently refuted himself, by the noble traits of genuine worth and wisdom which he incidentally ascribes to this illustrious prince in various parts of his history, extorted by the force of truth, which he could neither disguise nor suppress.

"The *Persians* say that *Darius Hystaspes* was a publican, or tax-gatherer, *Cambyses* a tyrant, but *Cyrus* a *father*:—who was *mild*, and *studied their good in all things*." B. III. § 89. And *Darius Hystaspes* himself, having conquered *Babylon* a second time, by the treachery of *Zopyrus*, extolling his generosity and patriotism, declared, that "no *Persian*, either of later or former times, could surpass *Zopyrus* in merit, *Cyrus* alone excepted, *with whom no Persian ever deemed himself worthy to be compared*," B. III. § 160. And *Herodotus* concludes his last book with an admirable epilogue of the political sagacity of *Cyrus*, shewing how much he studied the *future* prosperity and grandeur of his native country.

"When *Cyrus* had succeeded to the *Median* crown, he was thus addressed by a deputation of the *Persians*.

"Since GOD has given dominion to the *Persians*, and the sovereignty of brave men to *you*, permit us to remove from our

* 1. *Diodorus Siculus* relates that *Cyrus* was taken prisoner by *Tomyris*, and crucified. 2. *Ctesias*, that he was wounded in the thigh by an Indian, in a battle with the *Derbicans*, near *Hyrcania*, of which he died three days after. 3. *John Melela* of *Antioch*, that he was slain in a sea fight, by the *Samians*. All these contradictory reports are refuted by his tomb at *Passagardæ* in *Persia*.

scanty and rugged country of *Persia*, and to occupy a better. There are many such in our vicinity, and many further off. If we occupy one of these we shall be more highly respected by the world; and it is but reasonable that rulers should act in this manner; and when, indeed, will a fairer opportunity offer than now, that we rule many nations, and all *Asia*?"

"*Cyrus*, having heard their speech, though he approved not of it, desired them to do so; but he warned them, at the same time, *to prepare themselves no longer to rule, but to be ruled: for that fertile countries naturally produced effeminate men; that it was not usual for the same soil to bear both admirable fruit and warlike men.*"

"The *Persians*, therefore, acquiescing, quitted their own, and went over to *Cyrus's* opinion, and chose rather to rule, though inhabiting a rough country, than cultivating a champagne to serve others." Herod. B. IX. § 122.

The admirable shrewdness and the philosophical truth of this advice are equally to be admired.

This ample vindication of the character of *Cyrus* throughout, and also of his best historian *Xenophon*, is due to the excellence of both. It is necessary, also, to counteract the imposing authority of *Herodotus*, which has had too much weight to depreciate the fair fame of one of the wisest, best, and greatest princes and heroes that ever swayed a sceptre, or brandished a sword; who was adored by his willing subjects of every description *, and was honoured with the friendship of the prophet *Daniel*, and blessed with the favour and protection of HEAVEN; preordained long before his birth "*to perform all* GOD'S *pleasure.*"

Under the reign of *Cyrus* we shall introduce the *Lydian Chronology*, as essentially connected therewith, on account of the capture of *Crœsus*, the last king, by *Cyrus;* the date of which capture we assumed to be B.C. 548, but it now requires to be proved. The history of *Crœsus*, indeed, is one of the most curious and valuable in *Herodotus;* it is detailed at considerable length, and is derived from accurate information. He placed it in the fore ground of his work, as leading to the reduction of the free cities of *Ionia*, and of *Caria* (his native country,)

* No man was better qualified to conciliate universal love than *Cyrus*, who, according to *Xenophon*, "spent most of his time in procuring some *pleasure* and *good* to all, and *ill* to none." Cyropæd. B. I. p. 34.

at first under the *Lydian* yoke by *Crœsus*, and afterwards under the *Persian*, by *Cyrus*.

LYDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

I. DYNASTY OF THE HERACLIDÆ. 505 years.

		B.C.
1. *Agron*, and 20 kings after 505	....	1223
22d. *Candaules*	....	718

II. DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADÆ. 170 years.

1. *Gyges*	38	....	718
2. *Ardyes*	49	....	680
3. *Sadyattes*	12	....	631
4. *Alyattes*	57	....	619
Eclipse of *Thales*			603
5. *Crœsus*	14	....	562
—— His conversation with *Solon*			552
—— Conquered by *Cyrus* 170		....	548

The chronology of this period is adjusted from the lowest date, that of the capture of *Crœsus;* for, ascending upwards from thence, we get the date of the reign of *Agron*, the first of the *Heraclidæ*, who was made king of *Sardis* by the declaration of an oracle ; his predecessors, *Ninus*, the son of *Belus*, the son of *Alcæus*, the son of *Hercules*, governing only as deputies under the kings of *Lydia*, *Lydus* and his descendants, till the time of *Omphale*, daughter of *Jardanus*. Herod. I. § 7. See *Larcher's* note.

Various have been the dates assigned by the learned for the capture of *Crœsus;* B.C. 542, by the *Parian Chronicle* and *Corsini;* B.C. 544, by *Petavius*, *Newton*, and *Bouhier;* B.C. 545, by *Sosicrates*, *Simpson*, and *Larcher;* B.C. 548, by *Solinus*, *Eusebius*, *Usher*, *Marsham*, and *Vignoles;* B.C. 549, by *Scaliger;* and B.C. 550, by *Playfair*. Of these dates the best supported by ancient and modern authorities, and also by the history, is B.C. 548, which gives the accession of *Crœsus*, 14 + B.C. 548 = B.C. 562, the year before the accession of *Evil Merodach* to the throne of *Babylon*, B.C. 561 ; at which time, we learn from *Xenophon*, that *Crœsus* was actually king of *Lydia*, and joined the king of *Babylon* in the general confederacy against the *Medes* and *Persians*. *Cyropæd.* p. 45, 78, 169. Hence the

later dates, B.C. 545, 544, 542, are necessarily excluded, because they would give the accession of *Crœsus* later than of *Evil Merodach;* and the earlier dates, B.C. 549, 550, because they have no ancient vouchers.

According to this adjustment of the chronology, the famous eclipse of *Thales* happened in the sixteenth year of the reign of *Alyattes*, the father of *Crœsus*. *Beloe* incorrectly refers it to the seventh year of *Astyages*. Herodot. *Clio*, § 74, note (106.)

CRŒSUS.

This prince was thirty-five years old when he began to reign. He was born, therefore, B.C. 597, two years after the birth of *Cyrus*. He must have been by a second wife, for *Alyattes* had two children at least by a former, namely, *Aryenis*, married to *Astyages* in B.C. 603, six years before the birth of *Crœsus*, and a son, *Pantaleon*. The first wife was an *Ionian*, the second a *Carian*. Herod. I. § 92.

When *Crœsus* ascended the throne of *Lydia*, he shared it at first with his elder brother, till a *Lydian* told the following apologue: *The sun procures mankind all the fruits of the earth, and without his heat it would produce nothing; but if there were two suns, there would be reason to fear, that every thing would be burnt and destroyed.*" *Stobæus*' sayings of *Serenus*. He deposed his brother, and put to death his principal adherent *. B. I. § 92.

Crœsus seems to have employed the first nine years of his reign in reducing under his dominion all the petty states of *Asia Minor*, westwards of the river *Halys*, except the *Cilicians* and the *Lycians*. B. I. § 28.

About the tenth year of his reign, and in the height of his grandeur and prosperity, *Crœsus* was visited by several sages. Among the rest, by *Solon*, the celebrated *Athenian* legislator, who, unused to flatter the great, rather, by his freedom of speech, offended *Crœsus*, in not counting him the happiest of men; by giving the preference, in the first place, to *Tellus* the *Athenian*,

* *Crœsus* dedicated a golden statue of the woman who baked his bread, to *Apollo*, in token of gratitude, for saving his life, by discovering to him a plot to poison him in his bread, by another wife of *Alyattes*, to procure the crown for her own son. *Herod.* B. I. § 51. This was probably the mother of *Pantaleon*.

who was blest with virtuous and good children, lived in prosperity, and died in the field of glory, fighting for his country; and in the next place, to *Cleobis* and *Biton*, sons of the priestess of *Juno* at *Argos*, who piously yoked themselves to their mother's chariot, when the sacred oxen had perished by a pestilence, and drew her to the temple, for the space of forty-five furlongs, with the general admiration of the multitude; and when their delighted mother implored the goddess to reward them with the choicest blessing man could enjoy, both were found dead, next morning, in the temple.—"Suspend your opinion," said he to *Crœsus*, "call no man *happy* before his death, but only *fortunate*."—"Whoever, during his life, has most enjoyments, and then ends his days satisfactorily, he only, in my opinion, O king, is entitled to bear the name of *happy*." See the whole of this admirable conversation, Herod. B. I. § 29—33.

Plutarch also vouches it*. He adds, that *Æsop*, the celebrated fabulist, and the friend of *Solon*, who then happened to be at the court of *Sardis* also, blamed him for this unseasonable freedom of speech, and advised him to approach kings, ὡς ἥκιστα, η ὡς ἡδιστα, "*as little, or as pleasantly as possible*:" *Solon* replied adroitly, ὡς ἥκιστα, η ὡς αριστα, "*as little, or as profitably as possible*."

"After *Solon's* departure, *Crœsus*," (about the eleventh year of his reign,) says *Herodotus*, "was visited with a judgment

* "As for *Solon's* interview with *Crœsus*," says *Plutarch*, in his life, "some pretend to prove from *Chronology*, that it is fictitious. But since the story is so famous, and so well attested, (by *Herodotus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c.) nay, what is more, so agreeable to *Solon's* character, so worthy of his wisdom, and greatness of mind, I cannot prevail on myself to reject it for the sake of certain *Chronological Tables*, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring to perfection."

By *Playfair's* tables, *Solon* was born B.C. 638, and died B.C. 558, six years before this conference. But *Plutarch* says, that *Heraclides Ponticus* represented *Solon* as living a *considerable time* after *Pisistratus* usurped the government at *Athens*, B.C. 561. And this is confirmed by *Herodotus*, who plainly represents the ten years' travels of *Solon*, as taking place during the usurpation; in which, *Pisistratus* made no alteration in the laws of *Solon*, § 29, 59; but observed them himself, and caused his adherents to do so too; according to *Plutarch*. He died, therefore, not earlier than B.C. 550. *Solon* was probably born indeed, B.C. 638; for he was older than *Thales*, who was born B.C. 633, according to *Diogenes Laertius*. After *Solon's* return to *Athens*, he boldly opposed *Pisistratus*; and when asked, *what made him venture to do so?* he replied, "*old age*," according to *Plutarch*; who says, that he lived to extreme age. Such would be 88 years.

This adjustment of *Lydian* Chronology with *Grecian*, is supported therefore by the respectable authority of *Heraclides Ponticus*, *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Diogenes Laertius*. *Playfair* dates the birth of *Thales* too early, B.C. 640.

from God, (in the untimely death of his second and favourite son,) as we may conjecture, *because he thought himself of all men the most happy.*" § 34. The remainder of his reign was disastrous, ending in his captivity by *Cyrus*; as we have seen.

ORACLES.

Crœsus was remarkable for his superstitious regard to oracles and dreams. Before his accession to the crown, he sent to consult the Oracle, whether he should have any *children.* The Oracle, at first, returned no answer; but, at length, after many offerings of gold, and many of silver, and very many sacrifices, became communicative, and told him that *he should have children.* And truly indeed, but not for his advantage; for his elder son was dumb, and his younger, of great merit, perished in the flower of his age. Cyropæd. B. VII. p. 385, 386.

Crœsus tried every method of curing his elder son of his dumbness, but in vain. He then sent to consult the Oracle again, whether his son should ever come to the use of his tongue? when he got this remarkable response:

> *O too imprudent Lydian, wish no more*
> *The charming sound of a son's voice to hear:*
> *Better for thee, could things rest as they are;*
> *For in an evil day, he first shall speak.*
>
> *Littlebury's* translation *.

And it was remarkably accomplished. For when *Sardis* was afterwards surprized, a *Persian* soldier, not knowing the king, was going to kill him, now, through despair, regardless of life;

* This is a masterly rendering of the spirit of the original:

> Λυδε γενος, πολλων βασιλευ, μεγα νηπιε, Κροισε,
> Μη βουλευ πολυευκτον ιην ανα δωματ' ακουειν
> Παιδος φθεγγομενου, τοδε σοι πολυ λωιον αμφις
> Εμμεναι· αυδησει γαρ εν ἡματι πρωτον ανολβῳ.

Which may be thus literally rendered:

> " *Crœsus*, of *Lydian* race, though a great king, yet a mere infant,
> Wish not to hear the much-prayed-for sound
> Of thy son's voice, speaking in the chambers of thy palace.
> For thee, it were much better to be otherwise:
> For, *in an unlucky day, he first shall speak.*"

In the heathen temples there were ὑποφηται, *under-priests*, whose business is was to turn the responses, as they came from *the Oracle*, into verse; in which they sometimes succeeded but poorly. This was well expressed.

when his son, in an agony of terror, exclaimed, *O man, do not kill Crœsus!* And thenceforward, he spoke plainly. Herod. I. § 34, 85.

Crœsus had dreamed that his younger son, *Atys*, was slain with an iron spear. This dream so alarmed him, that he took every method to avert the omen. He provided a wife for his son, prohibited him from leading the *Lydian* army in war, as before, and removed all spears and military weapons out of his way. But notwithstanding, he was accidentally slain, at the hunting of a wild boar, by *Adrastus*, under whose care, his anxious father had placed him. Herod. B. I. § 34—80.

After two years of mourning for his son, *Crœsus* sent to consult the Oracle again, *how he might spend the rest of his life most happily?* which answered,

ΣΑΥΤΟΝ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΩΝ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ, ΚΡΟΙΣΕ, ΠΕΡΑΣΕΙΣ,
"*Know thyself, Crœsus, and thou shalt happily pass through [life].*"

This sage response gave rise to an admirable conversation between *Crœsus*, after he was taken prisoner, and *Cyrus;* recorded by *Xenophon*, equally to the honour of both parties.

——"For my *ignorance* then," [of *myself* and of *you*,] proceeded *Crœsus*, "am I now justly punished. Now indeed, at length," said he, "*Cyrus, I know myself.*——But do you think *Apollo* told truth? that *I shall be happy in knowing myself.*—— I ask *you* this question, because you seem to me best qualified to form a judgment on this subject, in the present posture of affairs; for you are able to effect it." But *Cyrus* said, "Give me, rather, your advice on the subject, *Crœsus;* for when I consider your former happiness, I really pity you; and I now restore to you your wife and your daughters, (for I hear you have some,) and your friends, and your attendants, and your table to be kept as usually; but I prohibit you from wars and battles." "In truth," said *Crœsus*, "you need not desire to give any further answer about promoting my happiness; for if you only do what you say, I tell you, that I shall continue to enjoy, in future, what *others* counted the happiest life, and in which I concur with them." "*Who*, then," said *Cyrus*, "hold this the happy life?" "*My wife*," said he, "*Cyrus;* for she shared alike with me, all my goods, luxuries, and delights, while she was freed from the cares of procuring them, and from war and battle. Thus, you are now disposed to treat me, as I

treated her, whom I loved best in the world. So that I consider myself as owing *Apollo* some further offerings, expressive of my gratitude." When *Cyrus* heard this, he was surprized at his equanimity; and for the future, took him along with himself wherever he went; either thinking that *Crœsus* might be of some use to him, or judging this the safer procedure. *Cyropæd.* B. VII. p. 385—389.

When *Crœsus* meditated the invasion of *Media*, roused by the successes of *Cyrus*, and the growing greatness of his empire, he determined to make trial of the most celebrated oracles of antiquity, at *Delphi*, *Phocis*, *Dodona*, and those of *Amphiaraus*, *Trophonius*, and the *Milesian Branchidæ*, in *Greece*; and of *Ammon*, in *Libya*, in order to form a judgment of the best, before he consulted them as to the fitness or unfitness of an expedition against the *Persians*.

This was the nature of the trial: he sent different messengers from *Sardis*, to these several Oracles, to enquire what *Crœsus*, the son of *Alyattes*, was doing on the day that they were actually consulted; which he appointed to be the hundredth day after their departure. And on this day, he cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together himself, in a brazen pan, with a brazen cover; an employment equally unaccountable, and difficult to divine.

The responses of the other Oracles are not recorded; but *Apollo's*, of *Delphi*, was remarkably apposite. No sooner had the *Lydians* entered the temple, and proposed the question enjoined, than the *Pythian* priestess uttered the following, in *heroic* verse:

> " I know the number of the *Lybian* sands,
> The ocean's measure: I can penetrate
> The secret of the silent, or the dumb.
> I smell the ascending odour of a *lamb*,
> And *tortoise*, in a *brazen caldron* boiled;
> *Brass lies beneath*, and *brass above the flesh.*"
>
> *Littlebury's* translation *.

* This also is a masterly translation of the spirit of the original:

> Οιδα δ' εγω ψαμμου τ' αριθμον και μετρα θαλασσης,
> Και κωφου συνιημι, και ου φωνευντος ακουω,
> Οδμη μ' ες φρενας ηλθε κραταιρινοιο χελωνης
> Ἑψομενης εν χαλκῳ ἁμ' αρνειοισι κρεεσσιν,
> Ἡι χαλκος μεν ὑπεστρωται, χαλκον δ' επιεσται.

The Oracle of the hero *Amphiaraus*, gave nearly the same answer. *Crœsus* therefore, approving of these two, as the most sagacious, sent them abundance of the richest and most magnificent offerings; which are recited by *Herodotus*. And then consulted them, *whether Crœsus should invade the Persians?* and *whether he should procure an army of auxiliaries?* Both the Oracles agreed in the purport of their answer: that *if he invaded the Persians, he should destroy a great empire;* and they advised him, *to make friends of the most powerful of the Greeks.* Herod. i. § 46—53. The *Delphic* Oracle was delivered in this *heroic* verse:

Κροισος, Αλυν διαβας, μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει:

"By crossing the Halys, Crœsus will destroy a great empire."

After a munificent donation to the inhabitants of *Delphi*, of two staters of gold to each, the over-curious *Crœsus* sent, a third time, to consult the Oracle, *whether his monarchy should last long:* to which the *Pythian* gave this response:

"When o'er the *Medes*, a *mule* shall reign as king,
Learn thou the name of *coward* to despise;
Then, on thy soft feet, *Lydian*, must thou fly,
The pebbly *Hermus*, and no longer stay *."

Which may be thus literally rendered:

"I know the number of the sand, and measures of the sea;
I understand even the dumb, and hear even the mute.
The scent of a strong-shelled *tortoise*, with *lamb's flesh*,
Boiled in *brass*, reaches my senses:
The *vessel is of brass*, and the *cover also of brass*."

The Oracle first claims the attribute of THE DEITY, *Omnipresence*, as in the sublime description of Job, xi. 7—9; xxvii. 23. He next tacitly rebukes the secrecy of *Crœsus*, who vainly endeavoured to hide his experiment; then he states it.

Littlebury's translation of these Oracles, is superior to *Beloe's*. His translation indeed, in general, is closer to the original, though frequently inaccurate. *Beloe's* is too paraphrastic. *Beloe's* notes, however, (selected principally from *Larcher's*) are valuable, and give his work the preference to *Littlebury's*, which is a bare translation.

* The following is the original response:

Αλλ' οταν ημιονος βασιλευς Μηδοισι γενηται,
Και τοτε, Λυδε ποδαβρε, πολυψηφιδα παρ' Ερμον
Φευγειν' μηδε μενειν, μηδ' αιδεισθαι κακος ειναι.

The two first lines of the translation are from *Littlebury*. *Beloe* has noticed an incorrectness in his last line, where παρ' Ερμον, is rendered "*to Hermus;*" which he changes to "*over Hermus*," or "*across*" it. But the preposition, παρα, is scarcely

With these oracular verses, *Crœsus* was pleased exceedingly; persuaded that a real *mule* could never reign over the *Medes;* and consequently, that neither himself, nor his posterity, should be deprived of dominion. § 54—56. Thus, by these two last ambiguous and fallacious oracles, was *Crœsus* deluded to his ruin. And he found out too late, that "*the empire to be destroyed,*" was "*his own;*" and that, by the figurative "*mule,*" was meant *Cyrus;* a *Persian*, by his father's side, and a *Mede*, by his mother's. The last Oracle also, probably, led him to assemble his forces, in the plain of *Thymbra*, finely watered by the river "*Hermus,*" which rises in the mountain *Tmolus*, and discharges itself into the sea near the city *Phocæa;* from which he actually "*fled*" to *Sardis*, after his defeat, fulfilling the Oracle in this circumstance also. § 86, 90.

The first favour *Crœsus*, in his captivity, asked of the humane *Cyrus*, was to send his fetters as a present, and a reproach, to *Apollo*, at *Delphi;* trusting in whose inspiration, chiefly, he had been instigated to make war on the *Persians;* when the *Pythian* priestess made rather a lame apology for the god: 1. That *Apollo* was unable to counteract the decrees of *Fate*, by which *Crœsus* was doomed to expiate the crimes of his fifth ancestor, *Gyges**, (see § 13.) who murdered his master *Can-*

ever used singly, in the loco-motive sense of *trans*, for which he contends. It seems here, rather, to be used as a verb, παρ', by a usual apocope, for παρεστι, *licet*, or παρεσται, *licebit;* as παρεστι στενειν, "*there is cause to lament;*" *Euripides*, παρεστι χαιρειν, "*there is cause to rejoice;*" *Aristophanes.* And also παρα, and παρ', are used for παρεισι, as παρ' εμοι γε και αλλοι, "*others also assist me,*" *Homer.* παρα δ' εργα βοεσσι, *Hesiod.* This verbal use of it seems to be required by the infinitives following, φευγειν, μενειν, ειναι, which want a governing indicative verb. The *grammatical* construction seems to be, τοτε, Λυδε ποδαβρε, παρεσται [σοι] φευγειν πολυψηφιδα Ἑρμον. "*Then, soft-footed Lydian, thou shalt have cause to fly the pebbly Hermus;*" which seems equivalent to φευγειν πατριδα, "*to fly one's country,*" *Lysias*, φευγειν την χθονα, "*to fly one's native land,*" φευγειν την πολιν, "*to fly one's native city.*" Nos *patriam fugimus*, Virgil.

* *Cicero* condemns this argument of the *Pythian:*—"Strange *equity* of *the gods* indeed! Will any *state* suffer a law to be enacted, which shall *punish the son, or the grandson, for the crimes of his father, or his grandfather?*" De Nat. Deor. iii. 38.

The *Pythian* doctrine inculcated an inevitable *destiny*, controuling even the Deity; and *Herodotus* seems to have imbibed this doctrine from the *Stoic* school; for he represents the Deity, in the course of his history, as rather viewing mankind with a jealous eye, and promoting their prosperity, only to make their fall more grievous. B. iii. § 65; iv. §. 79, &c. This severe censure of *Plutarch* seems to be supported by the remarkable case of *Polycrates*, which *Herodotus* details at length. He represents that cruel and ambitious tyrant of *Samos*, as uniformly fortunate in all his undertakings. This excited he attention and anxiety of his friend and ally, *Amasis*, king of *Egypt;* who warned

daules, at the instigation of his adulteress queen; and usurped his throne and bed; but that the *god* had retarded his ruin for *three years*, which was all he could do; 2. That if the second response was ambiguous, he might blame himself, for not applying for an explanation, to know what empire was to be destroyed, whether the *Lydian*, or the *Persian*; and 3. That *Crœsus* mistook the last, which was meant of a figurative, not a real *mule*. *Crœsus*, however, acquiescing in these reasons, acknowledged that the fault was his own, not the god's. § 90, 91. And *Xenophon* further adds, that "*Crœsus* blamed himself, because that in the first instance, neglecting to enquire *whether he wanted any thing*, he *tempted* the god, *whether he was able to tell truth*: but surely," says *Xenophon*, "not only *the god*, but even *good and worthy men*, when they find they are disbelieved,

him of *the invidiousness of the Deity*, (το θειον ὡς εστι φθονερον) and to counteract his excessive prosperity, advised him to deprive himself of the most valuable article among his treasures. *Polycrates*, accordingly, flung into the sea an *emerald seal ring*, which he prized most highly; but, by a remarkable prodigy, it was found about a week after, in the belly of a fish, that was dressed for his table. Upon hearing this, *Amasis*, being instructed, (εμαθε) that *it was impossible for one man to deliver another from his destiny*, (εκ του μελλοντος πρηγματος) and concluding that one so uniformly prosperous, (who found even what he had thrown away), would not come to a good end, sent a herald to *Samos*, to break off all connection with *Polycrates*; in order that he might not involve himself in the distress, and dreadful calamity, to come upon his ally. B. iii. § 39—43. *Diodorus Siculus*, however, assigns a more rational motive for this conduct of *Amasis*: "The *Egyptian*," says he, "was so disgusted with the tyrannical conduct of *Polycrates*, not only to his subjects, but even to *strangers*, that he foresaw his fate to be inevitable; and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin." *Polycrates* was afterwards perfidiously crucified by *Orœtes*, the *Persian* governor of *Sardis*; fulfilling his daughter's dream, that "she saw her father suspended in the air, and anointed by the sun." "This unfortunate death," says *Herodotus*, "having been foretold of him, by *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*." B. iii. § 120—125.

How different was the doctrine of *Xenophon*, trained in the *Socratic* school! He invariably represents the GODS, or rather the SUPREME BEING, as ordering the affairs of mortals, by his all-governing Providence; dispensing happiness or misery, according to the merit or demerit of individuals. To this he ascribes the prosperity of *Cyrus*, and the misfortunes of *Crœsus*; in perfect conformity with the primitive *Persian* religion, and also with HOLY WRIT; which states the doctrine thus:

"*The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father*; nor *shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous man shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.*" And to guard against the gloomy and uncomfortable doctrine of an uncontroulable *fate* or *necessity*, it adds, for the encouragement of the repentant sinner: "*But if the wicked will turn from all the sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die.*" Ezek. xviii. 20, 21. In the *Decalogue*, "*The sins of the fathers were to be visited upon the children, unto the third* and *fourth generation*," only in a *national* sense. See Vol. II. p 232, of this work.

are not disposed to *love the incredulous.*" Cyropæd. B. VII. p. 385.

The various *oracles* noticed by *Herodotus*, in the course of his history, and their numerous responses, form, perhaps, the most curious and valuable part of it, in a religious light. That he firmly believed himself in their inspiration and veracity, does not admit of a doubt. He was credulous even to excess *; and not only he, but *Socrates*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, &c. the wisest and greatest men of antiquity, both among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, trusted in them, and consulted them.

Several of the *oracular responses* indeed, were ambiguous and delusive, we readily grant †; these might have proceeded from the *frauds* and *impostures* of the *priests*. But on the other hand, several of them were so determinate and explicit, and so wonderfully fulfilled, that if the facts be well ascertained, they cannot be ascribed merely to priestcraft. Such as the response concerning the dumb son of *Crœsus*, *that in an evil day he first should speak*; so exactly verified by the event; and the experimental test of the *boiled lamb and tortoise in a brazen vessel*; the failure of other Oracles to answer which, seems to confirm the account of the two, that succeeded ‡; and surely these two, of *Apollo*, at *Delphi*, in the territory of *Phocis*; and of *Amphiaraus*, in that of *Bœotia*, could not possibly have had any intercourse or collusion together, on the same day and hour. *Lucian*, the sophist, indeed, ridicules " the tricks played to make trial of

* " I shall neither presume," says *Herodotus*, " to question the authority of *Oracles* myself, nor shall I patiently suffer others to do so." B. viii. § 77.

† Such was that which induced *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epirus*, to invade *Italy*, *Aio te, Æacide, Romanos vincere posse*; either, " that *you* may conquer the *Romans*," or " the *Romans* may conquer *you*;" the latter was the fact.

‡ This argument is strongly insisted on by *Cicero*, to support the veracity of the *Delphic* Oracle, in former times; as contrasted with its failure, in later times.

Nunquam illud *oraculum Delphis tam celebre* et *tam clarum* fuisset, neque *tantis donis* refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi *omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta. Jamdiu, idem non facit.* Ut igitur nunc, minore gloriâ est, quia minus oraculorum veritate excellit; sic tum, nisi summâ veritate, in tantâ gloriâ non fuisset.

And he endeavours to account for its failure from natural causes, supposing that the *vaporous exhalation* was *exhausted by age*, on which the *inspiration* of the *Pythian* priestess depended.

Potest autem, *vis illa terræ*, quæ mentem *Pythiæ divino afflatu* concitabat, *evanuisse vetustate;* ut quosdam exaruisse omnes, aut in alium cursum contortos, et deflexos, videmus. Sed ut vis, acciderit; magna enim quæstio est: modo maneat id, (quod negari non potest, *nisi omnem historiam perverterimus*) *multis sæculis verax fuisse id oraculum. De Divinat.* Lib. i. § 19.

Apollo's sagacity, when people boil together the flesh of a lamb and of a tortoise; so that *Apollo* must have had a good nose, or sharp scent, truly, otherwise the *Lydian (Crœsus)* would have exposed him to derision." *Bis accusat.* Vol. II. p. 793. But ridicule is not argument, and the munificent oblations of *Crœsus*, at the temples of *Apollo* and *Amphiaraus*, which *Herodotus* actually saw, § 51, 52; seem to leave no room for doubting either the fact, or the secrecy of *Crœsus;* who, in so important a case, would not be likely to entrust his scheme of trial to any one whatsoever, before the very day on which it was to be put in practice.

We are therefore driven to the necessity of admitting some *supernatural interposition*, in such cases *. *Rollin* accordingly, ascribes the response to *demoniacal agency:* "GOD," says he, "permitting the *demons* sometimes to tell truth, in order to punish the blindness of their votaries." *Ancient Hist.* Vol. I. p. 387. Indeed, from their supposed *knowledge* of futurity, the *demons* chiefly derived their name, Δαιμονες, from Δαιω, *Scio* †.

2. In the case of the *Lydian* experiment, we may not unreasonably suppose, that *Satan*, "*the prince of the aerial jurisdiction*," as he is styled in Scripture, Ephes. ii. 2, and his *angels*, or *demoniacal spirits*, may have an astonishing facility of transporting themselves through the air, from place to place, "*like lightning*," to use our Lord's illustration, Luke x. 9, and in "a *moment of time* ‡," as at his temptation, Luke iv. 5. Some of

* See, among others, the remarkable Oracle of *Latona*, given to *Psammiticus*, that he should recover the throne of *Egypt*, from which he had been expelled, with the assistance of *brazen men coming out of the sea;* who proved to be *Greek* pirates, in *brazen armour*. Herod. B. ii. § 152. *Pyrrhus* was warned to beware of *Argos*, and *Epaminondas* of *Pelagos*, where both found their deaths.

† *Dæmones* autem Grammatici dictos aiunt, quasi, δαιμονας, id est, *peritos*, ac *rerum scios*. *Lactant.* Lib. 2. c. 14.

Hos autem putant *Deos* esse: *sciunt* illi quidem *futura multa*, sed non *omnia;* quippe quibus *penitus consilium* DEI scire non licet. Et ideo solent responsa in *ambiguos exitus* temperare. *Augustin.* Lib. 3. De Civitate, c. 17, sub finem.

Dæmones vero, quæ præmonstrare creduntur, *versutâ calliditate prædicunt*. Quæst. apud *Athanas.* 99, p. 370.

‡ *Omnis spiritus ales.* Hoc, et *angeli* et *dæmones*. Igitur *momento ubique sunt:* totus orbis illis locus unus est, quod ubi geratur tam facile *sciunt* quam *enuntiant*. *Velocitas*, divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Cæterum *testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis*, eo modo renunciavit *Pythius;* quo supra diximus. *Momento* apud *Lydiam* fuerat. *Tertull.* Apolog. cap. 22, p. 22.

These extracts are taken from a learned and solid answer to *Van Dale's*, and *Fontenelle's* History of Oracles, by a Frenchman, (probably father *Balteus*, a Jesuit, pro-

these " ministering spirits," therefore, might have conveyed the intelligence of *Crœsus*' proceedings from *Sardis* to *Delphi*, or *Thebes*, to the presiding spirits in those *Oracles*.

The *Pythian Apollo* seems to have been the *old serpent* himself, Acts xvi. 16; " deceiving the whole *heathen* world," by his *lying oracles* especially, before the coming of CHRIST. Rev. xii. 9; ix. 11. Who was called *Baalzebub*, at *Ekron* in *Palestine*, where he delivered Oracles, and whom the idolatrous *Ahaziah*, king of *Israel*, sent to consult, whether he should recover from his sickness; 2 Kings i. 1—4: whom the Jews, in our Lord's time, called " *Beelzebub, the prince of demons*," Matt. ix. 24. It is remarkable, that our Lord did not undeceive the *Jews*, nor correct their error, if it were such; but rather, assuming the fact, refuted their malignity upon their own principles.

3. The established credit of Oracles, throughout the heathen world, could only have been founded on experimental knowledge of their veracity, in several remarkable cases. This argument is urged by *Cicero*, in favour of the *Pythian Oracle*. See the foregoing note. The Libyan Oracle of *Ammon* derived its name from אמון, Αμουν, " *Truth*." And surely the sages and philosophers, as well as kings, and great men of antiquity, were not less sceptical than *Crœsus*, nor less competent to detect a palpable falsehood, or a disguised fraud.

4. Their *total cessation—Delphis oracula* cessant, Juv. Sat. VI. 554.—about the birth of Christ and soon after, a fact confessed by their greatest advocates, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, &c. intimates, that all the preceding responses could not have been the result of mere *priestcraft*, or *human imposture*; since these causes would not have ceased, but rather have operated more powerfully after the establishment of CHRISTIANITY.

5. The manner of their delivery by the diviners and priestesses, the *Pythian*, the *Sibyls*, &c. with *convulsions*, *foamings*, *heavings* *, sometimes so violent as to terminate in *death*; and their

fessor of divinity, in the University of *Strasburgh*) and ably translated by a *Priest of the Church of England*, 1709. 8vo. London. p. 52, 145—147. He fully proves, that their hypothesis of *priestcraft*, or *imposture*, will not solve the question in all cases, nor agree with the general consent of antiquity.

* These symptoms of *inspiration*, or *divination*, were of remote antiquity. They are noticed in *Job's* days, xxxii. 18, 19.

" I am full of matter; *the spirit within* constraineth me;

reluctance to mount the sacred tripod, intimate a præternatural phrenzy. And this was *Cicero's* argument: "What is the reason, why *Cassandra*, in her phrenzy, foresees future events, (the destruction of *Troy*) while *Priam*, in his senses, cannot do the same?" The same was the case of the *Demoniacs* in the Gospel, who confessed the divinity of CHRIST, to which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* were so blind, though "*wise* in their own eyes, and *prudent* in their own sight." See Vol. III. p. 104—111.

6. Why these *lying Oracles*, which generally sheltered themselves under ambiguities and obscurities of expression, should sometimes tell remarkable truths; as in the foregoing case of the Scripture *Demoniacs*, of the *Damsel at Philippi*, of the responses to *Crœsus*, &c. may be ascribed to the controul of ALMIGHTY GOD, on particular occasions of consequence, compelling them to speak truth. The prophecies of *Balaam*, that heathen diviner, are no less wonderful and astonishing, than those of *Moses* himself.

CAMBYSES, OR LOHORASP.

Cyrus the Great left to his elder son, *Cambyses*, the throne of *Persia*, and the bulk of his vast dominions:—"Given," said he,

> Lo, *my belly* is like *wine* without vent;
> It is ready to burst, like the *monthly diviners* *."

Balaam speaks of himself, as "seeing the vision of the ALMIGHTY, falling into a *trance*, but having his [*mental*] *eyes* open." Numb. xxiv. 16.

And the *Cumæan Sibyl*, "priestess of the *sun* and *moon*," or of *Apollo* and *Diana*, who came from the country of *Babylon*, or *Chaldea*, about the time of the *Trojan* war; like *Balaam*, was affected with extraordinary agitations, while under the overpowering influence of the oracular *afflatus*.

> At *Phœbi* nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
> Bacchatur *Vates*, magnum si pectore possit
> Excussisse *Deum*; tanto magis ille fatigat
> *Os rabidum, fera corda* domans, fingitque premendo."
>
> *Æneid.* vi. 77.

Plutarch speaks of a *Pythian* priestess, who being placed upon the *tripod*, or sacred stool, to receive the divine afflatus, began to swell and foam at the mouth, and was thrown into such an extreme rage and transport, that she terrified not only the consulters, but the priests themselves, who ran away and left her: and so violent was the paroxysm, that she died shortly after. Some say, that a *dragon used to wind himself about the tripod*. Others, that the *Pythia* once was killed by him. *Potter's Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 278.

* See this new translation, given Vol. II. p. 326.

in his pious and lowly language, "by the GODS, and by *me*, as far as in me lieth." And to his younger, *Tanaoxares*, or *Smerdis*, "the satrapy or government of *Media*, *Armenia*, and a third part of *Cadusia*," composing the original province of *Aderbigian*, in Oriental Geography; thus soothing its high-minded inhabitants, perhaps, with the semblance of independance and royalty. Cyropæd. B. VIII. p. 503.

In the fourth year of his reign, *Cambyses* invaded *Egypt*, on account of some offence he had conceived against *Amasis*, the reigning king; of which various and improbable accounts are given by *Herodotus* *. B. III. § 1—4. The truer seems to be, that on the death of *Cyrus*, *Amasis* endeavoured to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and refused homage and tribute to his successor.

And this account is confirmed by the *Persian* historians; stating that *Lohorasp*, while he was regulating the eastern provinces of *Iran*, sent his general, *Gudarz*, or *Raham*, with a powerful army, to recover the western provinces of *Shamah* †, or *Syria*, &c., who accordingly conquered *Syria*, as far as *Damas-*

* *Herodotus* gives three accounts; first, from the *Persians*, that *Cambyses*, at the suggestion of an *Egyptian* physician, hearing the fame of the beauty of the daughter of *Amasis*, sent to demand her for a concubine; but that *Amasis* imposed upon him *Nitetis*, the daughter of the former king, *Apries*, instead of his own. This imposition, when discovered, provoked *Cambyses*, to commence hostilities against *Egypt*. But *Apries* was put to death by *Amasis* and his rebellious subjects, B.C. 569, forty years before the accession of *Cambyses*, when *Nitetis* must have been an old woman.

He states next, from the *Egyptians*, that *Nitetis* was rather the concubine of *Cyrus*; who had by her, *Cambyses*. This, *Herodotus* himself refutes, from the *Persian* usage; because no bastard could succeed to the throne of *Persia*, while a legitimate heir was alive; but that *Cambyses* was unquestionably legitimate.

He relates a third account, that the queen, mother of *Cambyses*, was jealous of *Nitetis*, and complained in his presence, how *Cyrus* neglected her and her children, and bestowed all his kindness on this *Egyptian* concubine; whereupon, *Cambyses*, then but ten years old, suddenly exclaimed, "*Mother, as soon as I come to manhood, I will overturn Egypt.*"

This, *Herodotus* himself disapproves: and surely it is built upon a gross misrepresentation of *Cyrus*, and of fact: he did not conquer *Egypt* so early; and he was remarkable for his continence; and seems to have had "*a wife*" only, and no *concubines*. See a former note.

It is rather extraordinary, that *Beloe*, in his note, should adopt this last, as "*much the most likely to be true.*" Vol. II. p. 137.

† In Oriental Geography, *Syria* was called *Shamah*, "the left hand," or western; and *Arabia*, *Yemen*, "the right hand," or eastern, to a spectator, fronting the north. So *Homer*:

Ειτ' επι δεξι' ιωσι, προς ηω τ' ηελιον τε·
Ειτ' επ' αριστερα τοιγε, ποτι ζοφον ηεροεντα. ILIAD. xiii. 239.

cus and *Palestine*, including the famous city of *Jerusalem*, called by the *Persians*, "*the Holy City*," (*Kadutha*, or with a *Greek* termination, Καδυτις, *Kadytis*, as it is called by *Herodotus*. B. II. § 159, III. § 5.) *Herbelot*. Art. *Lohorasp*.

The *Persian* writers confound this *Persian* invasion with the earlier *Babylonian* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom *Khondemir* held to be *Gudarz*. Others reckoned *Gudarz* to be *Kiresh*, or *Cyrus*, as the Tarik *Montekheb* and *Lebtarikh*.

To secure a safe passage through the great desert, between *Palestine* and *Egypt*, *Cambyses*, by the advice of *Phanes*, a Greek refugee from *Amasis*, made a treaty with the king of *Arabia*, to furnish his army with water, on the way; which he did, in camel skins. On arriving at the *Pelusiac*, or eastern branch of the *Nile*, *Cambyses* found *Psammenitus*, the son and successor of *Amasis* (who had died before the *Persians* arrived) encamped with his army. An engagement ensued, in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the *Egyptians* fled, and were pursued by the *Persians* to *Memphis*, the capital of lower *Egypt*; which was soon reduced by the *Persians*, and *Psammenitus* taken, after a reign of six months, B.C. 525, and soon after put to death, for fomenting rebellion, by *Cambyses* *. B. III. § 4—15.

After the rapid conquest of *Egypt*, *Cambyses* designed to invade the *Carthaginians* by sea; the *Ammonians* of *Libya*, and Macrobian *Ethiopians* of *Abyssinia* by land. But he was disappointed and baffled in all these schemes of conquest, or of plunder. The *Phœnicians*, in his service, refused to fight against the *Carthaginians*, their descendants. A detachment of 50,000 men, sent against the *Ammonians*, whose temple was prodigiously rich, perished in the sands; and the main body of his army, led by himself against the *Ethiopians*, whose gold he coveted, were almost famished in the deserts, having been compelled to draw lots, and kill and eat every tenth man, to satisfy the hunger of the rest. Whereupon *Cambyses* retreated to *Memphis*, with the shattered remainder of his troops. This disastrous expedition may be dated B.C. 524.

* The indignities said to be offered by *Cambyses* to the embalmed body of *Amasis*, are most improbable, originating, as it seems, from the foregoing tale of his daughter, and from the hatred of the *Egyptians* to the memory of *Cambyses*. They were no less revolting to the *Persians*, as being impious, unmanly, and impolitic. This outrage is clearly distinguishable from those he committed afterwards, when he was deranged.

The remainder of *Cambyses'* reign was a tissue of the most extravagant cruelties, and excesses of every kind, committed against the *Egyptians*, the *Persians*, and his *own family*. He slew the magistrates of *Memphis* at his return, for suffering public rejoicings on finding their new divinity *Apis;* and wounded their calf god in the thigh, with his dagger, and commanded the priests to be scourged. He grew jealous of his brother *Smerdis*, because he was the only *Persian* able to bend the *Ethiopian* bow, sent him home to *Persia*, and soon after, on account of a dream portending the advancement of *Smerdis* to the throne, had him put to death by *Prexaspes;* he married two of his own sisters, and killed the younger by a kick on the belly when pregnant, for lamenting the death of her brother *Smerdis*. He shot the son of *Prexaspes*, his cup-bearer, through the heart, with an arrow, to prove that he was neither drunk nor mad. He at another time commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be buried alive, without the smallest provocation. And when *Crœsus* ventured, as his father's friend, to remonstrate on the probable consequences to himself, like *Saul*, he snatched his bow to shoot *Crœsus* with an arrow, who escaped by a precipitate flight. He then instantly ordered *Crœsus* to be put to death; but the officers having delayed the execution, he expressed great joy at finding that *Crœsus* was alive, and then put the officers to death for disobedience of orders. He violated the tombs of the Egyptians to examine the mummies. He consulted the pigmy statue of their chief god *Vulcan*, and burnt those of the *Cabiri*. "All these things," says *Herodotus*, "convince me that *Cambyses* was outrageously mad;—otherwise he would never have attempted to insult *national religions* and *customs*." B. III. § 27—38.

A revolt in Persia, by *Smerdis Magus*, who personated his brother, rouzed him from these extravagancies, and he instantly prepared to lead his army back to *Susa*, in order to crush the rebellion; but as he hastily mounted his horse to set out, his sword was disengaged from the scabbard, and wounded him mortally in the thigh. He then anxiously enquired the name of the place, and found it was *Ecbatana*, an obscure town in *Syria*, where the Egyptian oracle of *Butos* had warned him he should die; but which he mistook for *Ecbatana*, the capital of *Media*, and the depot of his treasures. He then bitterly lamented his error in destroying his brother *Smerdis*, "for," said

he, " it was *Smerdis Magus* whom *the Deity*, (ὁ Δαιμων,) foretold, in vision, should rise up against me," by whom he seemed to understand with *Plato*, μεγιστος Δαιμων, " THE SUPREME GOD." For *Cambyses* clearly was neither a *Polytheist* nor *Idolater*. B. III. § 65.

SMERDIS MAGUS.

This impostor reigned unmolested about seven months, when he was slain, with his brother, in a conspiracy formed by seven Persian nobles of the first rank and consequence in the state. His broken reign added to seven years and five months of *Cambyses'*, completed the eight years assigned to the latter in *Ptolomy's* Canon. Herod. B. III. § 66.

DARIUS HYSTASPES, OR GUSHTASP.

This prince was one of the seven conspirators who slew the *Magian, Smerdis*, and his brother, and according to *Herodotus*, gained the crown from his competitors, by the stratagem of his groom procuring the first neighing of his horse; as recorded by a public monument: " *Darius*, son of *Hystaspes*, gained the kingdom of the *Persians*, by the merit of *his horse*, (whom he named) and of his groom *Œbares*." Herod. B. III. § 38.

This tale is highly improbable. For what man of sense (in which *Darius* certainly was not deficient) would wish to attribute his success to a fraud?—which could only provoke his competitors, and lessen his character in the eyes of the nation. *Æschylus*, the predecessor of *Herodotus*, gave, as we have seen, a different, and much more likely account. He stated that the conspirators governed in rotation; first *Maraphis*, who is not found in the list of *Herodotus;* and next *Artaphrenes*, whom *Herodotus* calls *Intaphernes;* then *Darius*, the third, who was possessed of superior abilities, and spirit of enterprize, (in which even *Herodotus* represents him as exceeding the rest, and compelling them to a prompt execution of their plan by the threat of informing against them, if they delayed); he was also of the *Achæmenian* *, or royal line; and his father, *Hystaspes*, was go-

* *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, reckoned among his ancestors *Arsamis, Arinnis, Teispeus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispeus, Achemenes.* Herod. B. VII. § 11.

vernor of *Persia*, the first province of the empire; and he had served in the *Egyptian* wars, under *Cambyses*. Upon all these accounts, therefore, when the government came to his turn, he naturally and easily contrived to retain the possession of it for himself, and to transmit it to his family.

That he was indeed the most likely candidate for the crown appears also from *Herodotus*. His merit excited the jealousy of *Cyrus* himself, who, shortly before his death, expressed his suspicions to *Hydaspes*, the father, that *Darius*, then a youth about twenty, was engaged in some treasonable designs. B. I. § 209, 210. And while *Darius* served in *Egypt* he was evidently considered as a rising nobleman by *Syloson* the exile, brother of *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*, who made a present of a scarlet cloke to *Darius* when he wanted to buy it; and afterwards was liberally rewarded for his generosity when *Darius* came to the throne, and gratified his patriotic request, "*to save his country*" from the usurpers that succeeded *Polycrates*, B. III. § 139, 140, for he sent an army, under the command of *Otanes*, one of the seven, to put *Syloson* in possession of *Samos;* which was effected, but not without the destruction of most of the inhabitants. § 149.

During this *Samian* expedition the *Babylonians* revolted, having taken advantage of the confusion of the times during the *Magian* usurpation, to provide, without being noticed, or opposed, against a siege. And in order to prevent famine they took the strange and unnatural resolution of strangling all their women and children, except their mothers and one female of each man's family, whom he liked best, to bake their bread, which was anciently the women's employment. B. III. § 150. See B. VII. § 187.

How signally did they fulfil the prophecy of *Isaiah* against *Babylon!* "These two things shall suddenly come upon thee in one day, *childlessness* and *widowhood* *; they shall fully come upon thee, notwithstanding the multitude of thy services, and the strength of thy enchantments." Isa. xlvii. 9.

Darius besieged *Babylon* about the fifth year of his reign, and was derided by the insolence, and baffled by the vigilance of the enemy, for a year and seven months. At length, in the

* The men were *widowers*. "There were no *widows* left to make lamentation." Ps. lxxviii. 64.

twentieth month of the siege, he took it by a refined stratagem of *Zopyrus*, son of *Megabyzus*, one of the seven, who voluntarily mutilated himself, and then deserted to the *Babylonians*, gained their confidence by a piteous tale of the cruelty of *Darius*, and after a few preconcerted successes over some devoted detachments of the *Persian* army, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the *Babylonian* troops, and entrusted with the care of the city, which, on a favourable opportunity, he betrayed to the *Persians*.

Darius, having thus taken the city, impaled about three thousand of the principal inhabitants, threw down the walls *, and took away the gates. He then obliged the neighbouring provinces to furnish fifty thousand women, to supply wives for the remaining citizens, from whom the race of *Babylonians* in the time of *Herodotus* were descended. B. III. § 159.

Two years before the siege began, the *Jews* were warned by the prophet *Zechariah* " to fly from the *land of the North*, from the *daughter of Babylon*." Zech. ii. 6, 7.

It is truly remarkable, that the *Persian* kings who punished the *Babylonians*, patronized the *Jews*. The first capture of *Babylon* was followed by the decree of *Cyrus* for liberating the *Jews* from captivity; when " THE LORD stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus*" to make it. Ezr. i. 2. And the second capture, by *Darius*, was followed by the finishing of the second temple, in the sixth year of his reign, B.C. 516. When " THE LORD turned the heart of *the king of Assyria* unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, THE GOD OF ISRAEL." Ezr. vi. 1—22. The king of *Persia* is here called " king of *Assyria*," from the recent reduction of the *Babylonians*, who are frequently called " *Assyrians*," by *Herodotus*, the contemporary of *Ezra*. See B. I. § 178; III. § 155, &c.

Darius, next, made great preparations for the invasion of *Scythia*, to retaliate, as he said, their invasion, in the time of the *Medes*, near 120 years before. Accordingly, about the ninth year of his reign, he marched a great army into the countries between the *Ister* and the *Tanais* †, or the modern *Danube*, and

* Not totally, for they were standing in the time of *Herodotus*; but only partially, so as to dismantle the town.

† The *Tanais* or *Don*, divides *Europe* from *Asia*.

Ευρωπην δ' Ασιης Ταναϊς δια μεσσον ὁριζει. *Dionys.*

" *Tanais Europam* et *Asiam* medius interfluit." *Q. Curtius.*

Don. But after pursuing the *Scythians* in vain, for three months, when, by a pretended flight, they had artfully drawn him into desarts and wilds, where he lost great part of his army, he was forced to retreat precipitately, to save the remainder. Major *Rennel*, in his Geography of *Herodotus*, has ably traced this *Scythian* expedition. Sect. VI. p. 101, &c.

Herodotus, on this occasion, relates an instance of wanton cruelty committed by *Darius*, which well deserved such a disastrous issue. " *Oebazus*, a Persian, who had three sons serving in the army, petitioned the king that one of them might be left with him at home. The king replied, that since he was a friend, and had made a modest request, he would leave him all his sons. *Oebazus* was overjoyed, hoping that his sons would be discharged from the service; but *Darius* ordered his attendants to kill all the sons of *Oebazus;* and so they were slain, and left there for him." B. IV. § 84. Yet shortly after, this same prince set up an inscription: " *Darius, son of Hystaspes, the best, and fairest of all men, king of the Persians, and of all the Continent,* in his expedition against the *Scythians*, came hither, to the springs of the river *Tearus*, which afford the best and fairest water of all rivers." § 91. But these *Persian* monarchs, alas! were spoiled by the base and extravagant adulation of their subjects. See the judicious remark of *Plutarch*, Vol. III. p. 551, note, of this work.

Darius attended more to *maritime* affairs than any of the *Persian* kings. He finished a canal of communication between the *Nile* and the head of the *Red Sea*, which had been begun by *Pharaoh Necho*, but failed, after 120,000 Egyptians had perished in the work. Herod. B. II. § 158. *Herodotus* represents this canal as wide enough to admit two triremes abreast, and of four days' voyage in length.

This canal, with others, made by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, *Adrian*, and the Caliph *Omar* afterwards, were more for shew or ostentation, than use; they soon became unnavigable, either from the failure of the *Pelusiac*, or eastern branch of the *Nile*, which supplied them with water; or from the stoppage of their outlet at the head of the *Red Sea*, by the drifting sands of the desert, and by the operation of the tides. See *Rennel's Geography of Herodotus*, p. 464.

He also employed *Scylax*, and other able navigators, on a voyage of discovery down the river *Indus* to its mouth. From

thence they coasted westwards, along the *Persian* Gulph, and after a voyage of two years and half, they reached the port on the Red Sea from which the *Phœnicians* employed in the circumnavigation of *Africa*, by *Pharaoh Necho*, had set out, about a hundred years before. After this voyage, *Darius* subdued the *Indians*, and became master of that ocean. B. IV. § 44.

This voyage of *Scylax* was evidently suggested by the former of the *Phœnicians*, and intended to continue their *geographical* discoveries eastwards, by returning to the same port of the *Red Sea*, probably *Suez*, whence they had commenced. It suggested, in turn, the subsequent voyage of *Nearchus*, by order of *Alexander* the Great, down the *Indus*, which traced the route of *Scylax* as far as the *Euphrates*. The successful circumnavigation of *Africa* gave rise also, we presume, to *Hanno's Periplous*, or *Carthaginian* voyage of commerce and discovery along the western coasts of *Africa*, where they established settlements; probably not long after the *Egyptian* expedition. And both these voyages might have given rise to the ensuing, in the reign of *Xerxes*, under the conduct of *Sataspes*, a *Persian* nobleman, who, for offering violence to a virgin, the daughter of the famous *Zopyrus*, was condemned to be crucified; but had his punishment commuted into the circumnavigation of *Africa*, setting out from *Egypt* westwards, and returning by the *Red Sea*, eastwards; contrary to the course of the *Phœnician* mariners. But after proceeding a great way southwards, along the western coast of *Africa*, he failed, and was forced to return, on account of the greater strength of the counter currents, in this direction, and the violence of the easterly monsoons, according to Major *Rennel's* ingenious conjecture, which utterly disabled him from proceeding. *Xerxes*, giving no credit to his excuses, inflicted on him the former sentence of crucifixion. See *Rennel's Geography of Herodotus*, p. 715, 716.

The reality of this unsuccessful voyage of *Sataspes* is vouched by an anecdote noticed by *Herodotus*, from his own knowledge. "A eunuch of *Sataspes*, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to *Samos*, where he was robbed of it by a native of the place, whose name, says *Herodotus*, I know, but forbear to mention." B. IV. § 43.

Proofs of the *Phœnician* circumnavigation of *Africa* shall be adduced in the ensuing analysis of *Egyptian Chronology*.

Darius established also, an excellent system of taxation

throughout his extensive empire. He divided it into twenty satrapies, or provinces, and regulated the proportion of tribute to be paid by each, in a curious original document furnished by *Herodotus;* affording internal evidence of his extensive knowledge of the geography of *Asia*, and of the correctness of his financial statement, by the congruity of the whole, when properly explained. Major *Rennel* has well developed the *geographical* part, in his sagacious commentary thereon, p. 229—316, and in his valuable *Map of the Twenty Satrapies*, the most authentic and complete that ever was framed of the ancient *Persian* empire.

We shall follow *Rennel's* masterly geographical arrangement of the *western*, *middle*, and *eastern* provinces of the empire, in preference to the irregular order of *Herodotus;* marking, however, his original numbers, for the ease of comparison.

I. WESTERN PROVINCES.

	S. Talents.
1. The *Ionians* and *Magnesians* of *Asia*, the *Æolians*, *Carians*, *Lycians*, *Melyeans*, and *Pamphylians* ..... These occupied an extent of 450 G. miles of sea coast in *Asia Minor*, from the Gulph of *Adramyttium*, and the *Troade*, on the north, round by *Cnidus*, to *Cilicia*, on the east.	400
2. The *Mysians*, *Lydians*, *Alysonians*, *Cabalians*, and *Hygennians* ..... The greatness of the tribute paid by this, the smallest of the 20 satrapies, was owing to the gold and silver mines of *Lydia*, and the gold sands of the river *Pactolus*. The riches of *Crœsus* were proverbial.	500
3. On the east side of the *Hellespont*, the *Phrygians* and *Thracians* of *Asia*, the *Paphlagonians*, *Maryandinians*, and *Syrians*, [or *Cappadocians*]	360
4. The *Cilicians* ..... These four provinces composed the whole of *Asia Minor*.	500
5. *Phœnicia*, the *Syrian Palestine*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*; from the city of *Posidœum*, on the frontiers of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, as far as *Mount Casius* and the *Sirbonic* lake, bordering on *Egypt*	350
6. *Egypt*, and the *Africans*, bordering on *Egypt*, as far as *Cyrene* and *Barcæ*..... This tribute was exclusive of the produce of the fishery of the lake *Mœris*, amounting to 240 talents per annum. Herod. B. II. § 149, (which was a perquisite to the	700

S. Talents

Queen of *Persia*, for dress and perfumes, according to *Diodorus)* and also of 700 talents, for the value of Egyptian corn, to supply 120,000 Persian and auxiliary troops, in garrison at *Memphis*, &c.

7. (9) *Babylon*, including *Assyria Proper* and *Mesopotamia*.... 1000

This was one of the most extensive, as it was the richest of the provinces of the empire. Before the time of *Cyrus*, it was reckoned, in point of revenue, equal to the third part of *Asia*. Herod. B. I. § 192.

8. *Susa*, and *Susiana* or *Chusistan*..... 300

Next to the *Lydian* satrapy, this was the smallest of the whole; but it contained *Susa*, at that time the capital of the empire, where the king's treasures were deposited.

II. CENTRAL PROVINCES.

9. (10) *Ecbatana*, the rest of *Media*, the *Parycanii* and the *Orthocorybantes* 450

Media proper occupies the midland and elevated tract between the *Caspian* Sea and the *Persian* Gulph. It was then the central part of the great *Persian* empire, and from climate, verdure, and richness of soil, the most beautiful of its provinces. It is now the most western province of modern Persia, Mount *Zagros* forming the common boundary between *Persia* and *Turkey*. *Ispahan*, the present capital, is situate in the north-east corner of ancient *Media*.

10. (11) The *Caspians*, *Pausicæ*, *Pantimathi* and *Daritæ*, [including *Hyrcania*] 200

11. (18) The *Matieni*, *Saspirians*, and *Alarodians*..... 200

The *Saspirians* occupied the eastern part of *Armenia*.

12. (13) *Pactyica*, the *Armenians*, &c..... 400

The *Armenia* of *Herodotus* extended westward to the *Euphrates*, and southward to Mount *Masius* in *Mesopotamia*, including the sources of the *Euphrates* northwards, and Mount *Ararat* eastwards. This province, though mountainous, abounded in mines of gold and silver, copper and iron, at *Argana** and *Kebban*, which will account for its high tribute.

13. (19) The *Moschi*, *Tibareni*, *Macrones*, *Mosynœci*, and *Mardians* 300

This satrapy is a narrow stripe of land between the *Armenian mountains* of *Caucasus* and the *Euxine* Sea. It abounded in iron mines.

* It is remarkable, that the iron mines of the county of *Leitrim*, in the heart of *Ireland*, are called by the natives *Arigna*; which seems nearly allied to *Argana*, signifying probably "a mine."

III. EASTERN PROVINCES.

		S. Talents.
14.	The *Sangartians, Sarangæans* [of *Sigistan*], the *Thamanæans, Utians,* and *Mencians* [of *Carmania*] with the islands of the *Red Sea* (or *Persian* Gulph) to which the king banished state-offenders.....	600
	The intermediate country of *Persia* proper, (whose principal tribes were the *Arteatæ, Persæ, Pasagardæ, Maraphii,* and *Maspians*) were not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but only presented a regular gratuity.	
15 (16)	The *Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians* and *Arians*....	300
	These occupied the mountainous tract between *Hyrcania, Margiana, Asia,* and the desert of *Chorasmia.*	
16.	(7) The *Sattagydians,* the *Gandarii, Dadicæ,* and *Asarytæ* of *Margiana*	170
17.	(12) The *Bactrians* as far as *Aglos*	360
	Or from *Balk* to *Kilan,* or *Ghilan.*	
18.	(15) The *Sacæ,* and *Caspii* [or rather *Casians* of *Kashgur*]	250
19.	(17) The *Paricanii,* and long haired *Ethiopians* of *Asia*....	400
	These were the *Oritæ* of *Alexander* and *Nearchus;* and inhabited *Haur, Makran,* and other provinces in the south east angle of *Persia,* towards *India.*	
	The sum total.....	7740
20.	The Indians.	
	These inhabited the extensive provinces of *Kabul, Kandahar,* and *Scindia,* west of the *Indus;* and the *Panjab,* that rich stripe of coast east of the *Indus* *. They paid (600) 350 talents in gold ingots. Differing in this respect from the other satrapies, whose payments were in silver talents.	

* The *geographical* knowledge of *Herodotus* appears to have extended no farther eastward in *Asia* than the river *Indus;* but he reports several particulars of the nations beyond it, partly true and partly false. He speaks of the *Padæi,* as one of the *most eastern* nations of India, who led a pastoral life, fed on raw flesh, and killed their diseased friends; and regularly killed and ate the more aged persons among them. B. iii. § 99.

To these cannibals, *Tibullus* refers.

Impia nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis,
Ultima, vicinus Phœbo, tenet arva *Padæus.*
" Nor does the *Padæan,* at savage boards partaking
Impious feasts, occupy, though near the sun,
The regions most remote."

Though *Herodotus* probably knew nothing of the *Ganges,* it is remarkable that in the *Padæi,* he has noticed the nations inhabiting its banks: for as Major *Rennel* acutely

The *Ayen Acbaree* represents the rivers descending from the mountains in the north west of *India*, as yielding much gold. "It therefore confirms the testimony of *Herodotus* in one, out of a great many instances," says Major *Rennel*, "in which he is right, where, to a common observer, he might appear the least so." P. 305.

The Major, however, has not been equally fortunate in his *financial*, as in his *geographical* illustrations, not satisfactorily reconciling the amount of the whole revenue with the detail. P. 314, 315. It may be done more correctly, thus:

Herodotus remarks, that if the standard of the *Babylonian* talent, in which the tribute from the first nineteen provinces was paid, be reduced to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, the amount will be 9880 silver talents *. And if the tribute from the *Indians*, of 360 † gold talents, be estimated at thirteen times the value of the silver, it will amount to 4680 *Euboic* talents more. So that the sum total of the tribute paid to *Darius* was 14560 *Euboic* talents. Whatever was less than these [talents], he did not reckon. B. III. § 95.

The *Babylonish* talent was worth 70 *Euboic* minæ, according to *Herodotus*, B. III. § 89. But the *Euboic* or *Attic* talent, according to *Arbuthnot*, was only worth 60 minæ. They were then, to each other, in the ratio of 70 to 60, or 7 to 6.

Therefore the sum total of the tribute of the first nineteen provinces, 7740 *Babylonish* talents, reduced to the *Attic* standard, furnished 9030 *Euboic* talents; add to these, the 700 talents worth of corn supplied to the *Persian* garrisons in *Egypt*, and also 150 talents, the net produce of the fishery of the lake *Mœris*, amounting to 9880 talents; which added to the *Indian* revenue ‡, 4680 talents, gave 14560 in all.

observes, "the *proper* and *Sanscrit* name of that river is *Padda*, *Ganga* being only an appellative: so that the *Padæi* correspond to the *Gangaridæ* of later Greek writers." *Rennel's Herod.* p. 310.

* Instead of the present reading, τεσσαρακοντα και πεντακοσια και ειναικισχιλια, 9540, the *Sanscroft* MSS. read, ογδωκοντα και οκτακοσια και ειναικισχιλια, 9880, and in the margin, the numeral letters, ΘΩΠ, giving the same amount. See *Larcher's Herodot.* Tom. III. p. 334, edit. 1.

† That this is the true amount of the gold talents, not 600, is demonstrated by their reduction to *Euboic* talents: for $13 \times 360 = 4680$, the specific number of *Herodotus*.

‡ Major *Rennel*, in his calculation, overlooked these two *Egyptian* articles, and therefore brought out results different from *Herodotus*; either 13710 or 16830 Euboic talents. "Which," says he, "may be owing to our having adopted a *wrong proportion*." P. 315.—His proportion was right, but not his detail.

This reduction of the fishery of lake *Mœris*, from 240 talents to 150, for the net produce to the royal treasury, is warranted by the foregoing case of the fourth satrapy of *Cilicia*. There, the gross amount of the tribute was five hundred talents of silver; but of these, 140 were deducted for the payment of the cavalry, who composed the guard of the country; the remaining 360 therefore, only, were received by *Darius*. B. III. § 90.

Among the smaller taxes omitted by *Herodotus*, in the general statement, we may reckon the presents from *Africa* of two *chœnixes* of unrefined gold dust, once every three years, or about the value of eighty guineas; reckoning with *Arbuthnot*, the *chœnix* to contain somewhat less than a pint and half, English measure. B. III. § 97. *Rennel*, p. 252.

Herodotus observes, that in process of time, the islands of the *Egean* sea were also taxed; as was that part of Europe which extends to *Thessaly*, § 96.

The mode in which this tribute was stored in the royal treasury, was by melting down the gold and silver into ingots or bars, and when any was wanted, a piece was cut off, of such weight as the occasion required, § 96. Some eastern sovereigns at the present day manage exactly in the same way with the bullion in their treasury. *Rennel*, p. 316.

The coinage of money was either not known, or not practised in *Persia* till his reign. For "*Darius*," says *Herodotus*, "wishing to leave some monument behind him, which should exceed all the efforts of his predecessors, struck off a coin of the purest gold, the *Daric*," Herod. B. IV. § 166, which still retained its name, after it was recoined by the succeeding kings, down to the *Macedonian* dynasty *.

The impression on this famous coin, was *Darius* the king crowned, in the attitude of an archer, with a bent bow, kneeling on the right knee, to take aim at his enemy. See *Hyde's Religio Vet. Persarum*, plate, p. 115. And *Strabo* records a part of the inscription on his tomb, ἱππευς και τοξοτης αριστος, "*An excellent horseman and archer.*" The witticism of *Agesilaus*, king

* These *Darics* are extremely scarce in cabinets of medals. They weigh about two grains more than our guineas, and are reckoned by Doctor *Bernard* to have been worth about five and twenty shillings of our money. Their disappearance was probably owing to their having been melted down by the princes of the *Macedonian* dynasty, who recoined them with their own image and superscription.

of *Sparta*, recorded by *Plutarch*, was founded thereon: when this prince invaded *Persia* with a powerful army, having been suddenly recalled home, in the midst of conquest, by a bribe of thirty thousand gold darics, distributed by *Timocrates*, among the Grecian and Spartan demagogues, he complained, "*I have been driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers* * !"

Aryandes, the *Persian* prefect of *Egypt*, in imitation of his master, imprudently issued a similar silver coinage, called *Aryandic*, much admired for its purity. But *Darius* was so jealous of this invasion of his prerogative, though the impress was the same, that he put him to death. B. IV. § 166.

The amount of the revenue imposed on the Persian empire was remarkably moderate, for an empire scarcely inferior in extent to all *Europe*. For reckoning, with *Arbuthnot*, the *Euboic* or *Attic* talent at 193*l.* 15*s.*, the whole amount of the 14560 talents was only 2,821,000*l.*, short of three millions sterling. The richest province of *Babylon*, including *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, paid only 1000 talents, or 193,750*l.* sterling; and the fertile commercial province of *Egypt* was only taxed in money, 700 talents, or 135,625*l.* sterling.

The great moderation of this financial system will further appear from ancient and modern comparison.

In *Solomon's* days, independently of the great inland trade which he carried on in *spices*, *Egyptian linen*, *yarn*, *horses*, and *chariots*, with all the kings of the *Hittites* and *Syrians*, the influx of gold and silver, from his commercial voyages to *Ophir*, or *Sofala*, on the coast of *Mosambique*, on the eastern side of *Africa*, and from *Tarshish*, or *Tartessus*, on the coast of *Spain*, was prodigious; the weight of *gold* in a single year was 666 talents, which at the rate of 342*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* for a *Jewish* silver talent, according to *Arbuthnot*, and a gold talent, 4108*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* supposing, with *Herodotus*, gold to be only thirteen times the value, would amount to 2,736,494*l.*, and if we add the silver, "which was as plenty as stones," the revenue of *Solomon*, from his comparatively small kingdom, equalled (at least occasionally) the fixed revenue of the vast *Persian* empire. See Vol. II. p. 362 of this work.

* Hence the opinion of *Prideaux*, that these *Darics* were coined by *Darius the Mede*, after he took possession of the kingdom of *Babylon*, during the two years of his reign, seems to be unfounded. 1. It contradicts the express testimony of *Herodotus*, and 2. the shortness of the reign, and indolence of *Darius the Mede*.

In modern times the revenue of *India*, under *Aurengzebe*, greatly exceeded it, amounting to about thirty-two millions sterling, according to *Rennel*, p. 316 *.

The flourishing state of the Persian empire at large, under this remarkably moderate system of taxation, may be collected from the prodigious wealth of individuals. In the next reign of *Xerxes*, *Pythius*, a noble Lydian, hospitably entertained the whole *Persian* army on their march toward *Greece*, and freely offered *Xerxes* all his treasures for the support of the war, amounting to two thousand talents of silver, and four millions, wanting seven thousand, of gold *Daric* staters. These two thousand *Babylonish* talents, at 226*l.* each, would give 452,000*l*; and the 3,393,000 staters, at 1*l.* 5*s.* a piece, amounted to 3,841,250*l.*, and both to above four millions sterling. *Xerxes* generously refused the present, and gave him in return for his hospitality and friendship, the 7,000 Darics wanting to complete the four millions. Herod. B. VII. 27—30.

In the following reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Haman* the *Amalekite* offered the king a gratuity of ten thousand talents of silver to defray the probable deficiency in the royal revenue, by the proscription of all the *Jews* throughout the empire, which the king declined accepting from his favourite, Esth. iii. 9—11. This, computed at the *Babylonish* talent, as before, would amount to upwards of two millions sterling. And yet

* Major *Rennel* has endeavoured to account for the low taxation of the *Persian* empire, upon the supposition that "the value of money was *incredibly greater* at that time than at present." P. 316.

This is not conformable to the statement of *Herodotus*, in the preceding calculation. He reckoned gold only thirteen times greater in value than silver, at that time, which is lower than the modern standard; for Major *Rennel* himself admits, that in 1799, gold was to silver as 15¾ to 1. P. 314, note. And *Arbuthnot*, in his book on weights, measures, and coins, reckoned silver at 5*s.* an ounce, and gold at 4*l.* that is as 5*s.* to 80*s.*, or as 1 to 16. Now it is considerably higher, 20 per cent. above the paper currency. 1812. See *the New Quarterly Review*, No. 1.

Not only the foregoing examples in the text, but the whole tenor of ancient history prove that the precious metals were in much greater plenty formerly than at present. The immense produce of the mines of *Asia* and *Africa*, and *Europe* also, for a length of time, only could supply the prodigious treasures plundered by *Alexander* and his successors, and afterwards by the *Romans* in their wars; whence, in the time of *Pompey* and *Julius Cæsar*, the standard of gold to silver was so low as 9 to 1. Much of it disappeared, was buried, or lost, in the devastations of the *Huns*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* in the west, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars* in the east. Nor has the waste been yet supplied by the new mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brazil*, in lieu of the diminution or failure of the old.

this was considerably short of the full amount of the *Jewish* tribute, Esth. vii. 4.

These instances of the prodigious wealth of *provincial* subjects, and even of *captives*, (for such were the *Amalekites* originally) are highly creditable to the liberality of the *Persian* government; which, upon the whole, appears to have been the least oppressive of the great ancient empires. The *Jews*, especially, were treated with much greater lenity and indulgence under the *Persian* sway than they had been before under the *Babylonian*, and afterwards under the *Macedo-Grecian* and the *Roman*.

After these important civil regulations, we learn from the oriental writers that *Darius* undertook to reform the corruptions that had gradually crept into the national religion, from the progress of the *Zabian* superstition, and adoration of *fire*, and of the other elements of nature; and from the prevalence of the notion of two independent principles, the good and the evil; which were all plainly referred to in the foregoing prophecies of *Isaiah*, respecting *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* himself had evidently been converted thereby, as we learn from his famous decree, acknowledging the supremacy of THE LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, as THE GOD OF HEAVEN, Ezra i. 1—3; and *Darius*, in the second year of his reign, renewed this decree, in a similar strain, "that the *Jews* might *offer sacrifices* of sweet savour to THE GOD OF HEAVEN, and *pray for the life of the king*, and *his sons*," Ezra vi. 10—12.

Mohammed Mustapha dates this reform of the national religion in the thirtieth year of *Darius*, who was assisted in this salutary work by his father *Hystaspes*, then *Archimagus*, or master of the *Magi*, in succession to the prophet *Daniel*, who held that high office from his appointment by *Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 569, Dan. ii. 48, till his death, after the third of *Cyrus*, B.C. 534, Dan. vi. 28, x. 1, for the long space of five and thirty years; and from his rank and residence at *Susa*, the capital, (from the time of *Belshazzar*, Dan. viii. 2.) must have been well known to *Hystaspes*, and probably to *Darius* himself; and his *wisdom* was proverbial all over the empire*.

* "Lo, thou art *wiser* than *Daniel*," Ezek. xxviii. 3. The fame of *Lokman*, the celebrated fabulist, (perhaps *Æsop*,) was so great in the east, that to express the highest idea of any man's wisdom, they used to say, "There is no need to teach *Lokman*."

Their chief associate was the younger *Zerdusht*, or second *Zoroaster*, who is represented by the Arabian and Persian historians as a native of the province of *Aderbigian*, and a disciple of one of the *Jewish* prophets, either *Elijah*, or *Jeremiah*, or *Ozeir*, *(Ezra.)* They were only mistaken in the name, as proved by the chronology; the two first being too early, and the last too late, for the period of this reform. He could not, therefore, have been the disciple of any other other than *Daniel*, the venerable *Archimagus*.

And this is confirmed by the nature and circumstances of his reform, which was designed to bring back the religion of *Persia* to its primitive purity, in the days of *Abraham*, and of the *Pischdadian* kings; to revive the supremacy of the GOD OF HEAVEN over *Ahriman*, the evil principle; and to teach a *future judgment*, in which the apparent mixture of good and evil in this life, designed in this state of probation to promote God's glory, should be redressed in the next, by the reward of the good in heaven, and the punishment of the wicked in hell.

Khondemir states, that by his great skill in astrology he foretold that another *great prophet* was to arise, not inferior to *Moses*, whose voice all the world was to obey. And *Abulfaragi* relates, that he foretold to his followers the precise time of the birth of a *divine child*, in *Palestine*, to be born of a pure virgin, and noticed by the appearance of a star: and he recommended that they should follow the direction of the star, and adore him, and offer him gifts, as THE ORACLE *who created the heavens*. See the entire passage, Vol. III. p. 55 of this work.

It is strange how *Prideaux* and others could represent *Zerdusht* as an impostor, similar to *Mahomet!* The *Universal History* renders more justice to his character, and gives a fuller account of his reform. Vol. II. p. 204—219. Surely *Zerdusht* might have collected the foregoing articles from *Moses* and *the prophets*, and from the personal instructions of *Daniel* himself, whose chronological prophecies critically foretold the time of the appearance of CHRIST.

Instead of the former mode of keeping the *sacred fire* in caves, and on mountains in the open air, where it was frequently liable to be extinguished, *Darius* built *fire temples* throughout his dominions, for its better preservation, as at *Jerusalem*. And his principal fire temple, called *Azur Gushtasp*, of great grandeur and magnificence, was erected at *Balch*. After the death

of *Zerdusht**, in the fifth year of his reformation, (slain by *Argasp*, king of *Turan*, and a zealous *Zabian*, who made an irrup-

* THE SADDER AND ZEND AVESTA.

The celebrity of *Zerdusht*, or *Zoroaster* II., the great reformer of the *Magian* religion, has ascribed to him the foregoing *Persian* works. Both, however, appear to be spurious.

The *Sadder*, so called from the "*hundred gates*," or chapters, into which it is divided, was published about three centuries ago, by a *destur*, or priest of the *Parsis*, as exhibiting a faithful collection of his doctrines and precepts, of which the learned *Hyde* has given an abridged translation, p. 429—488.

We shall select, as a specimen, part of the 91st gate, or chapter.

"In our [*Magian*] religion it is held for certain that GOD spake thus to *Zeratusht*: In the creation of the whole world there is none better than thou in my sight: for thy sake I made the world; among all the climates thou art my elect: all the peoples in every kingdom shall long for thy age, to learn good religion from thee, to reconcile *Gherutaman*, and to bring back his heart [to GOD.] I created thee in the middle time of the world's course; namely, from the age of *Keiomaras* to thine age are 3000 years, and from thine age to the resurrection are 3000 years more. Know then, that I have created thee in the middle, because every thing is placed in the middle, except that better Being, which is both in the beginning and the end. This is an evident argument in support of what I have said, that of all things which I have produced the best is in the middle, as is clear to every intelligent person. For since the heart is in the middle, I count it therefore the best; and since the fourth climate is in the middle, it is therefore the best. I have endowed thee with honour and dignity, and excellence, and prophecy, and royalty: when, in the government of the world, I sincerely attached to thee *Gushtasp*, of the race of *Keyan*, than whom there is none wiser in thy age of the world. In thy time I have made men addict themselves sincerely to knowledge."

It is no wonder, indeed, that *Hyde* got no encouragement to complete the translation of such a paltry work, abounding, as himself confesses, "in meanness and inelegancies of style, and in tautologies, or prolix repetitions of matter," and in the most puerile and wretched conceits, collected from *Jewish* and *Oriental* traditions; as in the instance adduced, and many others, still more offensive.

Afterwards *M. Anquetil du Perron*, oriental interpreter to the king of France, published another work, entitled *Zend Avesta*, signifying "*a fire kindler*;" as enigmatically designed to kindle the fire of the love of God, and of his true religion, in the hearts of the readers.

Of this too we shall give a specimen from the *Vendidad Sade*. *Zend Avesta*, Vol. I. Part 2, p. 341.

Ormuzd, or Omnipotence, is introduced holding a dialogue with *Zoroaster*, on the subject of a demon called *Daroudj Nesosch*, who, in the shape of a *dog fly*, or *hornet* of the desert, had taken possession of the crown of a man's head; and the reformer wished to learn how to expel him. *Ormuzd* directs to wash first the part affected, which would drive the fiend between the eye-brows; from thence he is to be forced by another ablution to the back of the head; from that to the ear, then to the nose, the mouth, the chin, and so on, disputing every inch of ground, the fiend is successively driven over every part of the body, till he perches himself, at length, on the left foot; whence he retreats to the right foot; and by successive ablutions from the toes of the right foot to the toes of the left; and when these are washed, the *Daroudj Nesosch* is completely vanquished, and flies away toward the north.

tion into *Bactria*, for attempting to convert him) *Darius* assumed the office of *Archimagus* himself, but died the following year. Hence the succeeding kings of *Persia* were always initiated into the sacerdotal order of the *Magi* before their inauguration.

The latter part of *Darius*' reign, according to the *Greek* historians, was turbulent and embarrassed, both abroad and at home. In his 20th year, B.C. 501, the *Ionians* revolted, and besieged *Sardis*, which was taken, and by accident burnt; principally through the *Athenians*, who assisted the *Ionians*. This provoked *Darius* against the *Athenians* especially, and laid the foundation of the *Grecian* war. For *Darius* first reduced *Ionia*, and then sent his son-in-law, *Mardonius*, with a great fleet and army, to invade *Greece*, B.C. 494. But his fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and his camp was surprized and stormed by the *Thracians;* so that he was forced to return with disgrace. Herod. B. VI. § 99; B. V. § 18—45.

Three years after, *Darius* sent a more powerful armament to renew the war, under the conduct of *Datis*, a Median, and *Artaphernes*, his own nephew, but they were defeated next year, B.C. 490, at *Marathon*, chiefly by the skill and valour of *Miltiades*, who, that day, commanded the Grecian little army, consisting of no more than nine thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand *Platæans*. This victory laid the foundation of the liberty and independence of *Greece*. The poet, *Æschylus*, fought against the *Persians* on this occasion, and in his tragedy of the *Persians*, (written after the defeat of *Xerxes*,) introduces

Such frivolous conceits are altogether unworthy of the *Persian* Reformer, and the work is filled with the superstitious and endless ceremonies of the *Parsis*, *Guebres*, or modern fire-worshippers, without the least traces of antiquity in the style: on the contrary, it exhibits a harsh texture, incompatible with the genius of Persian pronunciation, and differing totally from the modern dialect of *Persia;* and abounding in *Arabic* terms. These furnish a strong presumption of modern composition, since no Arabic was introduced into the *Persian* idiom, earlier than the seventh century of the Christian era, after the conquest of *Persia*, by the *Saracens*, in the decisive victory of *Kadessia*, A.D. 636; when their government, religion, laws, calendar, were overturned, and their language itself almost overwhelmed by an inundation of *Arabic* words, incorporated therewith from that period, by the ruling *Mahometan* religion, authority, and fashion. See *Richardson's Dissertations*, p. 12—23; and *notes*, p. 232—234.

The rejection, however, of such spurious productions, by no means invalidates the actual existence of such a Reformer of the *Magian* Religion, as *Zerdusht;* who has been frequently confounded with his predecessor, the venerable *Zoroaster*, the *Bactrian*, from some similar traits in their respective characters. And this has led some *Sceptics* rashly to deny the existence of both.

the ghost of *Darius* (as we have seen) enumerating the whole series of *Median* and *Persian* kings, from *Cyaxares* I. to *Xerxes*; and artfully extenuating his own disasters, by contrasting them with the ruin and desolation which his son *Xerxes* brought on the *Persian* empire. B. V. § 94—117.

Incensed still more at this defeat, *Darius* made great preparations for renewing the war, which put all *Asia* in a ferment for three years. In the fourth, the *Egyptians* revolted; which only induced *Darius* to quicken and increase his preparations against both nations. In the midst of these, *Darius* died, in the fifth year, B.C. 485. And before his death, appointed *Xerxes*, his eldest son, by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, to succeed him, in preference to *Artobazanes*, his eldest son, by his first wife, the daughter of *Gobryas*; because the former was born when his father was king, but the latter, when he was only in a private station. Beside this specious plea, the influence of *Atossa* over *Darius* was unbounded. Herod. B. VII. § 1—3.

Next to *Cyrus*, "with whom no *Persian* ever deemed himself worthy to be compared," *Darius* was the greatest prince of this dynasty. If *Cyrus* founded, *Darius Hystaspes* unquestionably established the empire. His political wisdom and moderation, his system of laws and finance, and his reform of the national religion, were all admirable; and his attention to maritime discoveries and commerce, distinguished him from all the other kings of Persia, before and after, and evidently furnished the model for the similar plans and achievements of *Alexander* the Great, in his *Indian* conquests, and wise *commercial* regulations.

SECTION VII.

XERXES *.

Following up his predecessor's plan of conquest †, *Xerxes*, in

* *Xerxes*, in the Persic language, signified "*a warrior*;" and the compound, *Artaxerxes*, "*a great warrior*." Herod. B. VI. § 98.

† This is the motive assigned by *Æschylus*, for *Xerxes'* invasion of Greece, in his fine

B.C. 484, the second year of his reign, (and, it is remarkable, the year in which his famous historian, *Herodotus*, was born,) reduced *Egypt*, preparatory to his grand expedition against *Greece*. His ultimate object was, not merely to punish and subdue the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*, the most warlike states of *Greece*, but to conquer *all Europe* afterwards. *Darius Hystaspes* had styled himself "*king of the continent*" of *Asia*; and his ambitious son designed "to march throughout *all Europe*, and reduce *the whole earth* under one empire," as he avowed in his council, composed of the principal *Persians*. Herod. B. VII. 5—8.

The greatness of his preparations was suitable to the grandeur of his schemes. He spent thereon *four entire years* *, (or *three*, from the reduction of *Egypt*,) and in the beginning of the fifth, he began his march from *Susa*, the metropolis, with a mighty army. B. VII. § 20. The time of his departure is critically determined by an eclipse of the sun, visible at *Susa* †,

tragedy of the *Persians*; in which he introduces *Atossa*, the mother of *Xerxes*, thus addressing the ghost of her husband, *Darius*:

"This, from too frequent converse with bad men,
The impetuous *Xerxes* learned: these caught his ear
With thy great deeds, as winning for thy sons
Vast riches, with thy conquering spear; whilst he,
Timorous and slothful, never, save in sport,
Lifted his lance, *nor added to the wealth*
Won by his noble fathers. This reproach,
Oft by bad men repeated, urged his soul
To attempt this war, and lead his troops to *Greece*."

Potter's translation.

* *Herodotus* counts these *four* full years of preparation, *from the reduction of Egypt*. B. VII. § 20. But this must be a mistake; we must count only *three* from that time, with *Herodotus* himself, § 21, and *Diodorus Siculus*, B. xi.

† *Herodotus* is mistaken in dating this solar eclipse when *Xerxes* left *Sardis*, in spring, B.C. 480; at which time there was no solar eclipse; as we learn from the tables of ancient eclipses. Even the eclipse of B.C. 481, was so small, as to have been scarcely noticed at *Sardis*; for it did not exceed 1½ digit in quantity, about six in the morning, according to Doctor *Brinkley's* calculation. *Pythius*, therefore, could scarcely have been alarmed thereat. But it was sufficiently conspicuous at *Susa*, to excite dismay. And this dismay might not have been communicated to *Pythius* by report, until *Xerxes* was quitting *Sardis*, after he had wintered there. Or, surely, *Pythius* might naturally enough have been induced to ask *Xerxes* so small a favour, without any reference to the eclipse at all.

On the other hand, the astronomer *Costard*, rejecting the eclipse of 481, contends that the eclipse meant by *Herodotus*, was two years later than the departure from *Sardis*, namely, Feb. 13, B.C. 478, which he computed 11½ digits, or nearly total. Astron.

about 8 in the morning, April. 19, B.C. 481. *Herodotus* represents it as total; "for the sun disappeared in a cloudless and clear sky, and *day became night.*" *Pingrè*, the French Astronomer, represented it as "very considerable." See *Larcher's* note on B. VII. § 37, (64.) But Dr. *Brinkley*, Andrews' Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin, who kindly undertook the trouble of computing it, at my desire, found its quantity about 5 digits only, or less than a half eclipse. Still it was considerable enough to excite observation, and create alarm at *Susa*, especially *at the moment of their departure;* and might easily have been magnified into total, by vague tradition, at a time when eclipses were considered universally as portentous, and the doctrine of eclipses known but to few of the learned. *Xerxes* was alarmed, and consulted the *Magi* thereon; who "affirmed, that GOD prognosticated to the *Greeks* the *failure* of their cities [or states]: saying, that *the sun* was the prognosticator of the *Greeks*, but *the moon* of the *Persians**." With this futile exposition, *Xerxes* was overjoyed, and continued his march. B. VII. § 37.

After he crossed the river *Halys*, and arrived at *Celænæ*, *Pythius*, a noble Lydian, who lived there, entertained *Xerxes* and all his army with great magnificence: next to *Xerxes* himself, he was reckoned the richest of mankind. His splendid offer of all his wealth to the king, as a supply for the war, and the generosity of Xerxes, were noticed before. § 26—32.

At *Sardis* he wintered with his army; and his departure from thence, next spring, B.C. 480, § 37, was marked by an act of cruelty and ingratitude much more portentous than the eclipse.

p. 236, 237. But to this, there are insuperable objections. 1. It was too early in the season for *Xerxes* to march, in *winter*, not in spring. 2. It did not take place till the year after the war; which ended with the battles of *Platæa* and *Mycale*, on the same day, the 4th of *Boedromion*, B.C. 479.

Beloe incorrectly adopts this last eclipse, in his note, from *Costard;* and also, correctly, the solar eclipse of B.C. 603, as the eclipse of *Thales*, which was unquestionably the only one that corresponds throughout with the circumstances of the history, as we have shewn. But he is wrong in assigning it to the reign of *Astyages*. See p. 107 of this volume.

* Οἱ δε εφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνυει ὁ Θεος εκλειψιν των πολιων· λεγοντες ἡλιον ειναι Ἑλληνων προδεκτορα, σεληνην δε, σφεων. *Beloe* has rendered this passage loosely and incorrectly. "That the protection of heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks: the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia."—The *Magi* really considered the *sun* and *moon* as the ministers of the MOST HIGH GOD, not as *gods* themselves.

Pythius, his princely host, dismayed at that celestial phænomenon, which he might not have heard of sooner, when *Xerxes* was setting out for the *Hellespont*, presuming upon his hospitality, and the gifts he had received, ventured to ask a trifling favour of the king, namely, to dismiss the eldest of his five sons, who were then serving in the army, in order to take care of himself in his age, and to manage his affairs. But *Xerxes*, imitating the barbarous policy of his father, in a similar case, to put a stop, we may presume, to such applications as he conceived might dishearten his troops, sternly refused his petition:—"For your insolence," said he, "you shall be punished, but less severely than you deserve. Your former hospitality delivers yourself, and four of your sons; but your favourite shall forfeit his life." He then ordered the eldest son to be cut asunder, and marched his army between the two parts of the carcase, placed as a *piacular sacrifice*, on each side of the road. B. VII. § 38, 39. See Gen. xv. 10. Such was the reward of a most deserving citizen, from a proud *despot*, (as he justly addressed him, δεσποτα) whose will was law, and even his tender mercies, cruel. Immediate death would have been kinder to an aged father, thus *bereft of all his children* (for the rest probably perished in the expedition) than to *bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave*, by a lingering dissolution.

This deplorable case marks the extreme rigour of the conscription, when even the family of such a respectable citizen as *Pythius*, was not exempted; and it confirms the historian's account of the immense numbers that must have been dragged to the slaughter-house, from all parts of the mighty Persian empire. *Buonaparte*, that modern *despot*, has imitated and improved the *Persian* mode of conscription.

THE PERSIAN ARMAMENT.

The veracity of *Herodotus* has been unjustly impeached for his representations on this head. He has furnished a most curious list and detail of the several parts of which the whole was formed, and the different arms and habits of the different nations composing the army and the fleet, so very minute and consistent with his account of the *twenty satrapies*, that none but a professed sceptic can entertain a reasonable doubt, that the whole was the greatest military force ever raised, upon any

occasion, in any country. Herod. B. VII. § 20. It corresponded to the greatness of its object, as we have seen, the subjugation of *all Europe*; which even *Richardson* must have allowed, was not the plan of a *petty satrap*, or "*viceroy* of the western districts;" but worthy of the "*paramount sovereign of Persia*" himself. The calamity which it brought upon the empire, was a sufficient reason for its being passed over in silence by the modern *Persian* historians*, whose silence is infinitely outweighed by the positive testimony of *Herodotus*, a contemporary historian; and who drew his information from original *Persian* documents, as well as from *Greeks* and *Asiatics*, who had actually served in the war. This he has detailed in his three last books; the most interesting, and, in the main, the most authentic part of his whole history. And he publicly recited it at the *Olympic* Games, with universal applause. Many of that assembly collected from all parts of Greece, had fought both at *Salamis* and *Platæa:* we may therefore consider them as no mean vouchers to the general veracity of his narration.

His muster is remarkably exact and circumstantial, and extremely cautious and guarded in the expression.

1. "I have not grounds," says he, "to specify the precise contingents of each nation †, for it is no where recorded; but the entire amount of the *infantry* was a hundred and seventy myriads, or 1,700,000."

This was deduced from a simple shepherd mode of computation. At first a myriad of men, drawn up as compactly as possible, was collected into one spot. Then a circle was drawn around them, and a wall, breast high, built thereon. Into this

* The silence of the modern *Persian* historians is no proof that their ancestors denied this war. On the contrary, *Dion Chrysostom* records the following curious *Persian* traditions in his time, "I have been told by a *Mede*, that the *Persians* do not agree to what is reported by the *Greeks*. They pretend, that *Xerxes* conquered the *Lacedæmonians* at *Thermopylæ*, and slew their king; that he made himself master of *Athens*, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery, who did not escape by flight; and that, finally, he returned to *Asia*, after having imposed a tribute on the *Greeks*."

Here the outline of the history is preserved; nothing but the conclusion is false. And *Xerxes* might have circulated the false conclusion, among the *Asiatic* nations, to hide the disgrace of his real defeat and flight. Indeed, the silence of the modern Persian historians, is a tacit confession of the truth. They suppressed the whole reign of *Xerxes* as dishonourable to their nation.

† "*Herodotus* counts no less than twenty-nine nations from *Scythia* north to *Ethiopia* south, and from *India* east to *Thrace* and *Libya* west." *Mitford.*

inclosure, or pen, they introduced the myriads, in succession, until they got the whole number. B. VII. § 60.

The *cavalry* amounted to 80,000; the *Arabians* with their camels, and the *Africans* with their chariots, to 20,000 more. So that the *Asiatic* and *African* troops amounted to 1,800,000, exclusive of their train of attendants.

The *western* levies, raised in the maritime parts of *Thrace*, and the islands adjacent, amounted to 300,030: which gave the amount of the *land forces* 2,100,000 men. B. VII. § 184, 185.

2. The number of *ships of war* that left *Asia*, was 1207 *. Their crews, allowing to each ship, on an average, 200 sailors of the auxiliaries, and 30 marines † of the *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Sacæ*, (the best of the native troops,) amounting to 241,400 sailors and 36,210 marines.

Besides these *triremes*, there were 3000 *transports*, composed of vessels of 30 and 50 oars, of *Cercuri*, (a particular class, in-

* This exact number of 1207, is vouched by *Æschylus*, in his *Persæ*. The detail is thus given by *Herodotus*, and confirmed by the independent statement of *Diodorus*, nearly agreeing in the amount, though varying in particular articles. Herod. B. VII. § 89—95.

	Herodot.	*Diodor.*
1. *Phœnician* ships	300	300
2. *Ægyptians*	200	200
3. *Cyprians*	150	150
4. *Cilicians*	100	80
5. *Pamphylians*	30	40
6. *Lycians*	50	40
7. *Dorians*	30	40
8. *Carians*	70	80
9. *Ionians*	100	100
10 *Islanders*	17	50
11. *Æolians*	60	40
12. *Hellespontians*	100	80
	1207	1200

Of these, the best seamen were the *Phœnicians*, and among the *Phœnicians*, the *Sidonians*; and next to the *Sidonians*, the five ships of *Artemisia*, queen of *Halicarnassus*, who distinguished herself by her intrepidity and skill above all the rest, at the sea fights of *Artemisium* and *Salamis*.

† These additional 30 *men*, *ανδρες*, are distinguished from the *sailors*, by the expression, *ουτος αλλος ὁμιλος*, "*this other crew*," § 284, namely, the *soldiers* who fought on board, now called *marines*; as judiciously rendered by Dr. *Gillies* and Major *Rennel*. The latter observes, that the proportion of these to the sailors at that time, differed not much from the present. Such of our *British* ships as have crews of 240 men, have 37 marines; and according to the same proportion, the *Persian* ships should have 35 to 230. P. 254, note.

vented by the *Cyprians* according to *Pliny,)* and of long transports for the cavalry. B. VII. § 97. Allowing 80 sailors to each, their crews amounted to 240,000. The ships furnished by the *Thracians* amounted to 120, and their crews to 24,000 men. Hence, the whole number of vessels employed in this expedition was 4327; their crews, 541,610 men; which added to the amount of the land forces, 2,100,000, gave the sum total 2,641,610 fighting men. B. VII. § 184, 185.

Herodotus reckoned the followers and retainers of the army as many more at least, so that his whole aggregate of souls employed in the expedition was 5,283,220. § 186.

This estimate is supported by *Isocrates* in his Παναθηναικος, stating the aggregate five millions in round numbers, and *Plutarch* concurs, for the most part. But *Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian,* and other later writers, *Richardsöh, Larcher,* &c. curtailed about four-fifths of the whole number, to reduce the army within their conceptions of credibility, assuming an unwarrantable license, with an ancient and contemporary author, in one of the most essential and important parts, and so cautiously and circumstantially stated, as we have seen.

Both these varying accounts, however, are consistent, and easily reconcileable, from the nature and conformation of *Asiatic* armies in general. The greater part of the Asiatic hordes in the *Persian* army were irregular, undisciplined, "*a promiscuous multitude,*" as *Herodotus* himself calls them, B. VII. § 41, B. IX. § 70, fitter for plunder than for fighting. And four fifths of the whole number might have been merely retainers and followers of the camp, employed in carrying and preparing provisions, stores, &c. for the troops. Major *Rennel* observes, that the regulars in the army of *Xerxes* might be compared to the *Europeans* in an army in *India,* which are inconsiderable, compared with the *Sepoys* and native troops. Thus, when Lord *Cornwallis* marched to besiege *Seringapatam,* in his first campaign, his army consisted only of 20,000 soldiers, but the followers were more than 100,000.

Of the whole *Persian* army, the flower was the cavalry, which was superior to the *Thessalian,* the best in *Greece.* B. VII. 196. And of the cavalry, the best was the *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian,* as noticed by *Xenophon, Anabasis,* B. V. Of the infantry, the best disciplined and bravest were the *Persians* and *Medes,* the *Cissians* or *Susians,* and the *Sacæ,* or

Eastern *Scythians*, bordering on *Bactria*. These were appointed, we see, to act as marines; they were selected to attack the *Lacedæmonians*, at the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, B. VII. § 210, 211. And after the sea fight of *Salamis*, we find that *Mardonius* formed his select army of 300,000 troops, out of the *Persians*, *Medes*, *Sacæ*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians;* beside the best of the auxiliaries, and the cavalry. B. VIII. § 113. But the *immortal* band of 10,000 *Persians*, who were the flower of the infantry, could not withstand the *Grecian* band at *Thermopylæ*, nor the army of *Mardonius* at *Platæa*. The superiority of the *European* infantry in the field, over the *Asiatic*, was as conspicuous as the superiority of the *Asiatic* cavalry at all times. And to this, *Montesquieu* sagaciously attributes the prodigious levies of *Asiatic* infantry employed to invade *Europe* by the *Persians*, and the comparative smallness of the *European* infantry employed to invade *Asia*, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

The subsistence of such an immense armament, both by sea and land, is the grand difficulty urged against our historian, by *Richardson* and *Larcher*. *Herodotus* himself has considered this, and given a curious calculation of the quantity of corn necessary to subsist 5,296,320 * men for a day; for, allowing each man a *chœnix*, and 48 *chœnixes* to a *medimnus*, it would amount to 110,340 medimni. B. VII. § 187. If we reckon the *chœnix* held near a pint and a half *English*, and a *medimnus* 70 pints, somewhat more than a bushel, and 8 bushels to a quarter, the amount would be 13,792 quarters of corn for the men, exclusive of the cattle.

And if we give the same allowance of a *chœnix* of water also, to each person, or 12 *chœnixes* to a gallon, the amount would be, for 5,296,320 men, 441,360 gallons, or near 7006 hogsheads of water, exclusive of the cattle. No wonder then, that some rivers, that were not considerable, as the *Scamander*, at *Troy* †, were exhausted on their march. B. VII. § 42—187.

Xerxes himself was aware of this difficulty. And his four

* This number, upon which his calculation is founded, exceeds by 13,100, the foregoing stated number, 5,283,220; which is little enough for the *women bakers, concubines, eunuchs*, &c. not taken into account.

† The numerous references to *Troy* and the *Trojan war*, throughout *Herodotus*, from the beginning of his history, throughout, afford the fullest refutation of the sceptical and fanciful arguments of *Bryant*, disputing the existence of the town itself, and of the war.

entire years of preparation were spent chiefly in forming magazines of corn, stores, &c., in the most convenient stations of his projected route. On passing the *Hellespont*, over a bridge of ships, curiously constructed for the purpose, *Artabanus*, his uncle, warned him of the dangers of *tempests* by sea, and of *famine* by land. *Xerxes* thus replied; "We are marching in the best season of the year; and, after subduing *all Europe*, we shall return back without finding *famine* any where, or suffering any other *disaster;* for in the first place, *we carry with us great store of provisions*, and in the next, whatever country we invade, *we shall have their corn;* for we are marching against *agriculturists*, and not *shepherds*." B. VII. § 50. The distinguished characters of *Europe* and *Asia* are strongly marked in this passage, from the earliest times. "The pastoral *tents* of *Shem*" were foretold by *Noah*. Gen. ix. 27.

The next difficulty urged against the armament is the prodigious amount of the *pay* both of the army and fleet, which, at the lowest rate of a Grecian foot soldier, two pence a day, as a standard for the army of *Xerxes*, 5,283,220 men, *Richardson* reckons "would exceed sixteen millions per annum, and the extra contingencies for the fleet, mercenaries, &c. as much more, or thirty-two millions the whole annual charge." Dissert. p. 313.

This seems to be both overrated and underrated; the daily pay too little, and the number paid too much.

The pay of a *Persian* soldier was a *daric* per month, as we learn from *Xenophon*, Anab. B. VII. or ten pence a day. This was paid to the native troops and the army of the line. But these, probably, did not exceed half a million, whose pay then, for a month, would be 625,000*l.* or for a year, 7,500,000*l.* The provincial troops and the irregulars, from the nature of *feudal tenure*, might have been paid, in part at least, by their own provinces. And upon this very stipulation, perhaps, their fixed tribute, in time of peace, was rated so low. The servants and retainers of the camp, who formed the great mass, probably got little or no pay, but merely subsistence; or were paid by their masters, for their own convenience. See B. VII. § 83.

The ability of *Xerxes* to pay his troops is greatly underrated also by *Richardson*. "Though he could not have hoarded much himself, and must have been at considerable expences in transporting an army to *Egypt*," yet the treasures collected by *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, and *Darius Hystaspes* were immense, as

Alexander of *Macedon* found; and probably the *Egyptians* were amerced, at least, to repay the full expences of the expedition against them.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE HELLESPONT.

This was more a work of ostentation than of use. *Alexander*, and afterwards the *Ottomans*, passed these straits of the *Hellespont* with less parade, but with infinitely greater effect. It was probably meant to rival his father's bridge across the *Thracian Bosphorus*, (or canal of *Constantinople,)* where the water was smoother, and the passage narrower. Its practicability has been disputed by *Richardson*, overrating the breadth at two miles. But it was only seven stadia, or less than one mile at the *Hellespont;* and Major *Rennel* has ingeniously explained the construction of the two bridges, one for the men, the other for the cattle, (which were *seven days and nights in passing!)* and shewn the angle which they formed with each other; the one to resist the strength of the current from the *Propontis*, the other to withstand the strong winds in the *Ægean* sea; each protecting the other. See his Map, *Geograph. of Herod.* p. 116—128, and *Herod.* B. VII. § 33—56.

CANAL AT MOUNT ATHOS.

Three years were employed before the expedition in cutting a canal across this isthmus, which was twelve stadia, or a mile and a half wide, capable of admitting two triremes to sail abreast through it. This was a work of real utility, and not merely of ostentation, like the former, as *Herodotus* considers it. To cross, or coast along the *Ægean* sea, even now, with all the modern improvements of navigation, is very dangerous; and to double the cape of *Athos* is still more formidable. This prodigious work was designed to prevent a repetition of the foregoing shipwreck of *Mardonius'* fleet, and to facilitate the intercourse between *Asia* and *Europe*, already in his imagination subdued. Here also he formed a grand depot of provisions, and magazines were prepared all along the coast of *Thrace*, in the *Greek* colonial towns subdued by *Darius* his father.

Juvenal has ridiculed this canal as fabulous; and *Pococke*, and some modern *French* travellers, could discover no traces of

its existence. The following testimony of *Thucydides* is decisive of the fact.

"After *Brasidas* had taken *Amphipolis*, (B.C. 424,) he marched with the army of the auxiliaries to *Acte*, ("the *coast*,") so called, which stretches inwards from the *King's canal* *, and is terminated by Mount *Athos*, at the *Ægean* sea. It contains some towns, *Sanna*, an *Andrian* colony, lying at *the very mouth of the canal* †, on the sea toward *Eubœa* (or southward;) and others, *Thyssus*, *Cleone*, *Acrotha*, *Olophyxus*, and *Dios*." Pelop. War. B. IV. § 109.

This most accurate and faithful historian had also the best means of information, for he had an estate himself in the neighbourhood, and was superintendant of the *Athenian* gold mines at *Philippi*, in *Thrace*, and relates this about fifty years after the *canal* was made. *Isocrates*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* all speak of this canal also, as an undoubted and astonishing work. There seems nothing wanting therefore to confirm the veracity of *Herodotus* in this point.

MARCH OF XERXES.

Xerxes passed the *Hellespont* with his immense host of *many men but few soldiers*, B. VII. § 210, in all the pride and pomp of power, after scourging the sea, and flinging fetters into it, if we may credit the reports of *Æschylus*, *Herodotus*, &c. which are perhaps exaggerated. He spent a *month* at *Doriscus*, in *Thrace*, near the mouth of the *Hebrus*, in reviewing and numbering his army and fleet. And thence marched southwards with his army, in three divisions, attended by his fleet, through *Thrace* and *Macedonia*. Several cities entertained him sumptuously on his route, and were greatly impoverished thereby. The *Thracians* expended four hundred talents of silver on a single banquet; and a witty citizen told the *Abderites* "they should bless heaven that *Xerxes* did not require two repasts in the day, or they would be completely ruined." B. VII. §. 120.

The first information of this formidable invasion of *Greece* was conveyed to the *Lacedæmonians* by *Demaratus* ‡, the exiled

* Απο του βασιλεως διορυγματος. † Παρ' αυτην την διωρυχα.

‡ *Herodotus* gives a full account of the fortunes and expulsion of *Demaratus*. B. VI. § 51, 61, 63—70. He was a favourite of *Xerxes*, for suggesting his plea to the crown, in preference of his elder brother, because his father, *Darius Hystaspes*, was king of Persia at his birth. B. VII. § 3.

king of *Sparta*, whose patriotism rose superior to his private wrongs. By an ingenious stratagem he carved an account of the king's determination on two tablets of wood, and then covered the writing with wax, so that they appeared like blank tablets. When they were delivered from *Susa*, at *Sparta*, they puzzled the people exceedingly, till *Gorgo*, the wife of *Leonidas*, sagaciously removed the wax, and read the writing underneath; and then the *Lacedæmonians* circulated the alarming intelligence through *Greece*. B. VII. § 239.

Xerxes proceeded without opposition through *Achaia* and *Thessaly*, till he reached the famous and important straits of *Thermopylæ*, the key of *Greece*, while the *Carnian* and *Olympic* games were celebrating. This ascertains both the season of the year and the apathy and remissness of the Greeks; for the *Olympic* games began at the full moon next after the summer solstice. But surely the Greeks, after information of the approach of *Xerxes*, ought to have been otherwise employed, in preparing for the common defence. B. VII. 184, 201, 206.

At this time a furious *Hellespontine* wind, blowing from E. N. E. for three days together, raised such a hurricane, as wrecked on the coast, destroyed and sunk four hundred ships of war, besides an immense number of transports and provision vessels, at the promontory of *Sepias*. B. VII. § 188—191. From this exposed station they removed to *Apheta*, further southward. And the *Grecian* fleet of three hundred ships assembled in their neighbourhood, at *Artemisium*, the northern promontory of the island of *Eubœa*, to oppose their passage southward. § 194.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.

Through the general apathy and torpor of the *Greeks*, who continued to celebrate the customary games and festivals of the season, only a small band of 6,200 men *, was sent to guard the straits of *Thermopylæ* against the *Persian* host, under the command of *Leonidas*, king of *Sparta*. His gallant defence for three days, against the flower of the *Persian* army, is well known, and need not be repeated here. On the fourth morning they

* *Herodotus* adds, that *Leonidas* detained four hundred Thebans against their will, who deserted him in the engagement. This is improbable. *Diodorus* and *Pausanias* both omit the *Thebans*.

The

were surrounded by a party sent across the mountains by a bye path, who came upon their rear; and after dismissing the rest of the little army, *Leonidas*, with 300 *Spartans* and 700 *Thespians* *, fell gloriously on the bodies of 20,000 Persians, in obedience to the Oracle, which foretold that "either *Sparta* or her *king* must fall." Determined to die for his country, *Leonidas* thus encouraged his men; "*Breakfast heartily*," said he, "*for we shall sup in Hades!*" Herod. B. VII. § 210—221. Diodor. Sic. B. XI. cap. 2.

An appropriate epitaph was inscribed on their barrow †, or tomb.

The contingencies furnished by the several *Grecian* confederate states are thus enumerated by *Herodotus*. B. VII. § 202.

Spartans	300	from *Peloponnesus*.
Tegeatæ	500	
Mantineans	500	
Orchomenians	120	
Arcadians	1000	
Corinthians	400	
Phlyontians	200	
Mycænians	80	
Thespians	700	from other parts of *Greece*.
Thebans	400	
Phocæans	1000	
Opuntian Locrians	[1000]	
	6200	

With *Herodotus* agrees *Pausanias* in all the articles but the last, of the *Locrians*; of which *Herodotus* has not mentioned the amount. *Pausanias* reckons it 6,000, (probably by mistake for the whole amount, in roundnumbers,) *Diodorus* only 1,000; which is here adopted.

* *Herodotus* says that when *Leonidas* dismissed the rest of the confederate troops at *Thermopylæ*, (because in reality they would not stay themselves upon a *forlorn hope*,) he kept the *Thespians* and the *Thebans*, the last "*against their will*," who afterwards deserted to the *Persians*, in the midst of the engagement. It would surely be highly impolitic to detain the *Thebans* in such circumstances. And *Diodorus* and *Pausanias*, who omit the *Thebans* in the last action, are more to be credited.

† These *tombs* were artificial mounts of earth, heaped up, to record the memory of the illustrious dead; such are the sepulchral *barrowes*, found in all regions of the east and west. That, erected by *Xerxes* in memory of *Artachæes*, a prime favourite, and superintendant of the canal at *Athos*, is thus described, ενυμβοχοεε δε πασα ἡ στρατια. "The whole army *heaped his tomb*." B. VII. § 117.

The *barrow* raised by *Agamemnon* and the *Græcian* army in honour of their countrymen who fell at *Troy*, is thus described by *Homer*.

Αμφ' αυτοισι δ' επειτα, μεγαν και αμυμονα τυμβον
Χευαμεν Αργειων ἱερος στρατος αιχμηταων,

" The *Lacedæmonians*, O stranger, tell,
That here, obeying their *sacred laws* *, we fell." § 228.

After his dear bought victory at *Thermopylæ*, verifying *Demaratus'* previous information to *Xerxes* of the determined spirit of the *Lacedæmonians*, the king thought proper to consult him about the best mode of conducting the war against the Confederates. *Demaratus* recommended to send a powerful squadron of 300 ships to occupy the isle of *Cythera*, near the *Laconian* coast; that from this annoying station, he would hold *Sparta* in check, so as to prevent her from succouring the rest of *Greece;* which might, in that case, be easily reduced by the *Persians;* and then, *Sparta* would fall of course. But this sage counsel †

Ακτη επι προυχουση επι πλατει Ελλησποντω·
Ως κεν τηλεφανης εκ ποντοφιν ανδρασιν ειη
Τοις οι νυν γεγαασι, και οι μετοπισθεν εσονται.
" Over them, next, a great and faultless *tomb*
The sacred corps of *Argive* warriors *heap*,
On the wide *Hellespont's* projecting coast;
Conspicuous far, to mariners at sea,
Both of the present and the future race." *Odyss.* xxiv. 84.

The size of the barrow was usually proportioned to the rank of the deceased; and the simplicity of the structure, and its pyramidal, or conical form, rendered it both *frequent* and *durable* all over the world.

* Ω ξειν', αγγειλον Λακεδαιμονιοις, ὁτι τηδε
Κειμεθα, τοις κεινων ρημασι πειθομενοι.

The *Spartan* laws forbad them to fly from an enemy, under whatsoever disadvantage. They were called ρηματα, and the code itself Ρηθρα, as supposed to be " *dictated*" by the *Oracle* of *Apollo*. *Plutarch. Lycurgus.*

† This counsel of *Demaratus* against his own country, at first sight, seems rather inconsistent with that *patriotism* which led him to send covert information of the intended invasion of Greece, to *Lacedæmon*, before. But they are by no means inconsistent: he might now despair of the *Græcian* cause, from the strange neglect, and apathy, with which they treated his information; from the secession of many of the states, the *Thessalians*, *Thebans*, &c. to the enemy; and from the disunion of the rest. And he might even wish for the paramount controuling authority of the *Persian* government, to repress those horrid violences of *intestine faction*, and *civil discord*, by which every *Græcian* city was almost unceasingly torn within, and armed against each other without; and that jealous rivalship of the leading states, which afforded no prospect of future repose, after they should be freed from the fear of the common enemy. Add to this, that from the most authentic accounts both of *Græcian* and *Oriental* History, the *Persians* excelled almost all the nations of antiquity, in polished manners, liberal sentiments, and kind treatment of the conquered provinces; as shewn in the foregoing pages.

These considerations may, perhaps, furnish a sufficient apology for the conduct of *Demaratus* on this occasion, who found a secure and honourable asylum himself in the *Persian* court, from the restless machinations and persecutions of his domestic foes; as did that illustrious exile, *Themistocles*, also, soon after, from the ingratitude of *Athens*, and the malignity of *Sparta;* who never could forgive his overreaching them in fortifying *Athens*, which they illiberally opposed.

was overruled by *Achæmenes*, the king's brother, chief commander of the fleet, as tending to weaken the fleet by division, and prevent its more effectual co-operation with the land forces. B. VII. § 234—237.

SEA FIGHTS AT ARTEMISIUM.

The *Persian* fleet now wished to penetrate southwards, and the *Græcian*, assembled at *Artemisium* *, to oppose them. This brought on a succession of engagements, for three days, in which the *Persians* fought to great disadvantage, crowded in a narrow sea; and they also lost several of their vessels, on the rocks and shoals of that dangerous coast, by midsummer gales. " All this

* The fleet of the *Græcian* confederates is thus detailed by *Herodotus*, B. VIII. § 1, 2.

Athenians	127, with *Platæan* marines,
Corinthians	40
Megareans	20
Chalcidians	20
Æginetæ	18
Sicyonians	12
Lacedæmonians	10
Epidaurians	8
Eretrians	7
Trœzenians	5
Styreans	2
Ceos	2
Ships of war	171, and 53 afterwards, Athenian. B. VIII. § 14.
Frigates of 50 oars	9

The commander in chief was *Eurybiades;* the Confederates refusing to serve under the *Athenians*, and threatening to disperse, unless they had a Spartan leader. Such were the jealousies, even at that crisis, which obstructed the public good! The *Spartans*, from their inattention to maritime affairs, were surely not so well qualified to command as the *Athenians*, who had above twelve times their number of ships. But the *Athenians* wisely gave up their just precedence, for the welfare of Greece. Herod. B. VIII. 1—3. And their commander, *Themistocles*, still more wisely, bribed the Spartan admiral, and *Adimantus* the Corinthian, to keep the fleet at *Artemisium*, for the protection of *Eubœa*, out of a sum of money, (thirty talents) which, by his advice, the *Eubœans* raised and gave him for that purpose. B. IX. § 4, 5.

The great naval superiority of the *Athenians* was created solely by that commanding genius, *Themistocles*. He had the courage to propose a decree, that the produce of the silver mines at *Laurium* in *Attica*, belonging to the state, should not be divided among the citizens, as usual, but appropriated to the building a fleet of 200 galleys, to cope with the *Æginates*, their neighbours and rivals, with whom they were then at war. " This war," says *Herodotus*, "saved *Greece*, by compelling the *Athenians* to become seamen." B. VII. § 144.

was done by GOD," says the pious historian, "that the *Persian* fleet might be rendered equal, or not greatly superior, to the *Græcian* fleet." B. VIII. § 1—13.

Though the *Persians* suffered more severely indeed, yet the *Græcians* suffered also, and half of the *Athenian* ships were disabled. They deliberated therefore on retreating to the Peninsula, and their resolutions were quickened by the disastrous intelligence of the destruction of *Leonidas* and his gallant band. They agreed, therefore, to depart without delay, in the order they were stationed, the *Corinthians* foremost, and the *Athenians* hindmost. B. VIII. § 16—21.

At the request of the *Athenians*, the confederates sailed to *Salamis*, (an island in the *Saronic* bay, nearly mid-way between *Athens* and *Corinth*) and the *Athenian* squadron, on the way, took on board their families and effects, deserting the city, and trusting to their *wooden walls*, in obedience to the Oracle *. B. VII. § 140—143.

* GRECIAN ORACLES.

The Oracles on the *Persian* invasion, given to the *Athenians*, from *Delphi*, were truly remarkable.

1. The first was highly menacing. B. VII. § 140.

Ω μελεοι, τι καθησθε; λιπων, φευγ' εσχατα γαιης
Δωματα, και πολιος τροχοειδεος ακρα καρηνα.
Ουτε γαρ ἡ κεφαλη μενει εμπεδον, ουτε το σωμα,
Ουτε ποδες νεατοι, ουτ' ων χερες, ουτε τι μεσσης
Λειπεται, αλλ' αζηλα πελει. κατα γαρ μιν ερειπει
Πυρ τε και οξυς Ἀρης, Συριηγενες ἁρμα διωκων.
Πολλα δε καλλ' απολει πυργωματα, κου το σον οιον·
Πολλους δ' αθανατων νηους μαλερῳ πυρι δωσει,
Οἱ που νυν ἱδρωτι ρεουμενοι ἑστηκασι,
Δειματι παλλομενοι. κατα δ' ακροτατοις οροφοισι
Αἱμα μελαν κεχυται, προιδον κακοτητος αναγκας,
Αλλ' ιτον εξ αδυτοιο, κακοις δ' επικιδνατε θυμον·

"*Unfortunate* suppliants! Why *sit ye* at my shrine?—
Quit your abodes, and *round*† *city's lofty cliffs*,
Fly to the ends of the earth. Your country all,
Head, foot, and middle, quakes in every part,
Exposed to devastation: fire, and fierce *Mars*,
Driving his *Syrian* chariot, shall soon destroy
Your towers and sheep-folds; the consuming flames
Shall burn the temples of the immortal gods,

† *Athens* was built in a circular form, round the *Acropolis*, or Citadel. *Herodotus* compared it, in size and shape, to *Ecbatane*, the metropolis of *Media*. B. I. § 158. See this volume, p. 79.

Their superstitious practice of *serpent divination* co-operated with the Oracle, to make them abandon *Athens*. A great ser-

Which now, streaming with sweat, shivering with fear,
All stand; while from their highest roofs, the gore
Now trickles, sad presage of inevitable woe:
Go from my shrine, for ills prepare your mind."

2. Appalled at this terrible response, they besought a milder, or that they would stay, and die there. It was thus given. B. VII. § 141.

Ου δυναται Παλλας Δι' Ολυμπιον εξιλασασθαι,
Διασομενη πολλοισι λογοις και μητιδι πυκνη,
Σοι δε τοδ' αυτις επος ερεω, αδαμαντι πελασσας.
Των αλλων γαρ αλισκομενων, οσα Κεκροπος ουρος
Εντος εχει, κευθμων τε Κιθαιρωνος ζαθεοιο,
Τειχος Τριτογενει ξυλινον διδοι ευρυοπα Ζευς
Μουνον απορθητον τελεθειν, το σε τεκνα τ' ονησει.
Μηδε συ γ' ιπποσυνην τε μενειν και πεζον ιοντα
Πολλον απ' ηπειρου στρατον ησυχος, αλλ' υποχωρειν,
Νωτον επιστρεψας· ετι τοι κοτε καντιος εσση·
Ω θειη Σαλαμις, απολεις δε συ τεκνα γυναικων,
Η που σκιδναμενης Δημητερος, η συνιουσης.

" *Pallas*, in vain, the fixed decree of *Jove*,
With much entreaty, and with anxious care,
Deprecates: of adamant almost, is my reply.
When all the rest is lost, within the bounds
Of *Cecrops'* hilly land, and of *Cithæron's* * mount;
To *Pallas* still, all-seeing *Jove* reserves
A *wooden wall*, alone impregnable:
Thee, and thy children too, this shall protect.
Stay not, nor wait the approach of horse and foot,
A mighty army from *the continent* [of *Asia*.]
Retire, and turn thy back; the time will come,
When thou shalt face them yet: *O Salamis divine*,
The *sons of women* shalt thou destroy [by sea],
Whether *Ceres* shall scatter, or collect, [by land].

This ambiguous oracle was interpreted by the sagacious *Themistocles*, to denote their fleet, by the *wooden walls*; while victory was promised to the *Athenians*, at *Salamis*; because of the epithet "*divine*;" which, otherwise, would rather have been styled, "*Unfortunate Salamis*," § 142, 143. *Plutarch* indeed suspects, that the *Pythian* was indoctrinated by *Themistocles*, on this occasion, wishing to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen; and we may add, to suggest the most advantageous stand for their scanty fleet, in the narrow seas, against the *Persian* Armada.

3. The Oracle of *Bacis*, an *Athenian* diviner, was more explicit. It predicted the

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* *Cithæron*, a mountain in *Bœotia*, famous for the orgies of *Bacchus*; it bounded *Attica*.

——— Qualis, commotis excita sacris,
Thyas, ubi audito stimulant trieterica *Baccho*
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore *Cithæron*. VIRG. Æn. v. 301.

pent was kept in the temple of the *Acropolis*, or citadel, as the animal emblem of the goddess of wisdom, *Athene*, (or *Neith* reversed) who was established as their tutelar divinity, by *Erectheus*, about B.C. 1399. See Vol. III. p. 524, 525, of this work. To this serpent, monthly oblations were regularly made, of a cake sweetened with honey. But at this time, the serpent, who usually eat the cake, left it untouched. When this omen was signified by the priestess to the people, they were eager to quit the devoted city, judging that even the goddess had forsaken it; and therefore, embarking without delay, they sailed to join the combined fleet at *Salamis*. B. VIII. § 41.

Herodotus pays a just tribute of applause to the *Athenians*, as "the *saviours of Greece*." For if they, dreading the impend-

exact posture of the *Persian* fleet, when hemming in the *Græcian*, at *Salamis*; and that auspicious day, which gave liberty to *Greece*. B. VIII. § 77.

Αλλ' ὁταν Αρτεμιδος χρυσαορου ἱερον ακτην
Νηυσι γεφυρωσωσι, και ειναλιην Κυνοσουραν,
Ελπιδι μαινομενῃ λιπαρας περσαντες Αθηνας,
Δια Δικη σβεσσει κρατερον κορον Ὑβριος νἱον,
Δεινον μαιμωοντα, δοκευντ' ανα παντα πυθεσθαι.
Χαλκος γαρ χαλκῳ συμμιξεται, αἱματι δ' Αρης
Ποντον φοινιξει. τοτ' ελευθερον Ἑλλαδος ἡμαρ
Ευρυοπα Κρονιδης επαγει, και ποτνια Νικη.

"Whene'er the invaders stretch a *bridge of ships*,
From *Pallas'* sacred shore, to *Cynosura's* coast,
(*Athens* now sacked) inspired with frantic hope;
Vengeance divine shall blast the furious youth,
That *son of violence*, with ambitious rage,
Thinking that all the world must him obey.
For arms shall clash with arms; and *Mars*
The sea shall die with blood. All-seeing *Jove*,
And venerable *Victory*, shall then to *Greece*
A day of freedom bring."

Αρτεμις is properly *Diana*; but here the epithet, χρυσαορου, "*with the golden sword*," is more applicable to the other virgin goddess, *Pallas*, the protectress of *Attica*. The Persian fleet before the battle, actually stretched across the *Saronic* bay, like a bridge, from *Phalerum*, the oldest and outmost port of *Athens*, on the *Attic* shore, to *Cynosura*, a promontory on the *Peloponnesian* coast, (now called *Sideo*,) noticed by *Ptolemy*. Χαλκος, here rendered "*arms*," more properly denotes the *brazen beaks* of the ships encountering each other, by which several were sunk on each side. The impious insolence, and unjust ambition of *Xerxes*, are strongly marked; and the epithet ευρυοπα, "*wide seeing*," or "*all seeing*," is finely applied to GOD's universal providence.

On this signal prophecy principally, *Herodotus* seems to have built his faith in Oracles, as noticed before. Still, without scruple, he admits, that the Oracle might sometimes be bribed. B. VI. § 66.

ing danger, had either abandoned their country, and sought a settlement elsewhere; or remained, and given themselves up to *Xerxes*, he would have met no opposition by sea, and consequently no opposition by land. For of what advantage would have been the walls and fortifications of the *Peloponnesians* at the *Isthmus*, if the king had been master of the sea? The *Lacedæmonians* would have been deserted by their allies, not willingly, but of necessity, when their cities were successively taken by the enemies' fleet; so that being left alone, they must either have died bravely, after performing great exploits; or, like the rest of the *Medizing* Greeks, have come to an accommodation with *Xerxes;* and so in both cases, *Greece* would have been brought under the *Persian* yoke. But the *Athenians* turned the balance: preferring the liberty of *Greece*, to their private interests *, they rouzed, by their example, all the Grecian remnant that did not *Medize;* and next to THE GODS, repulsed the king. Not even the terrific oracles that came from *Delphi*, and cast them into consternation, could persuade them to abandon *Greece;* but remaining, they undertook to receive the invader of their country, with a firm resistance. Whereas, among the rest of the Greeks, there was great want of unanimity: they who had submitted to give *earth* and *water* to the *Persian*, (the *Thebans*, &c.) reckoned themselves out of danger; but they who refused, (the *Lacedæmonians*, &c.) were in great dismay; not thinking they had a fleet able to cope with the enemy; and many, (the *Argives*, &c.) not wishing to hazard a war, were disposed to *Medize*, (μηδιζοντων δε προθυμως.) B. VII. § 138, 139.

If we consider the period in which *Herodotus* wrote these reflections, when the *Lacedæmonians* had obtained the ascendancy in Greece, by the assistance of the paramount power of *Persia*, we cannot but admire the honesty and boldness of the faithful historian, not scrupling to give offence to the *majority*, as well as to the ruling powers, in *Greece* and *Asia*.

From *Thermopylæ*, *Xerxes* marched his army into *Attica*, which he entered *four* months after he had crossed the *Helles-*

* *Mitford*, rather disparagingly, ascribes "the determined and animated opposition of the *Athenians* to the *Persian* power," to their previous aggressions: 1. The burning of *Sardis;* 2. Their ill treatment of the *Persian* heralds; and 3. Their victory at *Marathon*, which made them so peculiarly obnoxious, that in submitting, they could little hope for favourable terms." Chap. ix. § 2. But this is not warranted by the history; which represents both *Xerxes* and *Mardonius* as courting the *Athenians*.

pont. Then, in his anger, he laid waste the country, burnt the towns, and levelled the temples * to the ground. B. VIII. § 50. The *Persians* stormed the citadel, and took possession of the empty city of *Athens;* for the citizens had deserted it, leaving still behind a considerable part of their property, their furniture, statues, and pictures, which they could not remove.

Demosthenes has preserved a curious trait of the *Athenian* spirit on this occasion. One *Cyrsilus,* a citizen, advised the people to remain in the city, and receive *Xerxes.* But the men, indignantly, stoned him to death; and the women, his wife; as traitors to their country. *Pro corona.*

From *Attica, Xerxes* detached a part of his army into *Phocis,* where they ravaged the country, and plundered and destroyed towns and temples. The temple of *Apollo,* at *Delphi,* the principal, and the richest of them all, escaped most wonderfully. *Xerxes,* who was as well informed of its immense treasures, and especially the offerings of *Crœsus,* as of his own, sent a party of his troops to plunder it. The *Delphians,* apprized of their march, were in the greatest consternation, and consulted the Oracle, whether they should bury, or remove, the sacred treasures? But they were told, that *the god himself was able to protect his own.* Accordingly, the *Delphians* hearing this, took care of themselves; they sent away their women and children, across the *Corinthian* gulph, into *Achaia;* and went themselves mostly to the summits of *Parnassus,* or took shelter in the *Corycian* cave, near the city, while the rest retired to *Amphissa,* in *Locris.* When the Barbarians drew near, and were in sight of the temple; the prophet, whose name was *Aceratus,* reported, that he saw the sacred armour, which it was unlawful for any man to touch, spontaneously brought forth from the inner sanctuary, where it lay, and placed outside the temple. When the Barbarians had arrived at the temple of *Pallas the Provident,* (in front of the principal temple) there befel them prodigies still greater than the former. Thunderbolts from heaven fell upon them, and two huge fragments from the tops of *Parnassus,* rolled down with a great clash, among them, and destroyed multitudes; while a shouting and clamour issued

* Among the rest, the temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpine,* at *Eleusis,* the largest in *Greece,* capable of containing 30,000 persons, if we may believe the exaggerations of travellers. It is described by *Strabo,* Lib. IX. p. 395; and *Vitruvius,* Lib. VII.

from the temple of the goddess. These combined prodigies struck terror into the Barbarians, and put them to flight. Perceiving this, the *Delphians* rushed down upon the fugitives, and slew a multitude of them. The rocky fragments from *Parnassus*, after rolling through the enemies' ranks, stopped within the sacred pale of the goddess; where they were to be seen in *Herodotus'* time. B. VIII. § 32—39. According to *Diodorus*, the *Delphians* erected a great trophy to *Jove*, near the temple of *Pallas*, with an appropriate inscription, to transmit the memory of the fact to posterity *. B. IX. ch. i.

SEA FIGHT OF SALAMIS.

The fleet of the confederates at *Salamis*, was much larger than at *Artemisium*. It consisted of 378 ships †, exclusive of

* *Mitford* is disposed to reject all the *preternatural machinery* in this transaction, and to resolve it wholly into the art and address of *the priests*, planning a bold and uncommon stratagem, which they executed with equal prudence and courage. That the thunderstorm in summer was likely to be an accidental assistant to the *Delphians*, when rolling down the rocky fragments from *Parnassus* upon the unsuspecting enemy, or else producing artificial explosions, to terrify and confound them. The remainder of the *Persians* that escaped, affirming also, that they saw two persons of more than mortal appearance, joining the *Delphians* in the pursuit and slaughter, to cover the disgrace of their own surprize and defeat.—*Hist. of Greece*, Vol. I. chap, ix. § 4.

It may be so.—Still it is by no means impossible, nor incredible, that *some* of the preternatural machinery might be true, though not all. The expedition on the *Persian* side was clearly *sacrilegious*, and deserved to be punished. And might not the TRUE GOD, (whom the Greeks still ignorantly worshipped as "JOVE THEIR SAVIOUR,") interpose, by his ministers, *the elements?* as he hurled "*hail stones and coals of fire*," against the impious *Egyptians*, and *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*, in the days of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Samuel*.

† The list of the confederate *Grecian* fleet may thus be collected from *Herodotus*, B. VIII. § 45—48.

	Triremes.	
Lacedæmonians	16	*Peninsula.*
Corinthians	40	
Sicyonians	15	
Epidaurians	10	
Trœzenians	5	
Hermionians	3	
Megareans	20	*Continent.*
Ambraciotæ	7	
Leucadians	3	

fifty-oared vessels, or frigates. The *Athenians* alone furnished 180 ships, nearly half the fleet. B. VIII. § 43—48.

The *Persian* army was stationed along the coast of *Attica*, and the fleet, off *Phalerum*. The number of both had been recruited, after their losses, by sea and land, at *Sepias*, *Artemisium*, and *Thermopylæ*, by reinforcements of the *Medizing* Greeks, now declaring for the king, the *Melians*, *Dorians*, *Locrians*, &c. and the islanders, the *Carystians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, &c.; for the farther the Persian advanced into *Greece*, the more nations followed him, according to the honest testimony of *Herodotus*. The *Parians*, who in the former invasion, had sided with the Persians, and were become proverbial for treachery, now staid behind at *Cythnus*, awaiting the event of the war. B. VIII. § 66, 67.

The Grecian confederates at *Salamis*, were greatly disheartened at the approach of the *Persians*, and the devastation of *Attica*. And the leaders of the *Peloponnesians* especially, from a paltry concern for their own private interests, were disposed to retreat round the Peninsula, and risk an engagement near the Isthmus of *Corinth*. But *Themistocles*, the Athenian, fearing,

Æginetæ	30	*Islanders.*
Chalcidians	20	
Eretrians	7	
Ceos	7	
Naxians	4	
Styreans	2	
Crotoniates and others	[9]	
	198	
Athenians	180	
	378	

Frigates of Fifty Oars.

Cythnians	1
Melians	2
Siphnians	1
Seriphians	1
	5

Just before the battle, they were joined by two *triremes* more of the Tenians, and of Lemnos, making the whole amount 380 ships*. B. VIII. § 82.

* *Æschylus*, in his *Persæ*, reckons the *Grecian* fleet at 300; in round numbers. 337, 338 *Herodotus* is more exact.

that if they left *Salamis*, they would separate, each to their own homes, or that they would fight to great disadvantage in the open seas, urged the Spartan admiral, *Eurybiades*, to stay; for that otherwise they would lose the islands of *Salamis* and *Ægina*, and the town of *Megara*, on the main, where their families and effects were deposited; and would also forego the peculiar advantage of fighting the mighty Persian Armada, with their small force, in the narrow seas. He reminded them also, that *Salamis* was the scene of naval victory, promised by the *Oracle*.

Adimantus, the leader of the *Corinthian* squadron, here interrupted *Themistocles*, as disqualified to speak in that council, not having either city or country, at present. But *Themistocles* severely inveighed against him and the Corinthians, declaring, that while the *Athenians* had a fleet of 200 vessels fully equipped, and more than a match for all the rest of the confederates, they did not want a city and country greater than theirs *. And he then threatened *Eurybiades*, the Spartan commander-in-chief, that unless he complied, the *Athenians* would take on board their families, and carry them to *Siris* in *Italy*, which belonged to them of old, and was also signified by the *Pythian* Oracle, as the site of their new settlement. "*And then*," concluded he, "*when the Peloponnesians are deprived of such auxiliaries*,

* The poet *Alcæus*, of *Lesbos*, who flourished about B.C. 607, has furnished a fine reflexion on the best ingredients of a city, *manly fortitude* and *public spirit*.

Ου λιθοι, ουδε ξυλα, ουδε
Τειχεα τεκτονων αι πολεις εισιν·
Αλλ' ὁπου ποτ' αν ωσι ανδρες,
Αυτους σωζειν ειδοτες,
Ενταυθα, τειχη και πολεις.

"Not stones, nor timber, nor the mason's walls,
Constitute *cities*; but there, where *men* are found,
Who, [able and willing,] know how to save themselves;
There, are walls and cities."—Fragm. Apud *Aristid.*

It was the boast of the *Lacedæmonians*, that *Sparta* was defended by a *wall of men*. But there is nothing in their history almost, comparable to the magnanimity of the *Athenians*, on this most trying occasion, when the liberties, not merely of their own country, but of all *Greece*, were at stake. The *Lacedæmonians*, however brave, furnished few displays of national spirit, or enlarged patriotism, after *Leonidas*. *Herodotus* has concisely, but strongly, marked that *duplicity* which was the distinguishing trait of their character. "The *Athenians* (at the battle of *Platæa*) kept their station quietly, when sent for; knowing the genius of the *Lacedæmonians*, that *they meant one thing, and said another*." B. IX. § 54.

they shall rue my words." This peremptory threat produced its effect; *Eurybiades* consented to stay at *Salamis.* B. VIII. § 56—64.

Xerxes, on his part also, held a council of his principal naval commanders; placing them according to their rank, the king of *Sidon* * first, the king of *Tyre* next, and the rest in order. The general vote was in favour of an engagement; but Queen *Artemisia* advised, not to hazard a battle, but either to remain in their present station, which would force the *Grecian* fleet, confined at *Salamis*, to separate soon for want of provisions, and retire to their respective homes; or else, to sail towards *Peloponnesus;* in which case, it was not to be imagined that the confederates would remain behind, or risk a battle for the sake of the *Athenians*, when their own country was threatened; whereas, from the superior seamanship of the *Grecians*, the *Persian* fleet would be in great danger of being defeated; as the army had been at land. Had this wise counsel been adopted, *Greece* would inevitably have been lost. But *Xerxes* was blinded to follow the majority, for the worse †. B. VIII. § 67—69.

The same night on which this resolution was taken, *Xerxes* made his army proceed toward the Isthmus of *Corinth.* Alarmed at this movement, the *Peloponnesians*, at *Salamis*, held a second council, in which they overruled the *Athenians*, *Æginetes*, and *Megareans*, and resolved to depart, and sail to the succour of the Peninsula. But *Themistocles* artfully defeated their purpose

* This precedence was due to the king of *Sidon;* because "*Sidon* was the eldest son of *Ham*," Gen. x. 15. Thus does profane history, in this place, remarkably accord with sacred.

† "Without well concerted plans, the people fall;
But in a *Master-Counsellor* is safety." Prov. xi. 14.

"Without a *privy council*, measures fail;
But in a *Master of the Counsellors*, they shall stand." Prov. xv. 22.

"With well concerted plans, thou shalt make war;
For in a *Master-Counsellor* is safety." Prov. xxiv. 6.

These similar and salutary proverbs, when rightly understood, have been materially injured by mistranslation. The phrase רב יועץ, *Rab Joets*, is improperly rendered in the English Bible, "*a multitude of counsellors;*" than which, in *state affairs*, nothing can be more ruinous; for, according to a trite English proverb, "*too many cooks spoil the broth.*" *Rab*, in the Chaldean and Persic languages, signified a "*master*," or "*chief;*" as, *Rab Mag*, "*Master of the Magi*," or the "*Archimagus.*" Jer. xxxix. 3. *Rab Shakeh*, "*chief butler.*" Isa. xxxvi. 2. Hence, the Jewish title, *Rabbi*, "*my master.*"

by a stratagem *. He sent by night a trusty friend to *Xerxes*, to apprize him of their design, and advise him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of attacking the *Grecians* when they were divided among themselves, and incapable of effectual resistance. *Xerxes* swallowed the bait, and immediately ordered the *Persian* fleet to range themselves in three divisions, and stretch across the bay, so as to cut off the retreat of the *Greeks*, and in that array, to advance toward *Salamis*. This movement, fulfilling the Oracle, compelled the *Greeks*, next morning, to fight †, when they found themselves hemmed in by the enemy.

* The character of this "*master-counsellor*," *Themistocles*, is profoundly drawn, by a contemporary historian, who had the best opportunities of knowing it thoroughly, his own countryman, and fellow-citizen, *Thucydides*.

"*Themistocles* gave the surest indications of strong natural abilities, and was worthy to be highly admired more than any other, in this respect. For, by innate sagacity, without previous or subsequent instruction, and with the slightest consideration, he was the ablest judge of sudden emergencies; and the best guesser of what would happen in future contingencies: and whatever schemes he had in hand, he was able to expound. In matters with which he was unacquainted, he was by no means incompetent to form a sufficient judgment; and in a case still dubious, he foresaw, most readily, the better or the worse. In short, by force of genius, and quickness of decision, he was most able to execute, promptly, whatever was necessary to be done." *Peloponnes. War*, B. I. § 138.

† *Æschylus*, who fought in this battle himself, has given a minute and animated description of it, in his fine Tragedy of the *Persians*. He thus describes the signal for engaging, given throughout the *Grecian* fleet:

> " Advance, ye sons of *Greece*, from thraldom save
> Your *country*, save your *wives*, your *children* save,
> The *temples* of your GODS, the sacred *tombs*
> Where rest your honoured *ancestors:* this day,
> The common cause of all demands your valour."

—How strikingly does this resemble the gallant *Nelson's*, at *Trafalgar*.—" *England* expects that *every man will do his duty !*"—It is the finest comment thereon.

He thus appositely compares the *Persian* fleet, *thronged* in confusion, and *broken through* by the Grecian squadrons:

> ————" *Onward rush*
> The *Greeks*, amidst the ruins of the fleet,
> (As through *a shoal of fish, caught in the net)*
> Spreading destruction !"

—And it was thus *Nelson* and *Collingwood* broke through the enemies' line.

Indeed, as well remarked by *Mitford*, " his *poetical* sketch of this great transaction, is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent of any, that passed to posterity." *Hist. Greece*, chap. ix. § 5. *Æschylus* has been fortunate in his translator, *Potter;* who is among the few entitled to the rare praise of elegant, spirited, yet faithful translation in *verse*. Too many versifiers adopt that mode, to cover their ignorance, by loose paraphrase; which otherwise would be sooner exposed, by attempting the more difficult task of close and critical translation in *prose*.

The engagement was desperate, for the *Persians* fought in the presence of the king, who beheld it, on an elevated throne, placed on the shore. Queen *Artemisia* had a narrow escape; her galley was pursued by an *Athenian*, commanded by the brother of the poet *Æschylus*, and would inevitably have been taken, had she not, with great presence of mind, turned suddenly upon one of her own side, a *Calyndian* vessel, which happened to lie in her way, (with the commander of which she was also on ill terms,) attacked, and sunk it, with all the crew. Deceived by this stratagem, the *Grecian*, either thinking that she was of his own side, or had now deserted the barbarians, quitted the pursuit; and *Xerxes*, who beheld it, exclaimed, "*My men are become women, and the women, men!*" B. VIII. § 71—86. The taunt, however, was not true of the *Persians;* they fought with great resolution, and were chiefly overcome by local disadvantages. The *Grecians* lost forty ships; the *Persians*, two hundred, beside several that were taken.

This memorable battle was fought on the 20th of the *Attic* month *Boedromion*, according to *Plutarch*, corresponding to the 15th of September, B.C. 480; and therefore, on the sixth day of the *Eleusinian* rites *, on which the procession of the *Mystic*

* THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

These rites were introduced into *Attica*, from *Egypt*, about B.C. 1399, by *Erechtheus*, the principal founder of the popular religion, along with the worship of *Neith*, "the Goddess of *Wisdom*," at *Sais;* whence Αθηνη, reversed, the tutelar goddess of *Athens*. See Vol. III. p. 524, of this work.

This was the most celebrated, and the most solemn, of all the *Grecian* festivals. Hence it is often called μυστηρια, "*the mysteries*," singly, by way of eminence. And so superstitiously careful were they to conceal its sacred rites, that if any of the initiated divulged them, or if a stranger happened to be present thereat, they were put to death, as impious and profane offenders. Hence the solemn warning, Εκας εστε βεβηλοι, *Procul este profani*, "*Away ye profane!*"

They were ultimately borrowed from the Jewish *Feast of Tabernacles*, which was celebrated precisely at the same season; beginning on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, corresponding to *Boedromion*, and lasting a week. This was designed to commemorate, with gratitude and thanksgiving, God's bounties of the *harvest* and *vintage*, when collected, and brought home; and was preceded by the preparatory rites of *purification*, and *confession of sins*, on the great day of *Atonement*, which was held on the tenth day of the same month. See Vol. II. p. 245, 245.—*John the Baptist* revived this institution, as preparatory to the *Christian*. Matt. iii. 1—6.

The analogy between these *Jewish* and *Grecian* rites, is very remarkable, and has not been sufficiently attended to by antiquaries. I shall attempt, therefore, to trace it more fully, in its several branches.

1. The allegorizing genius of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, turned the elements of *corn* and *wine*, on account of their utility to mankind, as "*the staff of life*," and as "*making*

Iacchus was held; for these rites began on the 15th of the month *Boedromion*, and lasted an entire week, till the 23d.

the heart glad," into the Pagan divinities of *Ceres*, the Goddess of Agriculture, and *Iacchus*, the God of the *Vintage* *; and *Proserpine*, the daughter of *Ceres*, who disappeared, and was stolen by *Pluto*, the king of *Hades*, was emblematical of the new grain that springs up again, after the old, when the seed sown is corrupted, or dies in the earth; figuratively denoting the resurrection of mankind after death, of the good, to *Elysium*, and of the bad, to *Tartarus*. This natural and expressive imagery, is adopted in the New Testament. John xii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 36—38. And is styled "*a mystery.*" 1 Cor. xv. 51.

2. The *mystic Iacchus* was actually the primitive or patriarchal god of the *Hebrews*, יה, IAH, or IACH, strongly aspirated, and stript of its Greek termination, ος. This we learn from the *Clarian* Oracle, (instituted before the *Trojan* war) in answer to the enquiry; "*Of* THE GODS, *which is he to be held, who is called* ΙΑΩ?" (—The God of *Israel*, יהוה, *Iaholi.*)

Οργια μεν δεδαωτας εχρην νηπευθεα κευθειν·
Εν δ' απατῃ παυρῃ συνεσις και νους αλαπαδνος·
Φραζεο τον παντων ὑπατον Θεον εμμεν' ΙΑΩ·
Χειματι μεν τ' ΑΙΔΗΝ· ΔΙΑ δ' ειαρος αρχομενοιο·
ΗΕΛΙΟΝ δε θερευς· Μετοπωρου δ' αβρον ΙΑΚΧΟΝ [ΙΑΩ].

"The *initiated* are bound to conceal *orgies* not to be enquired into;
But in disguise, is small understanding and a feeble mind.
Learn then, that IAO is GOD SUPREME OF ALL.
PLUTO in *winter*; DIS when *spring* begins,
The SUN in *summer*; in *autumn* bounteous IACCHUS," [IAO.]
Macrob. Saturnal. Lib. I. 18.

Thus explained by *Orpheus:*

Εἰς ΖΕΥΣ, εἰς ᾍΔΗΣ, εἰς ᾽ΗΛΙΟΣ, εἰς ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ.

"*One* DIS, *one* PLUTO, *one* SUN, *one* BACCHUS."

Here the last term, Διονυσος, (signifying, according to *Macrobius*, Διος νους, "the mind of *Dis*, or *Jove*,") which is an acknowledged title of *Bacchus*, proves that the last word of the Oracle, corresponding thereto, could not be Ιαω, (as in the present text of *Macrobius,*) but *Iacchus*, the primitive name, of which *Bacchus* was a corruption. All these inferior gods, therefore, were expounded to signify only the energies or emanations of THE ONE SUPREME GOD, under different names, in the various *physical* functions of his providence. The earlier Greeks represented *Iacchus* as the son of *Jove* and Δημητηρ, "*mother earth,*" or *Ceres*.

3. On the sixth day of the festival, the image of *Iacchus*, crowned with myrtle, was taken in solemn procession for ten miles, from the *Ceramicus*, in *Athens*, by the *sacred way*, through the *Thriasian* plain, to the *mystical entrance* of the Temple of *Ceres*, at *Eleusis*, the largest and noblest in all Greece. Before the god marched δαδουχος, "*the torch-bearer,*" and κηρυξ, "*the herald,*" carrying "the mystic *fan* of *Iacchus*," to winnow, as it were, the *chaff* from the *corn*, or the *bad* from the *good*; and to burn the *chaff* with his torch. These emblematical ceremonies were likewise used at the feast of *Tabernacles*, as we may collect from the *Baptist* herald's description of the true *Iacchus*, CHRIST, "whose *fan* is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his threshing floor,

* Sine *Cerere* et *Libero* friget *Venus*. "Without *corn* and *wine*, *love* cools." Proverb.

Herodotus has recorded a most signal prodigy, which happened on that day, shortly before the battle began, which also is copied by *Plutarch*, in his life of *Themistocles*.

and gather the *wheat* into his *granary, (heaven;)* but burn the *chaff* with unquenchable fire," (in *hell,)* Matt. iii. 12 *. See Vol. II. p. 335 of this work.

In the Ληναικα, or "festival of the *wine-press*," corresponding to this, the torch-bearer cried out to the people, Καλειτε Θεον, "*Call ye upon God;*" and they answered Σεμελη, Ιακχε, πλουτοδοτα. Here the term Σεμελη scarcely admits a grammatical or intelligible construction; but, connected with the Hebrew Ιακχε, or *Iach*, may it not easily denote שמע לי, *Shema-li*, "Hearken to me," as in Levit. xxvi. 21, and in numberless places? This will give consistency to the people's response, individually: "*Hearken to me*, O IAH, *thou giver of wealth;*" an epithet exactly corresponding to "the bounteous *Iacchus*" of the *Clarian* Oracle, so finely explained by the learned Apostle of the Gentiles as "*doing good*, sending us refreshing *showers* from heaven, and *fruitful seasons*, filling our hearts with *food* and *gladness*," [with *corn* and *wine*,] Acts xiv. 17; Psal. civ. 15.

Not knowing, or rather forgetting, the meaning of the Hebrew phrase *Shema-li*, "*hearken to me*," the later Greeks easily metamorphosed it into a woman, *Semele*, the fictitious mother of *Bacchus*, who was supposed to have expired at the sight of *Jove* arrayed in all the terrors of his glory, as at *Sinai;* thus contradicting their primitive tradition, that *Iacchus* was the son of *Ceres*, and the brother of *Proserpine*. The term was transported to *Rome;* for *Livy* relates, that in B.C. 186 "the *Bacchanals* held their nocturnal rites in a grove called *Similæ* †," Lib. XXXIX. cap. 12, which *Crevier*, in his note, ignorantly turned into *Stimulæ*.

And this conjecture is supported by the number of *Hebrew* words and phrases used in the celebration of these mysteries, which were totally unknown to the commentators, such as Ευοι Σαβοι! a corruption of Ιευω Σαβαωθ, "*Lord of Hosts;*" or Ιω, Δεσποτα! "*Sovereign, Lord;*" ελελευ Ιου, a corruption of *Halelu-Iah*, "*Praise ye the Lord;*" where Ιευω is the *Phœnician* pronunciation of Ιαω; and Ιω and Ιου *Grecian* contractions of the same.

The mysterious words Κογξ, Ομ, Παξ, which closed these ceremonies, we learn from Captain *Wilford*, are pure Sanscrit, and are used at this day by *Brahmens*, at the conclusion of religious rites. In their sacred books they are written *Canscha, Om, Pacsha*. He renders the first, *Canscha*, "the object of our most ardent desires;" *Om* is the sacred monosyllable signifying "BEING ‡," and universally applied to THE SU-

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* The poets, *Homer* and *Virgil*, have given popular illustrations of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, in the descents of *Ulysses* and *Æneas* to *Hades*, or the *Shades*, where they saw the good in *Elysium*, the wicked in *Tartarus*.

† Both the Greek Σεμελη, and the Latin *Similæ*, preserve the *Iota* subscriptum, corresponding to the last Hebrew letter, *Iod*, and prove the identity of all three, *Shema-li*, Σεμελη, and *Similæ*.

‡ From the Hebrew אין, *Aun*, or *Aōn*, or Chaldee דין, *Hōn*, both signifying "*being, substance*," were evidently derived the most ancient and universal titles of THE SUPREME BEING, from the rising to the setting sun; the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician Aun, Aon*, or *On*, Gen. xli. 45—50; Josh. vii. 2; Ezek. xxx. 17; the *Greek* ων, and in the neuter ον; the *Chinese yn*, or *un;* the *Hindu* and *Eleusinian Aum* or *Om;* and the *Irish Omh;* which was well explained by *Orpheus*, Αυτοφυης, "*self-begotten*," though misapplied to the *sun* in the progress of idolatry.

The

" *Dicæus*, an Athenian exile in repute among the *Persians*, who happened to be in company with *Demaratus*, the exiled

PREME BEING; and *Pacsha*, he thinks, the obsolete Latin word *Vix*, signifying "*change* or *fortune*." *Asiat. Research.* Vol. V. p. 300. But the last is more naturally the identical Latin *Pax*, or "*Peace*," which was used in solemn salutations, "*Peace be with you.*" And the whole may correspond to that sublime doxology, "*Glory* to GOD in the highest; and on earth *Peace*, good will toward men." Luke ii. 14.

3. After they entered the mystic temple at *Eleusis*, they first washed their hands in *holy water*, in token of purification, and then the sacred mysteries were read to them by Ὁ επι βωμῳ, "*the priest of the altar*," out of a book called πετρωμα, (from πετρα, *a stone*,) which was composed of two stone tablets, fitly joined together, to be their future rule of conduct. "The initiated were required," says *Porphyry*, "*to honour their parents, to offer up fruits to the gods*, and *not to hurt animals*." After this thunderings and lightnings, frightful noises and apparitions, appalled the spectators. Who does not see in all this a *pantomime* exhibition * of the awful promulgation of the *Decalogue* on Mount

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The God of the *Hebrews*, יה, *Iah*, was also the *Patriarchal God*, signifying "*the same*," or "*unchangeable*;" and יהוה, the God of *Israel*, signifying "*one*."

> "*Iah* is my strength, and my song,
> And hath become my salvation.
> He is MY GOD, and I will build him *a tabernacle*;
> THE GOD OF MY FATHER, and I will exalt HIM.
> IAHOH is a *man of war*, IAHOH is his name."—EXOD. XV. 2.

See *my Dissertations*, No. VI. and Vol. II. p. 183. of this work.

* *Horace* seems to have been initiated in these mysteries. He reprobates a *divulger of the mysteries of Ceres* as unsafe to live under the same roof, or to sail in company with, for fear of incurring shipwreck from divine vengeance.

> Est et *fideli* tuta *silentio*
> Merces: vetabo qui *Cereris sacrum*
> *Vulgarit arcanæ*, sub iisdem
> Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
> Solvat Phaselum.———— OD. III. 2, 25.

And in his *Bacchanalian* Odes he evidently describes those *pantomime* exhibitions. Od. II. 19; III. 25.

> BACCHUM in *remotis* carmina *rupibus*
> Vidi docentem,—*credite Posteri!*————
> *Euoe!* (ευοι) recenti mens trepidat metu,
> *Plenoque Bacchi pectore*, turbidum
> Lætatur. *Euoe!* parce, *Liber*,
> Parce, gravi metuende *thyrso*.————
> Tu flectis *amnes*, tu, *mare barbarum!*————
> Te vidit, insons *Cerberus*, aureo
> Cornu decorum.————
> Quo me, BACCHE, rapis tui
> *Plenum!* quæ *nemora*, aut quos agor in *specus*,

Velox,

king of *Sparta*, in the *Thriasian* plain, (west of *Athens*,) related that they saw a great *cloud of dust*, such as might be raised by

Sinai, in all its terrors; written afterwards with the finger of God on two stone tablets, the substance of which was thus inculcated, in a most impressive form, to the initiated?

4. During the festival week it was unlawful to arrest any person for debt, or to commence a law suit, under penalty of a thousand drachmas; and ladies were not permitted at that time to ride in chariots, under penalty of six thousand drachmas. These strongly resemble the remission of *debts*, and perfect *freedom* and *equality* of rich and poor, prescribed by the *Levitical* law during the *sabbatical* years and *jubilees*, which began the Jewish *civic* year at the seventh month.

The *Eleusinian mysteries* were of two sorts, the lesser, dedicated to *Proserpine*, and the greater, to *Ceres*. The initiated in the lower mysteries were called μυσται, "*Mystics*," or Novices, from their imperfect views; in the higher, εποπται, "*inspectors*," and τελειοι, "*perfect*" as adepts, admitted to full and perfect knowledge. *Paul*, so conversant in the heathen religion and philosophy, finely alludes to both, 1 Cor. xiii. 9—12; Phil. iii. 12—15. And he seems to intimate some analogy between the lower and *Baptism*; and the higher and the *Lord's Supper*; 1 Cor. ii. 6, 7, xii. 13. The early Fathers carried the analogy too far.

These *mysteries*, at their original institution, and for several ages after, were well calculated to support the cause of religion and virtue in the heathen world. *Plato*, in his *Phædo*, represents *Socrates*, though not initiated himself, (which was brought as a charge against him) as reproving them in the following terms.

"They who established the *perfect mysteries*, (τελετας) were no ordinary persons; for in reality, thereby was *enigmatically* signified (αινιττεσθαι) of old, that whoever was *not initiated* in the lower, and *not perfected* in the higher mysteries, (αμυητος, και ατελεστος) should go to *Hades*, and there lie in mire; but whoever had been both *purified* and *perfected*, (κεκαθαρμενος τε και τετελεσμενος) when he arrives there, shall dwell with GODS." And *Isocrates*, the scholar of *Socrates*, commends them "as fortifying the initiated against *the fear of death*, and inspiring *hope of a happy immortality*." Panegyr. § 24.

The lesser mysteries were popular, and open to all; in them was inculcated the doctrine of a presiding Providence, and a future state of reward and punishment in *Elysium* and *Tartarus*. And the poets *Homer* and *Virgil*, in their descents of *Ulysses* and *Æneas* into *Hades*, have adopted the popular mythology taught therein, and interspersed instructive lessons to the world.

Discite

Velox, *mente novâ!*——————
Nil mortale loquar, dulce periculum est,
(Ιω Αηναιε) Io LENÆE! sequi Deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

Here we descry the *delivery of the law* on the craggy precipices of the remote *Sinai*; the *plenary inspiration*, or *frantic possession* of the roaming votaries in *wilds* and *caves*, of this *great* and *terrible* GOD, with his *Thyrsus*, or *Moses' rod*, turning the course of the river *Jordan* and the *Red Sea*. His triumph over *Hades*, in his own resurrection, and that of his followers; and his titles, by which he was invoked in the *Eleusinian mysteries*.

The apostrophe, *Credite Posteri*, refers to all this as *ancient mythology*.

an army of 30,000 men marching, which came from *Eleusis*, (lying at the end of the plain westwards, and then in ruins.) This cloud of dust was accompanied with a *voice* like that addressed to the *Mystic Iacchus*. Not being acquainted with the *Eleusinian* rites, *Demaratus* asked the meaning of this appearance and voice? *Dicæus* answered, that it portended some great disaster to the king's forces: for since *Attica* is laid waste, it is evidently THE DEITY HIMSELF *who is speaking* *, as he is going from *Eleusis* to avenge the cause of the *Athenians* and their auxiliaries: if it go (westward) toward *Peloponnesus*, it threatens danger to the king and his army by land; but if it turn (southward) toward the ships at *Salamis*, the king will be in

Discite *justitiam*, moniti, et non temnere DIVOS.

" Warned by these dreadful examples, be wise;
Learn *justice* betimes; despise not THE GODS."

ÆNEID. VI. 620.

The greater mysteries were more select, and confined to fewer; containing απορρητα, " *secrets*," not to be divulged. They probably were designed at first, to correct the grosser errors and corruptions of the popular superstition, which ascribed human passions and vices to the *Gods* and *Goddesses*, to the great detriment of public morals; libertines screening their own vices under such imposing examples. These they taught were no other than *dead mortals*, deified or canonized for their useful inventions. And they inculcated the *unity* of the SUPREME GOD, representing the secondary *Gods* as so many energies, or emanations of THE DEITY, as we see in the *Clarian* Oracle and *Orphic* Comment. But in process of time, this recondite mysticism degenerated into downright *materialism*, and even *Atheism*. While the obscene parts of generation, the *Phallus*, or *Priapus*, &c. carried in procession at these ceremonies, though denoting, at first, only, the mysterious *new birth* and *spiritual regeneration* of the initiated, when the symbolical meanings came to be forgotten, opened a door to the most horrid and impure practices, under cover of *night*, when they were performed; so that they became infamous, and were at length abolished by the civil powers. *Livy* has given a circumstantial and most interesting account of the disclosure that led to the suppression of the *Bacchanals*, at *Rome*, B.C. 186, while he candidly praises the original institution, and its founders.

" Many institutions contributing to the *culture both of mind and body*, were imported among us, from *Greece*, that *most instructed* (*eruditissima*) of all nations." Lib. xxxix. § 8—19. And *Cicero* praises it nearly in the same terms; " Though *Athens* produced many excellent and divine inventions, and applied them to soften and improve the rusticity of mankind, nothing is better than the *mysteries*, truly called *initia*, or *rudiments* of life, which not only teach to *live happily here, but to hope for a better life hereafter*. What I dislike in these *nocturnal* rites, the *comic* poets will shew you," (who lashed the intrigues and licentiousness practised therein.) De Legib. Lib. II. c. 14. The *Eleusinian mysteries* subsisted for 1800 years, till they were abolished by *Theodosius* the Great. *Zosimus*. Hist. B. iv.

See *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 389—393. *Bos's Antiquities of Greece*, with *Leisner's* notes, p. 116, &c. *Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses*, Vol. I. p. 131—188. And also the *Asiatic Researches*, for similar mysteries in the East.

* Θειον το φθεγγομενον.

danger of losing his fleet. The voice which you hear is the usual invocation of *Iacchus* *, at the anniversary feast of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. On this *Demaratus* said, Hush, and tell this to no one else, for if these words should be brought to the king, you would lose your head, and neither I nor any other person would be able to save you. Keep silence then, and leave the issue of this warfare to THE GODS. Such was his advice. After the dust and voice appeared a *cloud*, which rising aloft was borne toward *Salamis*, to the *Grecian* fleet. Thence they learned that the fleet of *Xerxes* would be destroyed. *Dicæus*, the son of *Theocydes*, related this, and appealed to *Demaratus* and *other* witnesses." B. VIII. § 65.

This prodigy, so credibly attested, (and *Herodotus* himself might have heard it from the original witnesses,) bears a most remarkable reference to the foregoing *Oracles*, and to the *Eleusinian* mysteries. Such *signs* and *wonders* surely, might reasonably have proceeded from the GOD OF TRUTH himself, "the PATRIARCHAL GOD," the "LORD OF HOSTS," and "their SOVEREIGN LORD," whom their *Oracles* and their *mysteries* still confessed, and invoked, with more zeal than knowledge, amidst the corruptions of their popular religion; and who might graciously interfere himself, to support the spirits of the oppressed *Greeks*, that they might indeed "PRAISE THE LORD," more devoutly for their marvellous deliverance; and also to chastize and punish the impiety and presumption, the sacrilege and aggression of that "*son of violence*," and those servile "*sons of women*," who aided and abetted his enormities. And the *Greeks* accordingly, piously ascribed this victory to heaven, as we learn from various documents; from the admirable speech of *Themistocles*, especially, dissuading the *Athenians* from pursuing the remnant of the *Persian* fleet, for the present; but rather to profit by the favourable respite now given them, and attend to their domestic concerns.

"I have observed myself, *Athenians*, in many instances, and I have heard, in many more, that men driven to desperation, after being conquered, have fought again, and retrieved their former cowardice. Let us then, after finding deliverance for our-

* Την φωνην, της ακουεις, εν ταυτῃ τῃ ἑορτῃ, ιακχαζουσι. See the preceding note on the *Eleusinian mysteries*.

selves and for *Greece*, by repulsing such a *cloud* * of men, not pursue a flying enemy. Nor have we wrought this deliverance *ourselves;* but rather THE GODS and HEROES, jealous lest a single man should reign over both *Asia* and *Europe*. One, who is impious and injurious; who makes no distinction between things sacred and profane, burning and throwing down the *images of the Gods;* who even scourged, and flung fetters into the sea! Let us rather, improving the present favourable juncture, remain in *Greece*, and mind ourselves and our families; and let each of us rebuild his house, and industriously attend to husbandry, after he shall have completely expelled the barbarian. And then, at the commencement of spring, we may sail to invade the *Hellespont* and *Ionia*." B. VIII. § 109.

FLIGHT OF XERXES.

After the decisive battle of *Salamis*, *Xerxes* sent the remnant of his fleet to the *Hellespont*, to secure that retreat, which he now meditated, and to protect his bridge. B. VIII. § 107. And with a view to procure supplies of provisions in a friendly country, he sent forward his forces towards *Bœotia;* where he appointed *Mardonius* to the command of a select army of 300,000 chosen men, to remain in *Thessaly* during the winter, and to attack *Peloponnesus* the ensuing spring. When they reached *Thessaly*, the *Lacedæmonians*, by advice of the *Delphic* Oracle, sent a herald to the *Persian* camp, to demand satisfaction for the death of their king *Leonidas*, and to accept the answer, whatever it might be. *Xerxes* smiled, and, after some pause, said, pointing to *Mardonius*, " *there is the man who shall*

* This simple and natural imagery, " a *cloud* of men," is also *scriptural*, and applied with great effect by the prophet *Ezekiel* to the disastrous invasion of the Holy Land in the latter days, by the numerous hosts of *Gog*.

" Thou shalt go up, and come like a *tempest;* thou shalt be a *cloud* to cover the land, thou and all thy bands, and thy peoples with thee:——*Persia*, *Æthiopia*, and with them *Libya*, all armed with shields and helmets.

——But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws, [like an ensnared crocodile]; I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee.——And I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand, and I will cause thine arrows to fall out of thy right hand. ——Thou shalt fall upon the mountains of *Israel*, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured." Ezek. ch. xxxviii. xxxix.

give them due satisfaction." The answer was ominous. B. VIII. § 113, 114.

Xerxes, leaving *Mardonius* in *Thessaly*, marched in haste, with the rest of the host, toward the *Hellespont*, where he arrived in forty-five days, with *scarcely a pittance of his army* *, miserably wasted as it was, both by famine and pestilence, on the way †. His march was probably quickened by the intelligence he received from *Themistocles*, of the deliberations of the Grecian confederates to pursue him, and break down his bridge of ships ‡.

When *Xerxes* reached the *Hellespont*, he found the bridge already broken and destroyed by storms. His fleet, however, which was in waiting, conveyed him and the shattered remains of his millions from the *Chersonese* to *Abydos*, on the coast of *Asia*; whence he returned to *Sardis*, and remained there during the continuance of the war. *Herodotus* rejects the exaggerated account of his crossing the *Hellespont* in a storm, in which he was nearly lost in a *Phœnician* vessel. B. VIII. § 115—130.

The *Persian* fleet after attending the king at the *Hellespont*, wintered at *Cyme*, in that neighbourhood, and in the following spring, B.C. 479, assembled at the island of *Samos*, in order to secure the fidelity of the *Ionians* and their squadron, amounting to 300 vessels. On the other side, the *Grecian* fleet, consisting of 110 ships, assembled first at *Ægina*, and proceeded as far as the island of *Delos*. Both fleets remained in their respective harbours, during the winter and the ensuing spring; neither daring to advance, for fear of the other. B. VIII. § 130—132.

MARDONIUS.

Mardonius, on the approach of spring, made an attempt to gain over the *Athenians*, and draw them off from the confederacy. With this view, he sent *Alexander*, the son of

* The original expression is remarkably strong, though simple. Απαγων της στρατιας ουδεν μερος, ὡς ειπαι. Leading off *not a particle of his army*, as one may say.

† "The *invasion* only had been considered; the *retreat* was unprovided for." *Mitford.*

‡ *Xerxes* was probably terrified also to retreat with all expedition, by an eclipse of the sun, about 7 digits, Oct. 2, aftern. 1 h. 21 m. B.C. 480; which so dismayed *Cleombrotus*, the king of Sparta, while he was sacrificing for success against the *Persians*, at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, which he was then employed in fortifying, that he quitted the works and marched home with his army. B. IX. § 10.

Amnytas, king of *Macedon*, their friend, to treat with them, who thus addressed them, in the presence of the *Lacedæmonian* deputies, whom the *Athenian* leaders had judiciously sent for to attend the conference. "*Athenians*, thus saith *Mardonius*, A message is come to me from the king, saying, *I forgive the Athenians all the offences, committed on their parts, against me.* Now therefore, *Mardonius* do this: *In the first place, restore them their own land; and in the next, add thereto any other that they themselves may chuse; and let them be governed by their own laws; and if they be willing to compromise with me, rebuild all their temples that I burned.*"——"*Be ye therefore persuaded, for it is highly honourable to you, that the great king, forgiving your offences alone of all the Greeks, is willing to become your friend.*" He added also, the ruin they would bring upon themselves and their country, which would be the theatre of war between both parties, if they refused to comply; and that his mediation was prompted solely by friendship to them.

Steady to the common cause, the *Athenians* answered.—— "Tell *Mardonius*, thus say the *Athenians:—Whilst the sun holds his course, we will never compromise with Xerxes; but relying on the aid of the Gods and Heroes, whose temples and statues he has contemptuously burnt, we resolve to resist him to the last extremity.* And as for you, *Alexander*, appear no more among the *Athenians* * with such messages; nor under colour of rendering us good offices, exhort us to do what is abominable. For we wish not that you should suffer any unpleasant treatment on the part of the *Athenians*, as being a guest, and also a friend."

Then turning to the *Spartan* deputies, who were fearful lest they should come to an accommodation with *Xerxes*, they said, "*Not all the gold in the world, nor the greatest, richest and most beautiful country shall ever tempt us, by medizing* (μηδισαντες), *to inslave Greece!* Many and cogent reasons forbid us to do this, even if we were so disposed; the first and greatest is, the *temples* and *statues of the Gods*, burnt and reduced to ashes, which we are bound to avenge to the uttermost, rather than compromise with the perpetrator. In the next place, the

* *Alexander* afterwards visited them in kindness, and in secrecy, the night before the battle of *Platæa*, to apprize the *Athenians* of the intended attack.

Grecian commonwealth, all of the *same blood* and *same language*, having *common altars* and *sacrifices of the Gods*, and *similar customs*, which it would not well become *Athenians* to betray. Know therefore now, if ye knew it not before, that *whilst one of the Athenians shall survive, we never will compromise with Xerxes.* We admire your forethought with respect to us, now that our houses and harvests are destroyed, in offering to entertain our families, and we thank you abundantly; but we shall seek to procure subsistence without burthening you. In the present posture of affairs, only send forth an army with all possible speed; for the barbarian, we conclude, will not long delay to invade our territories, so soon as he shall hear the account of our utter refusal to comply with his proposals. Now is the season, therefore, for you to march into *Bœotia*, and assist us, by diverting his attention to that quarter before he arrives in *Attica*." B. VIII. § 144.

They judged rightly, for as soon as *Mardonius* heard from *Alexander*, on his return, the fixed resolutions of the *Athenians*, setting out from *Thessaly*, he led his army directly towards *Athens*, collecting troops in whatever places he passed through. On his way through *Bœotia*, the traiterous *Thebans* advised him to halt, and encamp in their country, as the most convenient; and that, by so doing, he might reduce all *Greece*, without a battle, merely by bribing the leading men in the several states. This would split *Greece* into factions. And then, said they, you may easily reduce, at first, the disaffected, and then the factious.

Fortunately for *Greece*, this artful and mischievous counsel was overruled, by his vehement desire to take *Athens* a second time, and his vanity, wishing to shew the king at *Sardis*, by fire signals, stationed through the islands, that he was in possession of *Athens*. Accordingly, *Mardonius* entered the city, which he found deserted, in the *tenth* month after it had been taken by the king. B. IX. § 1—3.

So long as the *Athenians* expected that the *Peloponnesian* army would come to their succour, they remained in *Attica*; but when they found that the allies postponed their levies and delayed to march, and that the enemy was already in *Bœotia*, on his way, they removed all their effects to *Salamis*, and sent deputies to *Sparta*, to complain of their tardiness, their breach of promise, and desertion of the common cause, in not opposing

the enemy in *Bœotia*, but suffering him to advance into *Attica*; and next, to require that they would speedily send an army to their assistance, in order that they might oppose him in *Attica*; recommending the *Thriasian* plain as the fittest to give him battle. But the *Peloponnesians*, having now finished their fortified wall at the *Isthmus*, were careless about the matter; and while celebrating the *Hyacinthian* games *, after the summer solstice, they put off their answer to the Athenian deputies for ten days. When at length, fearing that the *Athenians*, exasperated, would realize their threat of quitting the confederacy, making peace with the king, and becoming his allies, they sent off, in haste, a trifling force of five thousand troops, toward the Isthmus, to their assistance." B. IX. § 6—11.

The conduct of the *Peloponnesians*, in general, and of the *Lacedæmonians*, at their head, appears, even by the reluctant account of *Plutarch*, (in *Aristides*) confirming *Herodotus*, to have been most ungenerous, ungrateful and faithless, if not downright dastardly: while that of the *Athenians* was magnanimous even to enthusiasm. Deprived of their country, and apparently betrayed by their confederates, the *Persian* general, *Mardonius*, thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing his attempt to conciliate the *Athenians*. He therefore sent *Murichides*, a Hellespontine Greek, to *Salamis*, to repeat the former offers made by *Alexander*. *Lycidas*, a member of the council of five hundred, either approving the proposals, or bribed by *Mardonius*, recommended that they should be referred to the people. But the *Athenians*, both in and out of the council, when they heard it, fired with indignation, gathered round him, and stoned him to death. While the women, hearing the tumult, and the fate of *Lycidas*, encouraging each other, rushed to his house, of their own accord, and stoned his wife and children! By this second tragedy, following up the former, ten months before; thus evincing their decided and obstinate determination, one and all, to carry on an internecine war with the enslaver of their country, till either he should be expelled, or they buried in its ruins. Respecting the law of nations, however, they dismissed *Murichides* unhurt. B. IX. § 4, 5.

Mardonius finding the *Athenians* implacable, and hearing

* The *Hyacinthian* games were celebrated during three days, in the Attic month *Hecatombaion*, as we learn from *Hesychius*. But this month began about the summer solstice, which ascertains the time of the year.

from the *Argives*, his partizans in the Peninsula, that the *Lacedæmonian* band had marched toward the Isthmus, and fearing to be attacked by the confederates in *Attica*, which was disadvantageous for his cavalry, and if defeated by them, to be intercepted in the narrow passes, retired into *Bœotia*, after he had wreaked his vengeance on *Attica*, which he had spared so long as the negociation lasted. He burned the city, and razed to the ground all the remaining houses, walls and temples, which *Xerxes* had left. And when he reached the *Theban* territory, which was friendly and convenient for his cavalry, in which his chief strength lay, he fortified a large camp near the river *Asopus*, for a place of refuge, in case of defeat. B. IX. § 13—15.

These defensive and precautionary measures were not calculated to raise the spirits of the *Persians;* and the following remarkable anecdote, shewing the despondency of the more intelligent among them, respecting the issue of the campaign, is told by *Herodotus.*

"While the Barbarians were employed in this work, *Attaginus*, a *Theban*, prepared a magnificent entertainment, and invited to it, *Mardonius* and fifty of the principal *Persians*, in the city of *Thebes.* The result I heard myself from *Thersander*, a man of the first consideration at *Orchomenos.* "He said, that he had been invited, with fifty *Thebans*, by *Attaginus*, to this supper. At table, they checquered, a *Persian* and a *Theban* reclining on every couch. After supper, while they were drinking freely, the Persian, his associate, asked him in Greek, what countryman he was? And when he answered, An *Orchomenian*, the Persian proceeded thus: *Since you and I share the same table, and the same libations, I wish to leave you a memorial of my sentiments; that being forewarned, you may have an opportunity of consulting your own interest. Do you see these Persians at supper, and the army which we left encamped on the banks of the river? Of all these, in a very short space of time, you will see very few* surviving.* Saying this, the Per-

* *Æchylus*, with great judgment and the happiest effect, has put a similar prediction in the mouth of the Ghost of *Darius*, when evoked, by *Atossa*, and the *Chorus*, in his masterly historical play of the *Persians.*

Darius. "Those in the fields of *Greece* that now remain,
Shall not revisit, safe, the *Persian* shore!

Chorus. What! shall not all the host of *Persia* pass
Again from *Europe* o'er the *Hellespont*?

sian shed many tears. Astonished at this discourse, *Thersander* said to him, *Ought you not, then, to communicate this to Mardonius, and the Persians of rank with him?* But he replied, *No, my friend, what* GOD *hath decreed, it is impossible for man to prevent: none of them are willing to hearken to faithful advisers. Though many of us, (Persians), know this, we follow, alas! bound by necessity. Of all the calamities incident to mankind, the most galling is, that the more prudent should have no authority.*"

Darius. *Of all their numbers, few:*—if aught avails
The faith of Heaven-sent *Oracles*, to him
That weighs the past; in their accomplishment,
Not partial.—Hence, he [*Xerxes*] left (in *faithless hope*
Confiding) his selected train of heroes [with *Mardonius.*]
These have their station where *Asopus* flows
Watering the plain, whose grateful currents roll
Diffusing plenty through *Bœotia's* fields.
There, Misery waits to crush them with the load
Of heaviest ills, in *vengeance* for their *proud*
And *impious* daring; for where'er they held
Through *Greece* their march, they feared not to profane
The statues of their Gods, their hallowed *shrines*.
Emblazed, o'erturned their *altars, and in ruins,*
Rent from their firm foundations, *to the ground*
Levelled their *temples.* Such *their frantic deeds,*
Not less their *sufferings:* greater still await *them;*
For vengeance hath not wasted all her stores,
The heap yet swells: for in *Platæa's* plains,
Beneath the *Doric* spear the clotted mass
Of carnage shall arise: that the high *mounds,*
Piled o'er the dead, to late posterity
Shall give this silent record to men's eyes,
That proud aspiring thoughts but ill beseem
Weak mortals! For *Oppression*, where it springs,
Puts forth the blade of Vengeance, and its fruit
Yields a ripe harvest of repentant woe.
Behold this vengeance, and remember, *Greece!*
Remember, *Athens!* Henceforth, let not *Pride,*
Her present state disdaining, strive to grasp
Another's; and her treasured happiness
Shed on the ground! *Such insolent attempts*
Awake the vengeance of offended JOVE." *Potter's* translation.

The fine concluding admonition to *Greece*, and to *Athens* in particular, the most determined foe of *Persia*, contained the soundest *political* counsel to the *Athenians*, when this play was acted, eight years after the battle of *Platæa*, to listen to the *Persian* monarch's proposals of peace; which they might then have made on the most advantageous terms.

This, says *Herodotus*, I heard from *Thersander* the *Orchomenian*, who also told me, that he had communicated it to others, forthwith, before the battle of *Platæa*.

A few days after this entertainment, furnished *Mardonius* with a striking specimen of *Grecian* spirit. Among his auxiliaries, he was joined by a body of a thousand *Phoceans*, rather from necessity than inclination. Either suspecting their fidelity, which the *Thessalians* in his service had maligned, or else to prove their courage, *Mardonius* ordered them to be surrounded by his cavalry, who came on, menacing with their weapons, as if ready to destroy them. But the *Phocean* commander exhorted his men "*to die like heroes, and shew those barbarians, that the men, whose death they meditated, were Grecians.*" Accordingly, the *Phocæans* faced about every way, and closed their ranks in column. Upon which, the *Persian* cavalry wheeled about, and retired, as *Mardonius* had directed. He then sent a herald to inform them, that he only meant to prove their courage, which had been misrepresented; and exhorted them to act with alacrity in the war, assuring them, that they should not outdo him and the king in services. B. IX. § 17, 18.

On the other side, the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, roused by the example of the *Lacedæmonians*, prepared themselves in earnest, to prosecute the war with vigour. They raised their quotas, and followed to the *Isthmus*. There they joined the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians* from *Salamis*, and marched directly into *Bœotia*, to Mount *Cithæron*, in the neighbourhood of the *Persian* army. They were soon attacked by the Persian cavalry, whom they routed, and slew their leader, *Masistius*, who was next in consideration to *Mardonius* himself; and afterwards, they proceeded to *Platæa*, not far from *Thebes*. B. IX. § 19—25.

BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

Their army consisted of 110,000 men *, the flower of which, were the *Lacedæmonians, Tegeatæ*, and *Athenians*. The Persians amounted to 300,000 men, beside 50,000 *Grecians*, who joined them, voluntarily, like the *Thebans*, or by compulsion, as the *Phoceans, Thessalians*, and indeed most of the rest. B. IX. § 28—32.

These two armies remained in their posts for ten days, encamped on each side of the river *Asopus*, neither caring to cross it, and begin the engagement. On the eleventh, it took place; and the *Persians* were completely defeated, chiefly by the deter-

* *Herodotus* gives the number of the confederates in their order of battle, at *Platæa*, beginning from the right wing to the left; and the corresponding order of the enemy. B. IX. § 28—32.

Lacedæmonians	10,000	Persians, &c.
Tegeatæ	1500	
Corinthians	5000	Medes, &c.
Potidæans	300	
Arcadians	600	
Sicyonians	3000	
Epidaurians	800	Bactrians, &c.
Trœzenians	1000	
Lepreatæ	200	
Mycenians	400	
Phliasians	1000	
Hermionians	300	Indians, &c.
Eretrians	600	
Chalcidians	400	
Ampraciatæ	500	Sacæ, &c.
Leucadians	800	
Cephalenians	200	
Æginetæ	500	
Megareans	3000	Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians, 1000 Phocæans, &c. amounting to about 50,000.
Platæans	600	
Athenians	8000	
Heavy armed troops	38700	
Light armed Helots	35000	
Light armed other Greeks	34500	
	108200	
Thespians without arms	1800	
Total	110,000	

mined valour of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, the greater part of the confederates having basely deserted them the night before the engagement *. *Mardonius* himself was slain; and of the Persian host, not more than 3000 escaped, except a select body of 40,000 men under the command of *Artabazus*, who had in vain dissuaded the rash and impetuous *Mardonius* from hazarding a battle, but advised him to retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where he had great magazines of provisions and forage, and where he might at leisure corrupt the heads of the *Grecian* confederacy, by means of the great quantity of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, plate, rich furniture, &c. which he possessed. *Artabazus*, therefore, when he saw the *Persians* worsted, as he expected, marched with all expedition towards the *Hellespont*, but lost great numbers of his men on the way, either cut off by the *Thracians*, or worn out with fatigue and hunger; and he transported the remnant from *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*, to *Asia*. The loss of the *Grecians* was inconsiderable; only 91 *Lacedæmonians*, 16 *Tegeatæ*, and 52 *Athenians*; and the whole amounted only to 1360 men, according to *Plutarch*. B. IX. § 41—89.

The battle of *Platæa* was fought in the second year of the 75th Olympiad, when *Xanthippus* was Archon of Athens, B.C. 479; according to *Diodorus Siculus*, B. XI. chap. 3; and on the third or fourth day of the month *Boedromion*, according to *Plutarch*, in his lives of *Camillus* and *Aristides*, corresponding to the 28th or 29th of *August*, near a twelvemonth after the battle of *Salamis*.

Lycurgus, in his oration against *Leocrates*, has preserved the copy of an oath taken by the *Grecian* confederates before the battle of *Platæa*, which strongly marks the national character.

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders alive or dead; I will grant burial to all the confederates slain in battle; *after having gained the victory over the Barba-*

* The greater part of the Greeks deserted the night before the battle, from the confederate army, in order to escape the enemy's cavalry, which had annoyed them greatly; and, retiring about 20 stadia towards *Platæa*, they encamped near the temple of *Juno*, opposite to the city. Next day, however, hearing that the battle was fought, and *Pausanias* and the *Lacedæmonians* victorious, the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, and *Pthiasians*, hurried towards the field of battle, in disorder; but were attacked by the *Theban* cavalry, who covered the retreat (or rather flight) of the enemy, and slew six hundred of these renegado Greeks, driving the rest toward mount *Cithæron*. Thus did they perish ingloriously by the traitorous hands of their own countrymen. B. IX. § 52, 69.

rians, I will not destroy any city which shall have fought for *Greece*, but *I will decimate all those that have sided with the Barbarians.* I will not rebuild any of the *temples* burnt or thrown down by the Barbarians, but will leave them subsisting in their present state, to serve as a memorial of their impiety to posterity." *Larcher's* note, B. IX. § 19, (22).

After the *Grecians* had buried their dead on the plain of *Platæa* *, and piously devoted a tenth of the spoils to sacred uses, they held a council, and agreed to march against *Thebes*, and demand that the *Medizers* should be given up, especially *Timegenides*, and *Attaginus*, the ringleaders; that otherwise they would not desist, until they had destroyed the city. On the eleventh day after the battle, therefore, they besieged the *Thebans*, demanding those persons; but the *Thebans* refusing to give them up, they ravaged their territory, and made incursions to the very walls. On the twentieth day of the siege, *Timegenides* generously offered to become a victim, to save the city, while *Attaginus* fled. The *Thebans* accordingly gave up *Timegenides*, and the rest of his abettors, and also the children of *Attaginus*, to *Pausanias*, king of Sparta, who having dismissed the confederates, took with him these *Thebans*, and executed them at *Corinth;* but he acquitted the children of *Attaginus*, saying, that " *the children were not guilty of Medism.*" This was just and humane. B. IX. § 81—88.

BATTLE OF MYCALE.

The same day, the *Grecians* obtained another signal victory at *Mycale*, in *Ionia*, over the *Persian* fleet. Both fleets had remained inactive before, in their respective harbours at *Delos* and *Samos*. At length, the *Grecians* were urged, by an embassy from *Ionia*, to commence hostilities; assuring them, that the

* We learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Grecians*, after they had interred the slain, erected an altar on the spot, with the following inscription;

" The *Greeks*, their country freed, the *Persians* slain,
Have reared this altar on the glorious field,
To Freedom's patron, JOVE."

And, on the anniversary of the battle, there was a general assembly of the Greeks, held at *Platæa*, to sacrifice to JOVE THE DELIVERER, for the victory; which subsisted till *Plutarch's* time. See his *Aristides.*

This strongly marks their *religious* character, along with the consecration of the spoils in the temples.

Ionians would revolt and join them as soon as they appeared, and that the Barbarians, whose ships were slow sailers, and not a match for the Grecian, would not sustain an attack. *Leutychides*, the Spartan admiral, happening to ask the speaker's name, he answered, *Hegesistratus*, signifying "leader of the army." Immediately, *Leutychides* hailed the omen, dismissed the rest of the embassy with assurance of succour, but retained *Hegesistratus* to conduct them to *Samos*. B. IX. § 90, 91. The Grecian fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty triremes, according to *Diodorus*, B. XI. chap. 34.

The *Persian* fleet, shunning an engagement *, retired to the Peninsula of *Mycale*, on the *Ionian* coast, near *Miletus*, and there drew up their ships on the beach, and fortified them with a rampart of stones and trees, protected by sixty thousand men. The *Grecians* following, landed their men, and just as they were preparing to attack the rampart, a herald's sacred wand was seen lying on the edge of the surge, and instantly a rumour ran through the *Grecian* ranks, that the army of *Mardonius* had been defeated in *Bœotia*. *Herodotus*, as usual, atrributes this to divine interposition; but *Diodorus* and *Polyænus*, more naturally, to an ingenious stratagem of the *Grecian* commanders, to animate their troops. Accordingly, the *Grecians* boldly stormed the rampart, put most of the *Persians* to the sword, burnt the ships, and got an immense booty. *Masistes*, the brother of *Xerxes*, having railed at *Artayntes*, the Persian commander-in-chief, for having behaved *worse than a woman* in the engagement; the latter, provoked at this, (the bitterest taunt among the *Persians*) drew his scimetar to kill *Masistes*. But he was saved by a Halicarnassian, who happened to be behind *Artayntes*, seized him by the middle, and flung him on the ground. Both here, and at *Salamis* therefore, was the oracle of "*the sons of women*," fulfilled.

Another curious coincidence in the battles of *Platæa* and *Mycale*, is remarked by *Herodotus*. Both were fought in the neighbourhood of the sacred precincts or pales of the *Eleusinian Ceres* †, who had temples at both places. When the *Persians*

* The *Persians* had incautiously parted with their best ships and seamen, the *Phœnician*; who, finding the season far advanced, and that no enterprize was intended by the *Persian* admiral, got leave to retire to their own ports, before the *Æquinoctial* storms should set in. B. IX. § 96.

† *Plutarch* observes, that *Pausanias*, and the *Grecian* confederates at *Platæa*, con-

were routed at *Platæa*, near the grove of *Ceres*, he observes, that none of the fugitives attempted to enter the sacred pale, nor died near the temple, but most of them fell on the profane ground, outside. " I conjecture," says he, (if we may presume to form any conjecture about divine things), " that *the goddess* herself would not receive them, after they had burnt the royal temple at *Eleusis*." B. IX. § 65, 101.

No wonder then, that the *Eleusinian mysteries* of *Ceres* were held in the highest veneration throughout all *Greece*, and at *Athens*, especially. A remarkable proof of this happened in the case of the poet *Æschylus*. In one of his tragedies, which he performed at *Athens*, he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the audience, on the spot, for divulging, as they supposed, some of the mysteries. He fled to the altar of *Bacchus;* and so got time to appeal to the court of *Areopagus;* who acquitted him of this dangerous suspicion, as we learn from *Aristotle*, Lib. III. c. 1.

The decisive battles of *Platæa* and *Mycale*, finished the *Persian* war, in the second campaign. The same auspicious

sulted the Oracle of *Delphi*, whether they should attack the *Persians*, or act on the defensive? *Aristides*, who was sent, received this response:

" The *Athenians* shall be victorious, if they pray to *Jove*, to *Juno* of *Cithæron*, to *Pan*, and the nymphs *Sphragitides*, (from σφραγις, " a *seal*," intimating a *sacred silence*); if they sacrifice to the heroes *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypsion*, *Actæon*, and *Polyidus;* and if they fight only in their own country, on the plan of the *Eleusinian Ceres* and *Proserpine*."

This Oracle perplexed *Aristides* and the *Athenians* not a little, as removing the seat of war back again to *Attica*. But *Arimnestes*, the general of the *Platæans*, was warned in a dream, by *Jove the deliverer*, that the plain meant by the Oracle was in that very neighbourhood, and if they searched they would find it. Accordingly, they searched, and found an ancient temple dedicated to the *Eleusinian Ceres* and *Proserpine*, near *Ilusiæ*, at the foot of Mount *Cithæron*, the ground about which was favourable for their infantry, and disadvantageous for the enemies' cavalry. They found also the chapel of the hero *Androcrates*, quite covered with thick bushes and trees, in the same place. That nothing might be wanting to fulfil the Oracle, the *Platæans*, at the motion of *Arimnestus*, voluntarily ceded the ground in question, (which bordered upon *Attica*) to the *Athenians*, by a public grant, that they might fight upon their own territories. And this spot, we may further remark, was included therein, in a former *Delphic* Oracle, describing " *Cecrpos'* hilly land, as extending to *Cithæron*."

This generosity of the *Platæans* was afterwards, in their adversity, remembered and rewarded by *Alexander* the Great; who, when he had conquered *Asia*, ordered the walls of *Platæa* to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald, at the *Olympic* games, " That the king granted this favour to the *Platæans*, in consideration of their virtue and generosity, in giving up their lands to the *Greeks* in the *Persian* war; and for behaving with the greatest spirit and vigour on other occasions," (as at *Marathon*, &c.) *Plutarch's Aristides.*

day, which, in the morning, secured the liberties of *Greece;* in the evening, restored the liberties of *Ionia*, (colonized from *Greece)* after they had been enslaved, at first by *Crœsus* and the *Lydians*, and then, by *Cyrus* and the *Persians*. Nor were its benefits confined merely to the present season: it freed *Europe*, for ages, from *Asiatic* invasion, during the subsistence of the *Persian* monarchy, and even long after, till the erection of the fanatical empires of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, of whom the one overturned the *Constantinopolitan* empire, and the other penetrated through *Africa*, into *Spain*. It taught indeed the *Asiatic* powers, by woeful experience, the paramount superiority of the *European* infantry; which, under the *Macedo-Grecians*, and the *Romans*, overran all *Asia*, as far as the *Indus*.

The *Persian* invasion furnishes a salutary and awakening lesson to all free states, to *dispute their liberties to the last gasp*, and *never to compromise with the enemy, let them be never so numerous and formidable* *. A chosen band of *Patriots*, we see, determined to conquer or die in their country's cause, were ultimately successful, through the divine blessing upon their pious and virtuous exertions for their *Religion*, their *Laws*, and their *Liberty;* for these were the great and glorious objects that animated the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, (these two leading and noblest states of *Greece)* the former especially, to such astonishing exertions and sacrifices in their country's cause; and enabled them to withstand and overcome the combined efforts of a cloud of foreign enemies and domestic traitors. While their most instructive historian, *Herodotus*, points out with great precision, the peculiar and contradistinguishing evils and defects of *despotic* and *fœderal* states. What calamities did the wild ambition of *Xerxes* inflict on his passive herd of *Asiatic* and *African* slaves! driven, and frequently goaded like oxen, to the slaughter; while the more intelligent and sagacious among his counsellors, had only to lament and rue the obstinacy and infatuation of their leaders. On the other hand, *Greece* was split and weakened by intestine divisions and factions; and the mutual jealousies of the leading states, of *Sparta* and *Athens*, these champions for national freedom, and of *Thebes* and *Argos*, the chief *Medizing* states, flung the

* See Major *Rennell's* patriotic and animated exhortation to *Britons*, to persevere in our present internecine war with the military *despot* of France. *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 319—323.

apple of discord among them, as soon as ever they were freed from the terror of a foreign enemy; and at length brought on the *Peloponnesian* war, more ruinous than the foreign; which ended in their virtual subjection to the *Persian* sway, by the venality and corruption of their *demagogues* *; and at length bowed their necks to the *Macedonian*, and afterwards to the *Roman* yoke.

The defeat of the *Persian* forces at *Mycale*, in the neighbourhood of *Sardis*, drove *Xerxes* from that city, where he had resided since his return from *Greece*; and he retired with disgrace and dismay to *Susa*, his capital. His route was marked by plunder and devastation through *Asia*. He pillaged and destroyed all the *Grecian* temples in his way †: he did not respect even the ancient and venerable temple of *Belus*, at *Babylon*, but carried off from thence a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, the work probably of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Dan. iii. 1; and slew the high-priest, who endeavoured to prevent the sacrilege. B. I. § 183.

THE END OF XERXES.

The remainder of the reign of this impious *son of violence*, (as he was rightly described in the *Grecian* Oracles) was disastrous in the highest degree, clouded by the most horrid and unnatural debaucheries and cruelties, raging through and ravaging his own household and his own family; and equalling, if not exceeding, the gloomiest *Thyestean* tragedy. He first fell in love with the wife of his own brother, *Masistes*, who had fought so gallantly in his cause at *Mycale*; but she virtuously rejecting his solicitation, he turned his lawless eyes next on her daughter, and the wife of his eldest son, *Darius*, who proved more complying. In his incestuous fondness he gratified her female

* The Athenian orator, *Andocides*, in his third Oration, states, that in the course of the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Spartans* received from their *Persian* allies subsidies to the amount of five thousand talents, about a million sterling!

† *Xerxes* spared only two temples in the *Grecian* war, those of *Apollo*, at *Delos*, and of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*. *Mitford* conjectures, because the former was dedicated to the *sun*, the latter to the *moon*; which were held sacred, though not divinities, by the *Persians*. But he meant to have plundered the temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphi*. This, therefore, cannot have been the reason why these escaped. It is more probable that he was afraid to offend these *maritime* states, on whom he depended for assistance against the *Greeks* at sea.

vanity with the present of a rich embroidered mantle, worked and given him by his own wife, *Hamestris*, whose jealousy was so much provoked by the indiscreet display of this mantle by his paramour, that she importuned, and at length prevailed on him basely to surrender her innocent mother to her rage; whom she mutilated most horribly, cutting off her breasts, which she flung to the dogs; her nose, lips, and ears, and cutting out her tongue; and then sent her home, a miserable spectacle, to her fond husband. Fired at these atrocious and complicated injuries, *Masistes*, with his *sons*, and some attendants, took flight immediately towards *Bactria*, of which province he was governor, and greatly beloved there, meditating to do the king all the mischief possible, and to rouze the warlike *Sacæ* to revolt. But *Xerxes* apprehending this, intercepted him on the way, and put him, and his sons, and his adherents, all to death! And to crown the horrid measure of his cruelties, if *Aspasias* is to be credited, in a transport of frenzy, he tore in pieces his own mother, *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, to whose influence he owed his crown, and, horrible to relate, devoured her flesh!! B. IX. § 109—113.

Vengeance, however slow, at length pursued and overtook a monster of whom the world was weary *. His chamberlain, *Mithridates*, introduced into his bed-chamber at night *Artabanus*, the captain of his guards, who assassinated him while he slept, B.C. 464. Diodor. Sicul. B. XI. ch. 18.

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, OR ARDSCHIR DIRAZDEST, OR BAHAMAN.

Artabanus, after the murder of the king, meditated to secure the crown for himself, by the murder of the royal family. He falsely accused the eldest son, the hapless *Darius*, of killing *Xerxes*, to the third *Artaxerxes*, and prevailed on the unsuspecting youth, through fear of death himself, rashly to consent to the assassination of *Darius*. He then placed *Artaxerxes* upon the throne, in exclusion of *Hystaspes*, the second son, who was absent in his province of *Bactria*, in which he had succeeded *Masistes*, intending to dispatch him in turn. But *Artaxerxes* anticipated his treason, and cut off him and his family

* Raro antecedentem *Scelestum*
Deseruit, pede, *Pœna*, claudo.—Hor. Od. II. 2, 31.

before it was ripe for execution, about seven months after his father's death. Next he defeated his brother, after a two years' war, and obtained quiet possession of the throne.

In the third year of his reign he gave public entertainments and rejoicings at *Susa;* and by advice of his sycophant council deposed his queen *Vashti* for contumacy, because she modestly refused to expose her beauty at a public banquet, to his guests, when flushed with wine. Esth. c. i. and ii.

Gravis pœna pro culpâ levi, si tamen culpa!

"Severe the punishment, for so slight a fault;
If it was, indeed, a fault!"———

After a probation of four years he chose *Esther*, the Jewess, to be his queen, in preference of all the virgins who were candidates for that dignity.

EZRA'S COMMISSION.

In the same year, and seventh of his reign, B.C. 457, he issued a decree, empowering *Ezra, the Scribe of the Law of* THE GOD OF HEAVEN, to go to *Judæa*, with full powers to preside there in all ecclesiastical and civil concerns; to restore and enforce the law of *Moses*, to appoint magistrates and judges throughout the land, and to punish all transgressors of the law with confiscation of goods, banishment, or death. Ezra vii. 2—26.

But the *Jews* were in imminent danger of extirpation in the fourteenth year of *Artaxerxes*, B.C. 450, from the malignity of *Haman* the *Amalekite*, an inveterate foe of the *Jewish* nation, from times of old, and a lineal descendant of *Agag*, the king of the *Amalekites*, in the days of *Samuel* the prophet, 1 Sam. xv. 33, who prevailed on the easiness of the king, with whom he was a prime favourite, at a banquet, to pass a royal decree for the public proscription and massacre of the *Jews*, as a disaffected people, throughout the *Persian* dominions; which, after much deliberation of the conspirators on lucky days, was fixed for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, *Adar*.

This rash, impolitic, and unjust decree, however, was providentially defeated by the spirit and address of Queen *Esther*, and recoiled in ruin upon the heads of the wicked contriver and his whole family, as admirably described in the two books of

Esther, the Canonical and the Apocryphal, and noticed before, Vol. II. p. 483, where the awkward mode of superseding the decree of massacre by a counter decree, permitting the *Jews* to take up arms to defend themselves, instead of repealing the former, (which was not allowed by the usage of the *Medes* and *Persians)* is also noticed, ibid. To the article *Nehemiah*, which there follows, from p. 484 to p. 486, we must refer the reader for *Jewish* affairs, during the remainder of his reign.

EGYPTIAN REVOLT.

Early in his reign, the *Egyptians* revolted, B.C. 459, and chose *Inarus*, a *Libyan* prince, for their king. The *Athenians* at that time had a powerful fleet of 200 ships, lying off the island of *Cyprus*, to whom the *Egyptians* applied for succour, which was readily granted. To quell this revolt, *Artaxerxes* sent his brother *Achæmenes**, with an army of 300,000 men, to the banks of the *Nile;* but the *Athenians* defeated the *Persian* fleet, sailed up the *Nile*, and landing their forces, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*, attacked the *Persian* army, and slew 100,000 men, with *Achæmenes*, their commander in chief. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, and there, in the best fortified part of the city, called the *White Wall*, supported a siege of three years, until they were relieved by forces sent to their assistance. *Thucyd.* B. I.

The fleet sent upon this occasion was commanded by *Artabazus*, who conveyed an army of 300,000 men, under the command of *Megabyzus*. Having landed his forces, *Megabyzus* marched to the relief of *Memphis*, defeated the *Egyptians*, raised the siege, and forced the *Athenians* to take refuge, with their fleet, at *Biblos*, an island surrounded by the navigable branches of the *Nile*, where they and the remainder of the *Egyptians*, under *Inarus*, defended themselves vigourously for a year and a half, until they were reduced, by the stratagem of draining that arm of the *Nile* in which the *Athenian* fleet lay, by cutting canals from thence, and so the *Persian* army marched across it into the island. *Inarus* and the *Egyptians* surrendered themselves to *Megabyzus*, and he was afterwards cruci-

* *Herodotus* so distinguishes him from *Achæmenes*, the brother of *Xerxes*, and the uncle of *Artaxerxes*, who commanded the *Persian* fleet at *Salamis*. B. VII. § 236.

fied in *Persia;* but the *Athenians*, to the number of 6000, having burnt their ships, drew up in battle array, resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate, emulating their countrymen at *Thermopylæ*. Perceiving their desperate resolution, the *Persian* general thought proper to propose an accommodation, on the terms of their surrendering the island, and getting a free passage home, by sea or by land. So they marched through the *Libyan* deserts, to embark at *Cyrene*, for *Greece*, where few of them ever arrived. And in addition to this great loss, another *Athenian* fleet of 50 sail, sent to their relief, arriving soon after their surrender, were attacked by surprize, in the *Nile*, by the *Persian* fleet and army, and almost all destroyed. *Diodor.* B. XI.

Thus ended this disastrous *Egyptian* war, in the sixth year; when the *Persians* reduced the whole country again, about B.C. 453; except *Amyrtæus*, who still maintained a party in the fens, inaccessible to the *Persians*.

Three years after, the *Athenians*, B.C. 450, exerted themselves to send another fleet of 200 sail to *Egypt*, under the command of *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, to the assistance of *Amyrtæus* in the fens. *Cimon* defeated *Artabazus*, the *Persian* admiral, took 100 of his ships, and destroyed many more; pursued the rest to *Cilicia*, and by stratagem, landing his men, as if *Persians*, next surprized and defeated *Megabyzus*, at *Eurymedon*, with an army of 300,000 men, and returned to *Cyprus*, with a double triumph. *Plutarch* in *Cimon*, and *Diodor.* B. XI. chap. 13.

PEACE WITH ATHENS.

This double defeat induced *Artaxerxes* to seek an accommodation with the *Athenians*, to which, after their losses, they were equally well disposed. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to *Susa*, amongst whom was *Callias;* and on the *Persian* side, *Artabanes* and *Megabyzus* were sent to *Athens*. Peace was concluded on terms humiliating to the *Persian* monarch. 1. That all the *Greek* cities in *Asia Minor* should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That no *Persian* governor of the provinces should march an army within three days' journey of the coast. And 3. That no *Persian* ships of war should sail between the *Cyanean* rocks, at the northern extremity of the

Thracian Bosporus, and the *Chelidonian* Isles, near the southern promontory of *Lycia;* thus excluding the *Persians* from the entire *Ægean* sea, and that part of the *Mediterranean* bordering upon *Asia Minor*. This peace *, so glorious for the little *Athenian* states, established the independence of the *Grecian* colonies on the *Asiatic* coast; and was at length, after some delay, concluded B.C. 449, in the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes*, thirty years after the victories of *Platæa* and *Mycale*, and forty years after the first *Persian* invasion of *Greece*. It is remarkable, that as the foundation of the liberties of the *Grecian* states was laid by the illustrious *Miltiades*, in the victory of *Marathon*, so were they perfected by the victories of his more illustrious son, *Cimon*. *Herod.* B. VII. § 151. *Diodor.* B. XII. chap. 1. *Plutarch. Cimon.*

NEHEMIAH'S COMMISSION.

In his twentieth year, *Nehemiah* was sent to rebuild the walls and city of *Jerusalem*. The motives that induced *Artaxerxes* to this measure, are noticed in the second Volume, p. 484—486, of this work.

* The existence of this treaty, so humiliating to *Persia*, is questioned by *Mitford*, on the grounds that it was never observed; that it is unnoticed by *Thucydides*, and virtually contradicted by *Plato;* and that *Plutarch* and *Diodorus*, who record it, disagree, about 20 years, in its date; the former dating it immediately after the battle of *Eurymedon;* the latter, in the fourth year of the 82d Olympiad. *Hist. of Greece*, chap. xii. § 3, last note.

But these grounds seem rather insufficient: for,

1. *Thucydides*, in his short preliminary abstract of the affairs of *Greece*, might have passed over this treaty, because it was not faithfully observed, on the side of *Persia*, and was therefore of no avail: besides, he wrote his history of the *Peloponnesian* war near its close, when *Athens* was in a state of depression, after the ruinous *Sicilian* war, and dreaded the junction of the *Persians* with their enemies the *Lacedæmonians;* he might therefore be afraid of giving umbrage to *Persia*, by recording her disgrace.

2. *Plato* only says that "*Greece* owed its tranquillity to the prosecution of the war by the *Athenians* far from home, in *Cyprus* and *Egypt*." (Menexen.) But this foreign war occasioned the treaty, which *Plato* therefore rather implies.

3. It was the boast of *Isocrates*, that no *Persian* ships, nor troops, shewed themselves within the prescribed limits of the treaty, at least for some time, during the depression of the *Persians*, as *Mitford* himself notices.

4. The peace of *Antalcidas*, afterwards, B.C. 387, formally rescinded the first article of the freedom of the Greek cities in *Asia Minor*, by declaring they should be subject to the king of *Persia;* which would otherwise be superfluous.

5. The variations of *Plutarch* and *Diodorus*, as to the precise time, do not invalidate their positive testimony as to the *fact*.

No sooner were the *Grecian* states freed from the *Persian* war, than dissention and discord raged among themselves. The *Athenians*, by artfully fortifying their city, and getting from the *Lacedæmonians* the command at sea, which they exercised themselves with much insolence and oppression, excited the jealousy and indignation of the rest. The leading states of *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and *Argos*, indeed, could not brook the naval superiority and growing power of *Athens;* and twenty years before the peace with *Persia*, the *Lacedæmonians* determined to make war on the *Athenians*, expecting to be joined by the rest, either from their resentments, or their fears, when *Sparta* herself was overwhelmed by an earthquake, B.C. 469, and twenty thousand citizens perished in this dreadful disaster. This was followed by the revolt of the oppressed *Helots* and *Messenians*, who endeavoured to shake off their cruel yoke, and carried on a ruinous intestine war, for ten years, before they were reduced. Thucyd. B. I. § 100, 101.

The *Bœotian* states also revolted and shook off the authority of *Thebes*, in which they were assisted by the *Athenians*, who, by the decisive victory of *Tanagra*, B.C. 456, confirmed the liberties of *Bœotia;* and in like manner, *Argos* lost her dependant states in the Peninsula, *Mycenæ*, *Epidaurus*, and *Trœzene*. *Diodor.* B. XI. Thucyd. B. I.

At length, the general oppressive system of the *Athenian* policy armed the Confederates against her in the *Peloponnesian* war, which commenced B.C. 431, and lasted 27 years, ending in the ruin of the *Athenian* dominion; so well described by *Thucydides*, who was employed therein himself. It broke out in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, whose assistance was sought by both parties; but he wisely declined to assist either, thinking it better to let them worry each other, and exhaust themselves. They applied to him afresh, not long before his death; but he put them off again. Thucyd. B. II. and IV.

This prince was surnamed by the *Persian* writers, *Bahaman*, signifying "kind, or beneficent." His favourite maxim was, that "*the gates of a king should never be shut.*" Of this, he gave a signal instance in the hospitable asylum which he generously afforded to the illustrious exile, *Themistocles*, who had done so much mischief to *Persia*, and for whose head he had offered a reward of 200 talents, near 40,000*l.* on his accession to the

throne. When banished from *Greece*, and every part of *Europe*, by the unrelenting persecution of the *Lacedæmonians*, he boldly threw himself upon the mercy of the *Persian* monarch, who received him graciously, gave him the 200 talents formerly offered as a reward, "since he brought himself," and was therefore entitled to it, as a debt," took him into his royal favour, and for his maintenance, assigned him the government of *Magnesia*, which brought him 50 talents yearly, for his bread; *Lampsacus* for his wine; and *Myus* for his meat. In the enjoyment of this affluence, he used to say humorously to his children, *We should have been undone, if we had not been undone!* And the strongest inducement afterwards held out by any *Persian* king to a *Greek*, to enter into his service, was, that "*he should live with him*, as did *Themistocles* with *Artaxerxes* *." Thucyd. B. I. § 135—138.

Of *true religion* he gave also a specimen early in his reign, when he sent *Ezra* to *Judea*, with ample commission to establish the *law of God* and the *law of the king* in the western provinces; and for *beautifying* the house of the Lord in *Jerusalem*, and providing for regular sacrifices there, "lest there be *wrath* against the realm of *the king* and *his sons*." Ezr. vii. 21—27. *Artaxerxes* was happy in two such master-councellors as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

We cannot therefore listen to the *Persian* historians who defame his memory, by the absurd and inconsistent tale, that he married his own daughter, *Homai*, when he was old; that at his death he left her with child, and appointed her posthumous son to be his successor, in exclusion of his adult son, *Xerxes* by Queen *Esther*; that *Homai*, ambitious to secure the crown for herself, most unnaturally exposed her new-born infant, richly dressed, in a little ark, on the river *Gihon*; that the child was saved by a poor dyer, who called him *Darab*, (from *dar* a "wooden vessel," and *ab* "water,") and reared him as his own son; that at length, he was accidentally discovered and acknowledged by his mother, who resigned the crown to him, after she had held it thirty years. See *Herbelot*, in *Homai*, *Bahaman*, and *Darab*.

* *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Eusebius*, &c. refer this transaction to the reign of *Xerxes*; but the testimony of *Thucydides*, a contemporary historian, greatly outweighs theirs, and is more probable in itself. For *Artaxerxes* had it in view, by his means, to reduce *Greece*; whereas *Xerxes* gave up all such views, in hopeless despair.

But other respectable historians, the *Tarik Cozideh*, or *Montekheb*, &c. pass over *Homai* unnoticed in the dynasty of the *Kaianians;* which is an evident proof that they disbelieved and rejected the whole story. The exposure of *Darab* strongly resembles the exposure of *Cyrus*.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Besides *Xerxes*, his only legitimate son, *Artaxerxes* left seventeen sons by his concubines, among whom were *Sogdianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* succeeded his father, but after he had reigned 45 days, was assassinated by *Sogdianus*, who usurped the throne.[m] But *Ochus*, coming with a powerful army from *Hyrcania*, of which he was governor, to revenge his brother's death, *Sogdianus* submitted, and was smothered in ashes. This cruel and novel death was invented by *Ochus*, to destroy his brother without breach of his oath, for he had sworn not to kill him by sword, poison, or hunger. The two short reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus*, amounting to only eight months, are omitted in *Ptolomy's* Canon, but their amount is included in the last year of *Artaxerxes*, according to his usage. *Ochus* assumed the title of *Darius*, usually called *Nothus*, "bastard," to distinguish him from the other princes of the same title. *Diodorus*, B. XII.

His reign proved turbulent and unfortunate. His own brother *Arsites*, born of the same mother, first rebelled against him, but was decoyed into a surrender, and smothered in ashes. Afterwards he was harassed with rebellions, in *Media* and the northern part of his dominions, which he suppressed. The *Egyptians* also revolted in the South, about B.C. 414, drove the *Persians* out of the country, and retained their independence during this and the succeeding reign. Euseb. Chronicon.

His hatred of the *Athenians* led him to deviate from his father's wise policy, which was, to foment divisions among the *Grecian* states, and to assist the weaker against the stronger, so as to prevent them from uniting against the *Persians*. He therefore commissioned his younger son *Cyrus*, governor of *Asia Minor*, to assist the *Lacedæmonians* with large subsidies, against the *Athenians;* and enabled *Lysander*, their artful general, who had wormed himself into the favour of the young prince, by flattering his ambitious views, to finish the *Peloponn-*

nesian war, with the overthrow of the *Athenians*, and demolition of their fortifications, about the time of his father's death, B.C. 404. For which, the *Lacedæmonians* made an ungrateful return, not long after.

Rejecting the solicitations of his wife *Parysatis*, to make her younger son *Cyrus* king, in exclusion of her elder, *Arsaces*, upon the plea that he was born after his father came to the throne, he appointed *Arsaces* his successor, and gave him as the best instruction in the art of reigning, *to do justly in all things, toward God and toward man.* *Athenæus*, Lib. XII.

However disastrous in other respects, the reign of this prince is immortalized by the reference thereto in sacred prophecy. He was the first of the *four kings* foretold to precede the dissolution of the *Persian* empire; and the famous prophecy of the *seventy weeks* commenced in the fourth year of his reign, B.C. 420. See Dan. ch. ix. and xi., as expounded in Vol. II. p. 507—529, of this work.

ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

Arsaces, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title of *Artaxerxes*, and was distinguished by the *Grecians*, from others of that name, by the epithet *Mnemon*, on account of his extraordinary "memory." A plot was laid by his younger brother *Cyrus*, to assassinate him at his inauguration; "but *Tissaphernes accused* (διαβαλλει) *Cyrus* to his brother, of conspiring against him; *Artaxerxes* believed the information, and seized *Cyrus*, intending to kill him. But his mother having interceded for him, he [pardoned, and even] dismissed him again to his government. When *Cyrus*, therefore, departed, after having been *endangered* and *disgraced*, he meditated how to be no longer *dependant upon his brother*, but to *reign in his stead.*" Xenoph. Anabas. Lib. I. cap. 1.

The treasonable designs of the haughty and ambitious *Cyrus*, (here acknowledged by *Xenophon*, who actually served under him in his rebellion,) seem to warrant the justice of *Tissaphernes'* accusation, which is supported by the historians, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Justin*, &c. A modern historian, however, *Gillies*, is rather singular, in considering it as "*false* *;"

* Διαβαλλω, signifies to *accuse* or *criminate*, whether truly or falsely. *Isocrates* has διαβαλλειν ψευδως, "*to accuse falsely*;" and ευλαβου τας διαβολας κἀν ψευδεις ωσι.

who praises "*the magnanimity of Cyrus*," and represents him as "an *honour to human nature*." Hist. of Greece, chap. xxv.

In his rebellious views, he was most shamefully assisted by the *Lacedæmonians*, who sent him a powerful body of troops to act against his brother, under the command of *Clearchus*, amounting, with other *Greek* mercenaries, to 13,000; and with an army of 100,000 men besides, collected in *Asia Minor* and the neighbouring provinces, *Cyrus* marched to attack his brother and his king; but fell, by his own rashness, after he had wounded *Artaxerxes*, in a desperate charge, at the battle of *Cunaxa*, in *Babylonia*, B.C. 400. The famous retreat of the *ten thousand* Greeks, conducted principally by the military historian *Xenophon*, (after *Clearchus* and the other generals had been treacherously cut off by *Tissaphernes*,) through the heart of the *Persian* empire, to *Greece* again, in a march of 2325 miles, harassed by a numerous *Persian* army in his rear, and by several fierce and barbarous nations in his front; which he has so modestly and admirably described in his *Anabasis*, won the wonder of the world, and encouraged *Alexander of Macedon*, more than any other circumstance, to invade *Asia* with so small an army.

Provoked at the ingratitude and treachery of the *Lacedæmonians* in particular, *Artaxerxes* sent *Tissaphernes* to make war upon their dependencies. To oppose whom, they sent *Thimbro*, B.C. 399, and afterwards *Dercyllidas*, B.C. 398; and lastly *Agesilaus* their king, B.C. 396, whose rapid conquests threatened the empire itself; when *Artaxerxes*, recurring to his grandfather's wise policy, sent 300,000 gold archers to drive *Agesilaus* out of *Asia*, and recall him to the defence of his own country, against the *Thebans*, and other states, who were bribed and subsidized to attack *Laconia*.

Following up this system, by the advice of *Conon* the *Athenian*, he raised *Athens* from her depression, to counterbalance the power of *Sparta*; he rebuilt the city, which had formerly been destroyed by the *Persians*; he repaired her fortifications, which had been demolished by the *Lacedæmonians*, out of their spoils; and he distributed a donative of 50 talents among the citizens. *Xenophon's* Hist. of Greece, *Diodorus*, &c.

"Avoid *accusations*, especially if they be *false*." *Plutarch*, who had seen and expanded *Xenophon's* account, evidently supposed that the accusation was true, as coming from a priest who had educated *Cyrus*.

PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

The effect of this system was such as might well be expected. The Grecian States, and *Sparta* herself foremost, wearied and exhausted by foreign and domestic wars, sued for peace; and sent *Antalcidas* * the *Spartan*, and other deputies, to negociate at *Susa*. The king dictated the following terms: 1. That all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia Minor*, with the important isles of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*, should be subject to *Persia*. And 2. That all the cities of *Greece*, both small and great, should be free, and governed by their own laws. And the king engaged to assist "by sea and land, with ships and money," the states who agreed thereunto, against the refractory. Xenophon. Hist. B. V.

Thus did *Greece* formally rescind the first article of the former glorious *Athenian* peace of B.C. 449, by this disgraceful peace of *Antalcidas*, concluded in B.C. 387, and tamely surrender the *Greek* colonies in *Asia Minor*, after a struggle for near a century, from the battle of *Mycale*. While it established the paramount influence of *Persia* in Greece, by rendering all the states independent of each other, and breaking up those powerful confederacies which had so long harassed and endangered the *Persian* empire; whilst the last clause of enforcing the peace, "with ships and money," proved a fresh torch of discord, and enabled *Sparta* to tyrannize afresh over the petty states that would not submit to her authority, under pretext of not acceding to the terms of the peace, and involved her in a ruinous war with the *Thebans*, under *Epaminondas*.

When *Artaxerxes* was thus freed from the *Grecian* war, he turned his whole force against *Cyprus*, which had refused to agree to the peace, and reduced the whole island, B.C. 385.

Next year, he marched against the *Cadusians*, in the mountainous tract north of *Media*, who had revolted, but, for want of provisions, was forced to retreat with loss and disgrace.

His last military expedition was against *Egypt*; which, after three years' preparation, he invaded in the 31st year of his reign, B.C. 374, but miscarried, from the slowness of his opera-

* *Artaxerxes* was fond of *Antalcidas* at first; but after he had used him as a tool, to bring about the peace, he treated him with the contempt he deserved as a traitor to his country, whose best interests he sacrificed. *Antalcidas* starved himself.

tions and the rising of the *Nile*. *Iphicrates*, general of the *Grecian* mercenaries, having observed to *Pharnabazus*, who commanded the expedition, that "he was quick in his resolutions, but slow in the performance," the other replied, that "his *words* were his own, but his *actions* depended wholly on his master."

The close of his reign was embittered by domestic broils. *Artaxerxes* had three legitimate sons, *Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ochus*, and one hundred and fifteen that were spurious. To prevent contentions about the succession to the throne, and check the ambition of *Ochus* in particular, he appointed *Darius*, the eldest, his successor, and allowed him to wear the royal tiara. But *Tiribazus*, (whom the old king had provoked, by successively promising him two of his daughters in marriage, and afterwards disappointing him, by marrying them himself,) drew *Darius* and fifty of his brothers into a conspiracy against their father's life. But the plot was detected, and they all suffered condign punishment.

But a fresh contest broke out between *Ariaspes* and *Ochus*, the legitimate sons, and *Arsames*, a favourite natural son of the king, about the succession; when *Ochus* contrived to murder both his brothers to secure his own. These domestic tragedies broke the old king's heart, in the 94th year of his age, according to *Plutarch*.

Artaxerxes was naturally a mild and a merciful prince, and governed with great moderation and justice, and with considerable political wisdom. The following anecdotes, recorded by *Plutarch*, seem to mark his character, and to confirm the treason of *Cyrus* his brother, before his open rebellion.

"At first he seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first *Artaxerxes*, whose name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all who addressed him, and by distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care that punishments should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought to him by way of present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one *Omisus* brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, By the light of *Mithra*, this

man, if he were made governor of a small city, would make it a great one.' When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing else to give him, ran to the river, and brought him some water in his hands. *Artaxerxes* was so much pleased, that he sent the man a gold cup and a thousand darics. When *Euclidas* the Lacedæmonian said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this answer, 'You may *say* what you please to the king; but the king would have you to know, that he can not only *say*, but *do*.' One day, as he was hunting, *Tiribazus* shewed him a rent in his robe; upon which the king said, 'What shall I do with it?'—'Put on another,' said *Tiribazus*, 'and give that to me.' 'It shall be so,' said the king, 'I give it thee; but I charge thee not to wear it.' *Tiribazus*, who was giddy and vain, disregarding the restriction, soon put on the robe, and at the same time tricked himself out with some golden ornaments fit only for queens. The court expressed great indignation, because it was a thing contrary to their laws and customs: But the king only laughed, and said to him, 'I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a *woman*, and the robe as a *madman*.'

——"In his expedition against the *Cadusians* he endured all the fatigues and hardships of the meanest soldier in his army. He took his quiver upon his back, and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horse, would often march foremost up the most craggy and difficult places; insomuch, that the soldiers found their toil much lighter when they saw the vigour and alacrity with which the king proceeded, for he marched above 200 stadia a day. At last he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks; but the country around was naked and barren. The weather being very cold, he permitted his soldiers to cut wood out of his own parks, without sparing either pine or cypress; and when the soldiers were loth to touch trees of such size and beauty, he took an axe in his own hand, and laid it to the finest tree among them. After which they cut them down without scruple; and having made a number of fires, passed the night with great comfort.

Is it not strange that his reign should be omitted by the *Persian* historians?

OCHUS, OR DARAB I.

Fearing the public odium for the murder of his brothers, *Ochus* concealed his father's death for ten months, and conducted the administration of affairs in his name, until he thought that his own authority was sufficiently established. As soon as his accession was announced, all *Asia minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, with other provinces, revolted against him. But this formidable revolt, which threatened to overturn the empire, ended in nothing, through the treachery and corruption of the leading partizans; *Datames* only excepted, the governor of *Cappadocia*, who gave him much trouble, until he was assassinated by *Mithridates*, one of his intimates, suborned by *Ochus*, according to *Cornelius Nepos*. See *Diodor. Sic.* B. XV; who, misled by the name of *Artaxerxes*, which *Ochus* assumed, placed this revolt in the last year of his father, so beloved and revered by his subjects.

To prevent future disturbances at home and abroad, this execrable prince cut off all the royal family, without respect to consanguinity, age, or sex. His own sister, *Ocha*, and his mother-in-law, whose daughter he had married, he buried alive; and shot to death, with his archers, one of his uncles and a hundred of his children and grand-children. This uncle was the father of *Sysigambis*, and the grand-father of *Darius Codomannus*, the last king of Persia. For *Q. Curtius* relates, that *Ochus* massacred the father and eighty brothers of *Sysigambis* in one day. He also destroyed all the nobility whom he suspected of disaffection throughout the empire.

But vain were all his jealous cruelties to keep his subjects in awe. In the fifth year of his reign *Artabazus*, governor of one of the western provinces, revolted; and, by the assistance of *Chares*, and an Athenian force, defeated seventy thousand of the king's troops; but *Ochus*, threatening to make war on the *Athenians*, they recalled *Chares*. Afterwards *Artabazus* procured assistance from the *Thebans*, and routed the king's army in two engagements; but the king having bribed the *Thebans* with 400 talents, *Artabazus* was left to himself, and, after three years' resistance, forced to fly, and take refuge with *Philip*, king of *Macedon*.

REVOLTED PROVINCES REDUCED.

No sooner was this insurrection quelled, than the *Sidonians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cyprians* revolted, and joined the *Egyptians*, who still maintained their independence. After repeated failures of his generals to reduce them, *Ochus* himself took the command of the expedition against them. He besieged *Sidon*, which was betrayed to him by the king, *Tennes;* on which the *Sidonians*, in despair, set fire to the city, and destroyed men, women, and children, with all their treasures. *Ochus* sold the ashes, which contained great quantities of melted gold and silver, for a high price, and rewarded *Tennes*, the traitor, as he deserved, by putting him to death. The catastrophe of *Sidon* terrified the rest of the *Phœnicians* into submission; and among them we may include the *Jews*, who seem to have joined the common cause. See Vol. II. p. 532 of this work. He then entered into a composition with the *Cyprians*, and granted them favourable terms. He afterwards invaded *Egypt* with his whole force, B.C. 350, in the ninth year of his reign, which he completely reduced, chiefly by the assistance of *Mentor*, the *Rhodian*, and his Greek mercenaries; and treated the Egyptians with great severity. He dismantled their towns, plundered their temples of their treasures and public records, sacrificed their calf god, *Apis*, to an ass, in revenge for being nicknamed *the ass* himself by the *Egyptians*, for his sluggishness and inactivity; and returned in triumph to *Babylon*, with immense spoils of gold, silver, and other precious things, from the conquered provinces. From this decisive war we may date the humiliation of *Egypt*. *Nectanebus*, the last of her native kings, now fled with all the treasures he could collect, into *Ethiopia*, or *Abyssinia*. *Diodor.* B. XVI.

All the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, *Ochus*, following his natural bias, gave himself up to ease and luxury, leaving the administration of public affairs to his ministers; of whom the chief favourites were *Bagoas*, the Egyptian eunuch, and *Memnon*, the Rhodian; the former governed all the provinces of Upper Asia, and the latter those of the lower. *Diodorus*, B. XVI.

EMBASSY TO PHILIP OF MACEDON.

Alarmed by the fame of the growing greatness of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, about B.C. 344, the fifteenth of his reign, he sent some of his trustiest ministers on an embassy to *Philip*, under pretence of offering him the friendship and alliance of the great king, but in reality to spy out his strength, his resources, and his designs. The young *Alexander*, then a boy of twelve years old, in his father's absence, entertained the ambassadors, and gained upon them greatly by his politeness and good sense. He asked them no childish or trifling questions, but enquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of *Asia:* he desired to be informed of the character of their king, and how he treated his enemies; and wherein the strength and power of *Persia* consisted. The ambassadors were surprized, and counted the famed *shrewdness* of *Philip* as nothing compared with the *vivacity* and *lofty enterprizing genius* of his son, and said to each other, "This boy indeed will be *a great king;* ours is *a rich one* *!" *Plutarch*, in *Alexander*. How early did this conversation unfold the latent ambition of *Alexander*, and his premeditated design of invading *Asia* from his childhood! And how remarkably did the observation of the *Persians* accord with the Scripture characters of both kings, of the "*goat* and the *ram!*" Dan. viii. 5—7, xi. 2, 3.

Ochus, at length, was poisoned by *Bagoas*, in revenge for all the calamities he had brought upon *Egypt*. And this powerful minister destroyed all the rest of his family, except *Arses*, the youngest son, whom he raised to the throne, allowing him the name of king, while he retained all the authority.

ARSES.

The reign of *Arses* was short; for in his third year, *Bagoas* finding that his treasons were likely to be punished by the young

* The original is very expressive, and not easily translated: ὡστε εκεινους θαυμαζειν, και την λεγομενην Φιλιππου δεινοτητα μηδεν ἡγεισθαι, προς την του παιδος ὁρμην, και μεγαλοπραγμοσυνην· ——ὡς ὁ παις οὑτος, βασιλευς μεγας, ὁ δε ἡμετερος, πλουσιος! The unusual compound, μεγαλοπραγμοσυνη, implies "*a disposition to employ himself about great objects,*" which was highly characteristic of *Alexander*.

king; anticipated his intention, by dispatching him and all his children. His short reign, which was merely nominal, is omitted therefore by *Justin*, and SCRIPTURE. I have annexed it to that of *Ochus*.

Ochus is styled by the Persian historians, *Darab* I.

We have seen from *Plutarch*, that he sent an embassy to *Philip*, to propose an alliance. Improving on this, the *Persian* writers invented his marriage with the daughter of *Filikous*, or *Philip;* whom he sent back again to her father; because she had a bad breath, after she was with child. *Ascander*, or *Alexander*, the son whom she bore, was adopted by *Philip*, and succeeded him in *Macedon* afterwards. *Ochus* married another wife, by whom he had a son, *Darab* II. or *Codomannus*, who succeeded him in *Persia*. But *Ascander*, the elder brother, raised an army, to recover his right, invaded *Persia*, and conquered *Darab*. See *Herbelot*, *Darab*, and *Escander*.

This fiction was invented by the *Persian* historians, the *Lebtarikh*, the *Tarik Montekheb*, &c. to cover the disgrace of the conquest of *Persia*, by *Alexander*. That by *Darab* I, they meant *Ochus*, whose history they metamorphosed, is evident from the *Schah Namè*, which records exploits of *Darab*, consonant to those of *Ochus*. "That after his accession to the throne, on his mother *Homai's* resignation, he made war on his neighbours, and extended the limits of his empire on every side; insomuch, that *his power exceeded that of all his predecessors.*"

Thus do the *Persian* historians, even in their departure from the *Greek*, bear undesigned testimony to the veracity of the latter, and convict themselves of intentional misrepresentation.

DARIUS CODOMANNUS, OR DARAB II.

This prince was a collateral branch of the royal family. His grandfather was the brother of *Darius Nothus*. Only one of his sons, *Ostanes*, escaped the massacre of the family, by the ruthless *Ochus*. *Ostanes* married *Sisygambis*, his own sister, by whom he had *Codomannus*. During the reign of *Ochus*, this young man lived in obscurity, and supported himself as an *astanda*, or courier, by carrying the royal dispatches. At length he signalized his valour, in killing a *Cadusian* champion, who had defied the whole Persian army to single combat. For this gallant exploit, he was rewarded by *Ochus*, with the important

government of *Armenia:* and upon the murder of *Arses* and his family, was advanced to the throne, by *Bagoas*. But finding that *Bagoas* meant to dispatch him likewise, he caught the traitor in his own trap, and made him swallow the poison he had prepared for *Codomannus*.

Darius (for he assumed that name) when settled on the throne, enjoyed singular advantages. He had no competitors nor opponents; for the royal family, and the principal nobility, had been destroyed by *Bagoas* and *Nothus;* the empire was fully settled and established; and he was "*far richer*" than his predecessors, "the *three last kings;*" because he was possessed of the vast additional treasures procured by the plunders of his predecessor, *Ochus*, after the reduction of *Egypt* and the other revolted provinces. And his personal bravery, and acknowledged merits, made him admired and respected, universally, throughout the empire.

Darius ascended the throne, B.C. 335, shortly before the assassination of *Philip* of *Macedon*, near the end of that same year; and, as *Alexander* complained, by *Persian* instigation, and bribery of the assassins; who made it one of his public grievances, seemingly not without sufficient grounds; for this charge of *Alexander's* is recorded by the accurate and judicious *Arrian*, and adopted by *Quintus Curtius**. And surely, *Ba-*

* *Arrian* has given the letter of *Alexander* to *Darius;* of which this is an extract. B. II. ch. 14.

"Your ancestors invaded *Macedonia* and the rest of *Greece*, and did us mischief, without any provocation. I, when elected general of the *Greeks*, to punish the *Persians*, crossed over into *Asia*, to repel your underhand aggressions; for ye aided the *Perinthians*, who had injured my father: and *Ochus* sent a force into *Thrace*, which was under our government. *My father also was slain by conspirators, whom ye suborned;* (as *ye yourselves boasted, in your letters sent every where*) when *you*, with *Bagoas*, slew *Arses*, and usurped the kingdom, contrary to the *Persian* laws, injuring the *Persians*," &c.

Quintus Curtius, in his copy of the letter, charges *Darius*, openly, with setting a price upon *Alexander's* head. B. IV. ch. 1.

"*Who is ignorant that my father was slain by them, whom your emissaries suborned, through hope of a great sum of money?* For ye wage impious wars; and, though in open hostility yourselves, ye proscribe the heads of your enemies. *Even you yourself, Darius, the king of so great a host, wished to bribe an assassin against me, for a thousand talents!* I therefore only repel, not wage war: and the gods themselves maintain the better cause, since I have reduced a great part of *Asia*, and have conquered yourself in battle, [at *Issus.*]"

The haughty and high-minded *Alexander* was not likely to have urged the charge of the assassination of his father, Philip, against the Persians, who bribed the conspirators, without strong grounds. And this may tend to acquit *Alexander* himself, and his mother

goas, who then governed the Persian empire, would not have scrupled this mode of removing a formidable foe, especially after he had been elected captain general of the *Grecian* states shortly before, for the purpose of invading *Persia*. *Codomannus* himself did not scruple to proscribe *Alexander*, and set a price upon his head, of ten thousand talents; with which *Alexander* also openly reproached him by letter. The assassin employed was *Alexander*, son of *Æropus*, commander of the *Thessalian* cavalry. But the plot was discovered by the vigilance of *Parmenio*, as we learn from *Arrian*.

SCRIPTURE informs us, that *Darius* was the first aggressor in the war that ensued: that "he was *far richer* than his three predecessors; and in his strength, through his *riches*, he shall stir up the whole [realm] against the realm of *Græcia*." Dan. xi. 2.

Alexander, in his letter, complained of the underhand aggressions of *Darius*, and charged him with sending *improper letters* (γραμματα ουκ επιτηδεια) "through all parts of *Greece*, to excite them to make war on him; and with sending *money* to the *Lacedæmonians*, and some others, to corrupt his friends, and break the peace." Arrian, B. II. § 14. Nor did *Darius* confine himself to such underhand measures: he raised a powerful army, collected a great fleet, and engaged the ablest officers to command both, of whom *Memnon*, the *Rhodian*, was the most approved for valour, skill, and fidelity.

ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF ASIA.

This extraordinary prince, the subject of PROPHECY, ascended the throne of *Macedon* B.C. 335, when he was only twenty years old. With great spirit and activity, he immediately quelled the various insurrections that broke out upon his father's death. He defeated the *Illyrians*, and independant tribes of *Thrace;* crossed the *Danube*, upon stuffed hides, and

Olympia, of being privy to the assassination, and of screening the assassins; a charge insinuated against them, by *Justin*, B. IX. ch. 7; who omits no opportunity of setting the character of *Alexander* in an unfavourable light. However impetuous, and sometimes outrageously cruel, *Alexander* might be, yet cool malignity, and deliberate treachery, do not belong to his character, which certainly was distinguished (as *Plutarch* observes, and by the *Persians* themselves) for μεγαλοπραγμοσυνη, "*lofty enterprising genius.*"

awed the *Triballi* and *Celtæ;* he quelled a rebellion in *Greece*, by the destruction of *Thebes*, and sale of the captive *Thebans*, only fourteen days after he received the account of it, on the borders of *Illyria*. He afterwards assembled his army at *Dios*, in *Macedonia*, where he exhibited games and sacrifices, in all the pomp of *Grecian* superstition.

Here he had that remarkable dream, or vision, in which, as he related himself, " while he was considering how to subdue *Asia, a person, in the dress of the Jewish high-priest, appeared to him, and encouraged him not to delay, but pass over with confidence; for that* HE HIMSELF *would lead his army, and give him the Persian empire.*" *Joseph. Antiq.* XI. 8, 4.

The credibility of this vision has been questioned; because it is not noticed by any *Heathen* historians, but by a *Jewish*, only. Their silence, however, is not sufficient to invalidate his positive testimony, for reasons assigned in Vol. II. p. 532—534, of this work.

A very remarkable circumstance is recorded by *Plutarch*, as happening on the day of his birth, which was the sixth of *Hecatombæon*, in the first year of the 106th Olympiad; or July 1, B.C. 356. The temple of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*, was maliciously burnt, that same day, by *Erostratus*. But all the *Magi* who were then at *Ephesus*, looked upon the fire as a *sign*, which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran through the city, beating their faces, and crying, "*This day hath brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia!*"

This testimony of the *Heathen* historian may tend to corroborate the foregoing, of the *Jewish*. The *Magi*, or *Persian* Priesthood, must have been well acquainted with the prophecies of their venerable Archimagus, *Daniel;* especially those which predicted the downfall of the *Persian* empire, by the *Macedonian*, under the significant emblems of the *Ram* and *Goat;* and even *Cyrus*, in his signal epitaph at *Pasagardæ*, had intimated the certainty of it. Is it then improbable, that when *Philip*, of *Macedon*, was likely to reduce all *Greece* under his dominion; and when that year, in particular, was marked by a *comet*, which appeared for seventy nights together, (usually considered to portend the birth of an *illustrious prince*, from the days of their ancestor, *Balaam*, Numb. xxiv. 17.) they might, from the combination of all these circumstances, collect, that the son of *Philip* (the pregnancy of whose wife could not be unknown)

was that predicted "*scourge and destroyer of Asia?*" And *Alexander*, who would naturally have heard the circumstance, might have considered his dream as further encouragement, and an invitation from GOD. The Heathens had great faith in *dreams*, from the earliest ages of the world. Οναρ εκ Διος εστιν. "*The dream proceeds from* JOVE," was much older than *Homer's* days. (See the remarks in this volume, p. 63.) And we may here repeat, that the Apostle *Paul*, and his company, were invited to cross the *Hellespont*, to the *spiritual* conquest of *Europe*, by the vision at *Troas*, of a man in a *Macedonian* dress. Acts xvi. 9—11. See Vol. III. p. 518, of this work.

Early in spring therefore, B.C. 334, *Alexander* marched, in twenty days, to *Sestos*, on the *Hellespont*, with an army of little more than 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse: and had them conveyed to *Asia* by his fleet of 160 gallies, besides transports; without any opposition from the enemy to their landing. He took with him only seventy talents, or a month's pay for his army; and before he left home, he disposed of almost the whole of the revenues of the crown, among his friends. When *Perdiccas* asked him, "*What he left for himself?*" he answered, "*Hope.*" Such was the spirit with which *Alexander* invaded *Asia*.

As soon as he landed, he went to *Troy*, and sacrificed to *Pallas*, the patroness of the *Greeks*, and offered libations at the tomb of the hero *Achilles*, whom he proposed for his model.

BATTLE OF GRANICUS.

At the river *Granicus*, in the *lesser Phrygia*, the tardy governors of the western provinces assembled an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, to oppose his passage; contrary to the judicious advice of that experienced general, *Memnon*, the *Rhodian*, not to risk a pitched battle with *Alexander's* veterans, but to waste the country before him; and to make a powerful diversion, by carrying the war into *Macedonia* and *Greece*. But this precautionary plan was rejected with scorn, as "*unworthy of the magnanimity of Persians* *." The consequence was, a total defeat of their army, chiefly by the desperate exertions of *Alexander* himself, and the prowess of his *Thessalian* cavalry, routing the *Persian*, so famous, though four times as numerous;

* Αναξιον της Περσων μεγαλοψυχιας. Diodor. B. XVII. ch. 2.

to the utter astonishment of the *Greek* mercenaries, who composed the flower of the *Asiatic* infantry, and stood, petrified with dismay, in their original position, till they were surrounded on all sides, and cut to pieces, by the *Macedonians;* except two thousand, who surrendered, and were condemned to work in the *Thracian* mines, for bearing arms against their country. The conqueror, by this severity, aiming to deter the *Asiatic* Greeks from entering into the enemy's service. *Arrian* relates, what is scarcely credible, that in such a severe engagement, *Alexander* lost only 85 of the cavalry, and 30 of the light infantry, who rendered most important service in the engagement, intermixed with his squadrons, against the enemy's cavalry.

This signal victory put *Alexander* in possession of *Sardis*, the capital of *Asia Minor;* and all the cities around surrendered to him, except *Halicarnassus* and *Miletus*, which he took by storm. The former, however, commanded by *Memnon*, the Rhodian, made an obstinate defence; and when taken was demolished, that it might never again serve for a retreat to his enemies.

To conciliate the *Asiatic* colonies from *Greece*, he declared them free, and exempt from tribute; to conciliate his soldiers, he dismissed such as had married that year, and sent them home to their wives, with orders to return again next spring. A wise *military* law prescribed by *Moses*, Deut. xxiv. 5, which his tutor, *Aristotle*, probably learned from the *Jews;* of whom he makes honourable mention; and speaks highly of the learning of a *Jew*, whom he met in *Asia*, as master of the Greek language, and who conversed with the philosopher on literary topics, and *communicated rather more information than he received.* From him, *Aristotle* might have learned this singular law, and communicated it to his royal pupil. See *Josephus* contr. *Apion.* Lib. I. p. 1347. Hudson.

He then adopted the bold and decisive expedient of discharging and dismissing his *fleet;* which was too small to cope with the *Persian*, collected from *Phœnicia* and *Egypt;* and yet too large for his small treasury to maintain: declaring to his lieutenants, that *by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea;* since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy, and tend to disable them from invading *Greece* in his absence; and also contribute to hold open his communication with his own domi-

nions, and introduce fresh supplies from thence; when he should find it expedient, after subduing the *maritime* provinces, to advance into the heart of *Asia*. The profound wisdom and policy of all these measures, was worthy indeed of the son of *Philip*, and the pupil of *Aristotle* *.

Next spring, B.C. 333, *Alexander* marched into *Phrygia*, from *Perga* and *Pamphylia*, where he appointed a rendezvous of his detached troops in *Asia*, and new levies from *Greece*. There he either cut, or untied, the famous *Gordian* knot; a feat, which an Oracle had reserved for the conqueror of *Asia*. *Arrian*, *Curtius*. He afterwards reduced the provinces of *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*; and appointed governors in them, as if already part of his dominions.

Most providentially for him, died *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, while consulting his master's true interests, and successfully employed in reducing the *Greek* islands, preparatory to carrying the war into *Macedonia*. His death at this critical juncture, was soon followed by that of *Charidemus*, the Athenian exile, and the ablest officer now left, after the destructive battle of *Granicus*, in the *Persian* service, who had served with great reputation under *Philip* of *Macedon*. In a privy council of the *Persians*, when it was proposed that the king should head his army, and march to meet *Alexander*, *Charidemus* strongly opposed the measure; saying, that the king ought not to risque

* How early anxious *Philip* was about the education of *Alexander*, we may judge from his letter to *Aristotle*, the philosopher, on his birth, preserved by *Aulus Gellius*. It is indeed a finished model of simple elegance and politeness, imperatorial brevity, and dignified elevation of sentiment.

Φιλιππος Αριστοτελει χαιρειν.

Ισθι μοι γεγονοτα υἱον· πολλην ουν τοις θεοις χαριν εχω, ουχ οὑτως επι τῳ γενεσει του παιδος, ὡς επι τῳ κατα την σην ἡλικιαν αυτον γεγονεναι· ελπιζω γαρ αυτον ὑπο σου τραφεντα και παιδευθεντα, ἀξιον εσεσθαι και ἡμων, και της των πραγματων διαδοχης.

PHILIP *to* ARISTOTLE, *greeting.*

"*Know, that to me a son is born. On this account, I am highly thankful to* THE GODS; *not so much for the birth of the boy, as for his being born* DURING YOUR TIME: *for I hope, that by his being bred and educated* UNDER YOU, *he will become* WORTHY OF US, *and* WORTHY *also* TO SUCCEED IN THE MANAGEMENT OF AFFAIRS." *A. Gell.* ix. 3.

From such an attentive father, and consummate tutor, aiding and improving great and uncommon talents in the pupil, what might not be expected? The accomplishments of *Alexander's* mind, *Plutarch* considers as fully adequate, with insignificant forces, to the conquest of *Persia*.—"He crossed the *Hellespont*, to invade the *Persians*, with better resources from his preceptor *Aristotle*, than from his father *Philip*." *De Alexand. Fort.* p. 327. Edit. *Xyland.*

his sacred person; and he pledged himself, that with the command of 100,000 men, of whom a third part should be *Greek* mercenaries, he would force *Alexander* to abandon his enterprize. *Darius* was disposed to accede; but his ministers rejected this salutary course, through envy, insinuating that *Charidemus* meant to betray their cause to the *Macedonians*. Fired at this insult, he called them cowards, in the king's presence; for which, he was ordered away to instant execution, exclaiming as he went, that *the king would shortly repent of his injustice, and be punished with the loss of his kingdom!* which was soon verified by the event. *Diodor. Curtius.*

Having now no officers qualified to replace *Memnon* and *Charidemus*, *Darius* took himself the command of his army, and marched from *Susa*, with 600,000 men. Before his departure, he had an ominous dream. He thought he saw the *Macedonian* phalanx all on fire; that *Alexander* waited on him, as a servant, and in his former *astanda* dress; after which, Alexander went into the temple of *Belus*, and suddenly disappeared. "By this," says *Plutarch*, "heaven seemed to signify, that honour and prosperity would attend the *Macedonians;* and that *Alexander* would become master of *Asia*, like *Darius*, who, from a simple courier, became king; but that he would, nevertheless, *soon die*, and *leave his glory behind him:*"—as he actually did, at *Babylon*, after attempting to rebuild the temple of *Belus*.

This interpretation of the *heathen* philosopher, most remarkably accords with SACRED PROPHECY, Dan. viii. 5—8, xi. 3, 4. It might probably have been disclosed by the *Magi*, who must have understood these prophecies, though they dared not unfold them to the king; basely deviating from the courageous frankness of their venerable *Archimagus Daniel*, to the haughty *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the sacrilegious *Belshazzar;* who proved most clearly thereby, that he was indeed animated by "*the spirit of the* HOLY GODS;" as confessed even by the awe-struck despots themselves, Dan. iv. 8, v. 11—14—29.

BATTLE OF ISSUS.

Alexander having been confined in *Cilicia* by a dangerous fit of illness, from which he was recovered by the skill of his physician *Philip*, and his own magnanimity, (in drinking the potion

prescribed, after he had received a letter, intimating, that he was bribed by *Darius* to poison him, while *Philip* was actually reading it, without betraying any emotion,) *Darius* imagined that *Alexander's* tardiness to meet him was the effect of fear. He then wrote him an arrogant letter, styling himself "*king*," without giving that title to *Alexander*, who returned his arrogance with interest, as we observed before, from *Arrian* and *Curtius;* and fearing that *Alexander* would fly from him to avoid an action, he hastened toward *Cilicia*, while *Alexander* hasted toward *Syria* to meet him. They missed each other in the night, and finding their mistake, both turned back, *Alexander* rejoicing to catch his enemy entangled in the *Syrian* straits, in a position impracticable for his cavalry; and *Darius*, too late convinced of his error, in not waiting for *Alexander's* small army, in the open and spacious plains of *Damascus;* as he had been faithfully advised by *Amyntas*, the Grecian exile. The error proved fatal. *Alexander* attacked the *Persians* with great fury, and, according to *Arrian*, slew 110,000; *Diodorus* says 130,000; while *Darius* himself, with difficulty, escaped by flight. *Alexander* pursued him ineffectually, with a chosen band, for 200 furlongs, and then returned to the camp at midnight, and refreshed himself in the baths prepared for *Darius*, whose tent was taken, with his mother, wife, and children, and an immense booty, and reserved for the conqueror, during the plunder of the enemy's camp.

Immediately after this battle, *Alexander* sent to *Damascus*, and took all the heavy baggage, equipage, and treasures of the *Persian* army, with their wives and children, which had been left behind, in the disastrous expedition to the *Syrian* Straits.

As soon as *Darius* reached *Babylon*, in his flight, he wrote to *Alexander*, complaining of his aggression, offering to ransom his wife, mother, and children, and to treat about peace. *Alexander* answered him in the haughtiest style, concluding with this sentence: "When you write next to me, remember that you write to the *king of Asia*. Treat me no more as your equal, but as *lord* of all you possess. If you dispute my title, prepare to do so in another general engagement; but attempt not to fly, for wherever you go, I am determined to follow you."

SIEGE OF TYRE.

For the present, however, he did not follow *Darius*; but, steady to his original plan, of reducing all the *maritime* provinces first, he marched in the spring of B.C. 332, into *Phœnicia*. All the states of that country, and the island of *Cyprus*, submitted, except insular *Tyre*, which at length, after a most obstinate siege of seven months, having made a causeway from the main to the island, he took by assault, with the loss of 400 men, slew 8000 of the *Tyrians*, crucified 2000 more, and sold 30,000 captives; to strike terror into the neighbouring states by such exemplary severity. His enlarged views of commercial policy, however, induced him to repeople *Tyre*, from the adjacent countries; improved in its harbours or basons, by the very isthmus which he had made, this maritime city soon recovered its former greatness. See a more particular account of the two *Tyres*, and the *prophecies* concerning them, Vol. I. p. 443—446, of this work.

During the siege, *Darius* wrote again to *Alexander*, offering to cede to him all the provinces west of the *Euphrates*; to give *Alexander* his daughter in marriage, as a friend and ally; and 10,000 talents for the ransom of his family. When these proposals were communicated to his privy council, *Parmenio* said, "I would accept them, were I *Alexander*;" "And I too," replied he, "were I *Parmenio*." But since he was *Alexander*, he said, he would send an answer worthy of *Alexander*:—"That he wanted no money from *Darius*, nor would accept part of the country; since he was lord of the whole; that if he chose, he could marry the daughter of *Darius*, even without his consent; and he required *Darius* to come to him, if he wished to make *Alexander* his friend." Arrian, Lib. II. § 25.

Despairing of any accommodation with such a haughty foe, *Darius* continued his preparations for war, while *Alexander* proceeded on his systematic plan, to invade *Egypt*.

In his way, he turned aside from *Gaza*, which he reduced, to chastise *Jerusalem*, for refusing him supplies during the siege of *Tyre*, and for rejecting his friendship, and adhering to *Darius*.

To deprecate his threatened vengeance, *Jaddua*, the high-priest, in his pontifical robes, attended by the priests in their

vestments, and a multitude of the citizens, clad in white, came out to meet him, in solemn procession, as far as *Sapha*, an eminence near the city. *Alexander*, when he saw the high-priest, instantly advanced alone to meet him, adored the sacred name inscribed on his mitre, and saluted him first. He accounted for this extraordinary procedure, as owing to his dream at *Dios*; noticed before. And he was probably shewn, by the high-priest, the signal prophecies of *Daniel* respecting himself, as the conqueror of *Persia*. See Vol. II. p. 532—534, of this work.

The strongest test of the reality of this mysterious procedure, may be drawn from his conduct. Nothing surely, but the most determined and irresistible *enthusiasm*, could have influenced his measures; furnishing a positive *assurance* of victory and ultimate success, which astonished his oldest captains, and rendered him altogether fearless of dangers in any shape. With a rapidity so admirably described in Prophecy, as "the *leopard* with two pair of wings," and the fierce "*goat* from the west, who *touched not the ground* for swiftness," he flew to undoubted conquest, in every quarter; no obstacles could arrest his speed; and not all his rashness and temerity could work his destruction, acting under the guidance and support of that ALMIGHTY POWER, which, as in the parallel case of *Cyrus*, "*subdued nations before him, and ungirded the loins of kings, did gave him the hidden treasures, stored in secret places.*"

That *Alexander*, indeed, firmly believed in a particular providence, we learn from *Plutarch's* valuable life of him. He held, with the *Egyptian* philosopher, that "*all men are governed by* GOD: *for in every thing the ruling and governing power is* DIVINE:" and he was persuaded, that "GOD *is the common father of all men, more especially of the good and virtuous.*" And *Plutarch* himself relates, "the *divine assistances*" he particularly experienced in his perilous journey across the deserts of *Libya*, to the temple of *Jove Amun**; such as copious and constant *rains*, to prevent thirst, cool the air, and lay the shifting stands; and what appears ridiculous enough, a flock of *crows* sent to pilot him in the right track, where the marks were defaced!

The contrary ominous persuasion of his own downfall, de-

* Αμουν, as written by *Herodotus*, in Hebrew signifies "*truth*," as observed before.

pressed and sunk *Darius*. He seems to have been infatuated in his counsels, and pusillanimous in his conduct; totally unlike the stout *astanda*, who slew the *Cadusian* champion! His mournful reflections on receiving the account of his wife's death in the camp of *Alexander*, and the respectful treatment of his family there, concluded thus:—*If the time determined by fate, and the divine wrath, or brought about by the vicissitude of things, is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall; may none but Alexander sit upon the throne of Cyrus!*—Here is a striking allusion to the epitaph of *Cyrus*, of which *Darius* could not be ignorant. There certainly was more *piety*, though mixed with *superstition*, in the *heathen* world of old, than we *Christians* of the present day are disposed to admit.

When *Alexander* reached *Egypt*, he found no opposition. On the contrary, the natives hailed him as their deliverer from *Persian* bondage.

From *Egypt*, he proceeded to visit the temple of *Amun*. *Plutarch* attributes it to political motives: "*Alexander*," says he, "neither believed, nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, as the son of *Amun*; he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection, among the *Barbarians*; but he was extremely cautious of avowing such pretensions to the *Greeks*." When wounded once, with an arrow, which put him to great pain in extracting, he said, "My friends, this is *blood*, and not the *ichor* shed by the blest immortal Gods!" His mother *Olympias*, indeed, openly ridiculed his imposition on the vulgar: "Will *Alexander*," says she, "never cease embroiling me with *Juno!*"

After his return from *Libya*, *Alexander* wintered at *Memphis*, and appointed separate and independent governors of the several garrisoned towns; in order to prevent the mischief so often experienced by the *Persians*, by entrusting too much power in a single hand. He wisely separated the *financial*, *judicial*, and *military* functions, to prevent the oppression of the people by their union; and his enlightened and comprehensive policy chose the site of a new city, *Alexandria*, to be the common emporium of commerce for the eastern and western worlds, by its two adjacent seas, the *Red Sea*, and the *Mediterranean*.

BATTLE OF ARBELA.

After he had settled *Egypt*, he marched next spring, B.C. 331, to *Tyre*, where he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces. Thence he proceeded to seek *Darius*, across the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and found him encamped in a plain open country, at the village of *Gaugamela*, near *Arbela*, in *Assyria*, with an army of a million of men, awaiting the result of a general engagement; which was fought in the month *Boedromion*, on the first of October, B.C. 331. The day is critically determined by a *lunar* eclipse, recorded by *Plutarch*, as happening eleven days before the battle; which, by astronomical calculation, fell on Sept. 20, that year. See *Strauchius*, p. 283.

This decisive victory decided the contest, and gave *Alexander* * possession of the throne of *Persia*, whose reign however is dated by *Ptolomy*, from the beginning of the current year, Nov. 14, B.C. 332, which ended about six weeks after the battle. See the explanation of his *Canon*, Vol. I. p. 171 of this work.

SECTION VIII.

MACEDO-GRÆCIAN DYNASTY. 102 YEARS.

	Y.		B.C.
1. *Alexander* the Great	8	(332)	331
2. *Philip Aridæus*	6	(324)	323
First Partition of the Provinces			323
3. *Alexander Ægus*	5		317
4. *Seleucus Nicator*	32		312
Second Partition of the Provinces			310
Final Partition of the Empire			301
5. *Antiochus Soter*	19		280
6. *Antiochus Theos*	15		261
7. *Seleucus Callinicus*	17		246
Parthian dynasty	102		229

* The composure of *Alexander* on the night before the battle of *Arbela*, is remarkable: he slept so soundly, that his officers were obliged to wake him, just before the engagement began. He awoke indeed with full assurance of victory, from the excellence of his dispositions, and the superiority of his troops inured to conquest. See Vol. III. p. 200, note, of this work, for an account of the particulars.

This period includes the reigns of *Alexander* and his successors in the east, until the foundation of the *Parthian* empire by *Arsaces*. From which time, the *Macedo-Græcian* kings of *Syria*, lost their dominion in *Persia*, and the more eastern provinces. The dates are taken from *Ptolomy's* Canon, and from the table of the kings of *Syria*, with a slight correction. See Vol. I. p. 164 and 175 of this work.

The Canon, as observed before, dated the accession of *Alexander* to the throne of *Persia*, B.C. 332, which in reality commenced from the battle of *Arbela*, Oct. 1. B.C. 331. In like manner it dated his death, in the *Nabonassarean* year, 425, which ended Nov. 12. B.C. 324. Whereas he died, according to *Plutarch*, on the 28th of the Macedonian month *Desius*, corresponding to the 23d of May, "and all acknowledge," says *Josephus*, "that *Alexander* died in the 114th Olympiad," which began about the summer solstice, B.C. 324, and ended with the succeeding, B.C. 323 *, about a month after his death. *Joseph.* Contr. Apion. l. § 22. p. 1347. Hudson. *Seleucus Callinicus* reigned 21 years; but he was taken prisoner by *Arsaces*, in the 17th year of his reign. B.C. 229. he died B.C. 225.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Darius fled shamefully among the foremost, from *Arbela*, over the *Armenian* mountains, into *Media*, intending to elude pursuit and raise fresh levies in that warlike country, and left *Alexander* in possession of the central provinces of *Babylonia*, *Susiana*, and *Persia* proper, and all his immense treasures.

RICHES OF DARIUS.

The treasures which *Alexander* found in these provinces, and afterwards in *Media*, were prodigious. At *Susa* he found upwards of 40,000 talents of gold and silver bullion, beside 9000 talents of coined money in *darics*, according to *Diodorus*; which *Curtius* estimates roundly at 50,000 talents. He found there also precious goods and furniture, especially five thousand

* Not adverting to the summer solstitial commencement of the Olympiad years, and the correspondence of the *Macedonian* months, Dr. *Gillies*, in his history of *Greece*, Vol. III. p. 479, dates his "death Olymp. 114, 1. B.C. 324. May 28." and therefore antedates his *Bactrian* and *Indian* expeditions a year too early.

talents weight* of the finest purple, which had lost nothing of its original freshness and lustre, though laid up a hundred and ninety years before, in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. The value of this article was immense †.

At *Babylon*, the treasures laid up from the days of *Nebuchadnezzar* (if not removed by the *Persian* kings) must have been great, though not specified by the historians.

At *Persepolis*, the treasures in the citadel alone, which *Alexander* reserved for himself, when he wantonly set fire to the palace, and cruelly gave up the city to be sacked by his soldiers, amounted to 190,000 talents. Among these were probably found the treasures of *Crœsus*, transported thither by *Cyrus*. All these treasures, and a vast quantity of precious goods and rich furniture, and equipage, *Alexander* transported from thence to *Susa*, which loaded no less than ten thousand pair of mules, and five thousand camels, according to *Plutarch*. At *Ecbatana*, where *Cambyses* deposited his treasures, if we may credit *Diodorus*, the amount was not less than 180,000 talents.

The plunder which *Alexander* found also in the *Persian* camps at *Issus*, and *Damascus*, and *Arbela*, and afterwards from the assassins of *Darius*, was very great, at least amounting to 25,000 talents more. The sums here specified, amounted to 445,000 talents; which rated at the *Babylonish* talent, 226*l.* would give 90,570,000*l.*; and if to this, we add the untold treasures at *Babylon*, and the precious furniture at *Susa* and *Persepolis*, amounting to as much more at least, the whole value will not probably be over-rated at 200 millions sterling ‡. Besides this amazing booty, *Alexander* came into possession of a fixed yearly revenue of 300,000 talents § or near 68 millions, according to *Justin*. How accurately therefore did the SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH, delivered in the first year of *Darius the Mede*, B.C. 553, above 220 years before the catastrophe, describe *Darius*

* The common *Attic* talent, in Troy weight was 56lb. 11 oz.

† *Pliny* states, that a pound weight of the double-dyed *Tyrian* purple, sold at *Rome*, in the days of *Augustus*, for a hundred crowns. At this rate, the value of a talent weight would have been 5600 crowns, or 1400*l.* sterling; and 5000 talents, seven millions sterling.

‡ At *Alexander's* death there were found in the royal treasury only 50,000 talents; he had expended or lavished the rest.

§ 300,000 talents was a prodigious rise from the taxation of *Darius Hystaspes*, only 14,560 talents. This proves that the *Persian* government of the provinces was less oppressive than the *Macedonian*.

Codomannus, the last king, as "*far richer* than *all*" his predecessors, not only from the days of *Nothus*, but even from the days of *Cyrus*, Dan. xi. 2. See the riches of *Cyrus*, p. 102. of this volume.

Steady to the original plans of *permanent* conquest, and establishment of his new empire, *Alexander* pursued *Darius* into *Media* without delay, to prevent him from raising a fresh army among the warlike *Medes*, *Parthians*, and *Bactrians*, before the terror of the late victory should subside. He deposited his treasures at *Ecbatana*, under protection of a strong garrison, and dismissed his *Thessalian* cavalry, and other auxiliary troops, with a gratuity of 2,000 talents, beside their full pay. With a chosen troop he then marched in quest of *Darius*, next spring, B.C. 330, to deliver him, if possible, from the conspirators, who had basely seized his person, with astonishing speed, 3,300 furlongs in eleven days without intermission, about forty miles a day, and at length overtook that unhappy prince just after he expired of the wounds he received from the conspirators, who left him behind to facilitate their own escape. But this did not avail them. He pursued the murderers through the barbarian regions of the *Arii* and *Zarangæi*, 600 furlongs, in two days; and punished them with a cruelty unworthy of the *Grecian* character, though they richly deserved death.

NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

Bactria he reduced, with the mountainous provinces contiguous thereto, in the campaign of B.C. 329, with no small labour and difficulty; thence he proceeded to *Sogdiana*, where, in the next campaign, B.C. 328, he took the impregnable fortress, as it was considered, in which *Oxyartes*, the *Bactrian*, his chief opponent, had placed his wife and children, and well stored with provisions, as it were, in perfect security. When *Alexander* summoned the garrison to surrender, they in derision asked if he was provided with *winged soldiers?* for they feared no others. This insolence piqued his pride, and he resolved to reduce the place, at whatever loss; probably to impress the terror of his arms on these remote and warlike provinces, by unexampled and almost incredible exploits of combined skill and determined bravery.

Alexander, therefore, proposed a reward of twelve talents

(2,712*l.*) to the first man that should scale the rock, and so on in proportion to the last of ten, whom he promised 300 darics, (375*l.*) He then chose three hundred men out of the volunteers, who were best accustomed to the business of scaling in sieges, and furnished them with iron tent pins and strong hempen ropes, that by driving the former into the congealed snow, or into the ground where free from snow, and fastening the ropes thereto, they might climb up the steepest side of the rock, and the most unguarded by the enemy. This they attempted at night, and after the loss of thirty of their party, who were buried in the snow, and could not be found, the rest with great difficulty reached the summit about morning, and waved their handkerchiefs, the appointed signal of their success. *Alexander* then sent a herald to summon the besieged to surrender without delay to the *winged soldiers*, whom he pointed out to them on the top of the rock. The enemy, astonished at the unexpected sight, and thinking that the party were more numerous and better armed than they really were, surrendered themselves, so much were they terrified at the sight of those few *Macedonians*. This curious anecdote, told by *Arrian*, B. IV. § 18, 19, admirably corresponds to the prophetic symbol of the "*Leopard* with two pair of wings," who was foretold to invade *Asia*, Dan. vii. 6. To attach *Oxyartes* to his interests, he married his fair daughter *Roxana*, who was among the captives, and the most beautiful woman in *Asia*, next to the wife of *Darius*.

This advantageous alliance enabled him in the course of the following campaign, B.C. 327, to reduce another fortress of *Chorienes* in *Bactria*, still stronger, where a powerful tribe, the *Parætacæ*, had shut themselves up, well supplied with provisions and ammunition to stand a siege; and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, or gulph, which prevented his approach to the place. Over this, with great labour and difficulty, his army made a bridge of piles, covered with hurdles and earth, while the barbarians ridiculed the attempt, until to their great astonishment he passed his army over the bridge, and brought them close to the rock, and attacked them with missive weapons; while his troops were sheltered by mats from theirs. By the advice of *Oxyartes*, who was sent in to them at their own desire, they surrendered the place; which *Alexander* wisely restored to *Chorienes*, and entrusted him with the government of the whole province. In return for his kindness *Chorienes* hos-

pitably entertained *Alexander's* whole army for two months with corn, wine, and salted flesh, out of his stores, during the winter, when much snow had fallen during the siege. Arrian, Lib. IV. § 21.

These three perilous campaigns among the mountainous regions of *Taurus*, and its continuation eastwards, from the *Caspian* sea to the rivers *Oxus* or *Gihon* *, and *Jaxartes* or *Sirr*, which both run, at present, into the sea of *Aral*, were wisely planned, and successfully executed. The countries of *Turan*, or eastern *Scythia*, had long resisted, and now were only nominally dependent upon *Iran*, or the *Persian* empire. It was absolutely necessary therefore to reduce these warlike tribes before he set out on his *Indian* expedition, both for the security of his recent conquests westward, and also to recruit his army with new levies in these regions, to enable him to encounter the powerful nations eastward with hardier troops.

His conquests however in *Media*, *Bactria*, &c. were tarnished by some acts of cruelty and ungovernable rage. He put to death *Philotas*, the son of *Parmenio*, and *Callisthenes* the philosopher, upon the charge of conspiring his death with *Hermolaus* and the royal Macedonian guard. The conspiracy was discovered by *Ptolemy Lagus*, his natural brother; and the conspirators were stoned to death in the country of the *Arii*. Old *Parmenio* himself, the early companion of his fortunes, was sacrificed in *Media*, after his son's death, if not to his criminality, at least to *Alexander's* security. *Arrian*, B. IV. § 13, 14; *Curtius*, B. VI. § 7, &c. And in a fit of drunkenness he pierced with a spear, snatched from one of the guards, his old friend *Clitus*, who saved his life at the *Granicus*, for repeatedly insulting him, and deriding his pretensions to divinity. This last act was totally inexcusable, for though *Arrian* justly blames *Clitus* for his insolence, he censures *Alexander* for suffering himself to be overcome by anger and ebriety. But he instantly repented, and would have slain himself with the same weapon, if he had not been prevented by his friends; and his remorse was so excessive, that he continued for three days without taking any nourishment. *Arrian*, B. IV. § 9.

* The river *Oxus* formerly ran into the *Caspian*. Major *Rennel* marks in his map of the *thirty satrapies*, that its course was changed A.D. 1640.

INDIAN EXPEDITION.

In the spring, B.C. 326, *Alexander* set out on his *Indian* expedition: in ten days he crossed the mountainous region of *Paropamisus*, and took the road to *Candahar*, the same route which was afterwards followed by *Tamerlane* and *Nadir Schah*, in their invasions of *India*, and which is still frequented by the caravans from *Agra* and *Ispahan*, and the most convenient in order to cross the great rivers of the *Penjab*, nearer their sources, and to avoid the desarts that lie to the southward.

By a stroke of the most refined and daring policy, seeing his army much encumbered with baggage, on the very morning before they set out, he set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends, and then ordered all the baggage of his army to be destroyed likewise. Struck with the magnanimity and prudence of this prompt measure, few were displeased, and many received it with acclamations of applause. This extraordinary proof of his ascendancy over his troops inspired him with fresh confidence in the success of the expedition.

In sixteen days he marched from the *Oxus* to the *Indus*, and required hostages and cavalry from the tribes through whose territories he passed. He then crossed that great river, probably on a bridge of boats, at *Taxila*, and found a ready submission from *Taxilus*, the king, whose dominions he restored and augmented, and who in return furnished him with seven thousand *Indian* horse.

Major *Rennel*, in his Memoir of the *Map of Hindostan*, supposes that *Taxila* was the site of modern *Attock*, the pass from *Cabul* and *Candahar* to *India*.

The army crossed the *Indus* about the summer solstice, a season when the rivers are swollen by the melted snows from *Paropamisus* and *Cashmire*. Trusting to this, *Porus*, a warlike prince, resolved to dispute the passage of the *Hydaspes*, or *Shantron*, with a great army of infantry, cavalry, and elephants. But *Alexander* out-generalled him, and crossed the river by stratagem, on skins and boats, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. When *Porus* was brought into his presence, *Alexander* asked *what he wished to have done for him?* He an-

swered, "*To treat me royally* *, *Alexander.*" Pleased at the request, *Alexander* replied, "*That I will do for my own sake, Porus; but ask what you please for your sake.*" *Porus* however declined, saying that *every thing was included in the foregoing request.* *Alexander* was still more pleased at this second answer, reposing the utmost confidence in his *royal clemency.* *Porus* knew his conqueror well. *Alexander* then enlarged his dominions, and when he left *India* appointed *Porus* his viceroy, and placed under his jurisdiction all his conquests in that quarter, amounting to seven nations and above ten thousand cities. His great penetration in judging of characters appeared in this instance by the event. *Porus* never betrayed his trust. He was steady in his attachment to *Alexander*, and even his successors; notwithstanding all their ambitious contests for sovereignty with each other, he never revolted.

Alexander founded two cities on the banks of the *Hydaspes; Nicæa*, on the spot where he obtained the victory over *Porus*, probably where the fortress of *Rotas* now stands; and *Bucephalia*, on the western bank, where his old horse *Bucephalus* died. In his progress through the *Penjab*, that rich country watered by the "five" rivers that compose the *Indus*, he next crossed the *Acesines* or *Jenaub;* then the *Hydraotis* or *Ravee;* and came at last to the most eastern, the *Hyphasis*, *Beyah*, or *Setlege*, with little opposition from the native powers, who in general followed the examples of *Taxilus* and *Porus*, rather than contend with a conqueror, whose valour was only exceeded by his clemency to those who submitted.

Here he learned that the country beyond, reaching to the *Ganges*, was rich and fertile; the inhabitants industrious and brave, living in peace and plenty, and having a great number of elephants, superior in size and strength to the western. *Alexander*, therefore, wished to cross that greatest river of the old world †, where it was said to be thirty-two furlongs, or four miles in breadth, and a hundred fathom in depth; according to *Plutarch.* But when the *Macedonians* heard that the opposite

* Ὅτι, βασιλικως, μοι χρησθαι, ω Αλεξανδρε. The word βασιλικως is usually referred to *Porus*, but in reality it refers to *Alexander*, as is evident from *Alexander's* explanatory answer.

† The *Ganges*, with its other branch the *Barampooter*, compose the largest river in *Asia;* the *Indus* is the next; then the *Nile*, in *Africa;* and the *Ister* or *Danube* in *Europe.* The *Maranon*, or river of the *Amazons*, in *South America*, is the largest in the world.

shore was lined with a formidable host of eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, and six thousand war elephants, they refused to accompany him. They were deaf to his tempting offers of wealth, dominion and glory, in the fertile plains of *Hindustan*, and unmoved by his remonstrances, soothings and sullenness, for several days together. At length, the entreaties of his friends, and the cries and tears of the soldiers, forced him to relinquish the ambitious measure, and return. And his army thanked him, that *he who was invincible, should suffer himself to be overcome. Andracottus*, who afterwards reigned there, and had seen *Alexander* in his youth, thought that he might have made himself master of the whole country; so much was the reigning prince despised and detested.

INDIAN BRAHMENS.

There were two descriptions of *Indians*, to whom *Alexander* shewed no mercy, the *Military* casts, and the *Brahmens*. The former, because they hired themselves to the native princes to fight their battles and garrison their towns, and opposed him gallantly; the latter, because they branded with infamy the princes who submitted to him, as traitors to their country, and stirred up the rest to assert their common liberties against this lawless and unprovoked invader. Having, at one time, granted an honourable capitulation to one of these cities, after a brave defence, he massacred the *Mercenaries* on their way home, as if not included among the *citizens*, in order to deter the rest from fighting against him: and he hanged many of the *Brahmens* in the course of the expedition. He once took ten, who were reputed the wisest and ablest of this class, and had done him infinite mischief, by fomenting revolts. To make trial of their skill, he proposed to them the hardest questions, declaring that the man who answered worst, should be executed first, and the rest in order; and he appointed the eldest to be judge.

He asked the first, *Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?* He answered, *The living, for the dead no longer exist.* According to *Strabo*, " the *Indian Brahmens* hold the *present state of life* an *embryo* only; but *death*, a birth unto the *real life*, and *the happy* to the seekers of wisdom*." B. XV.

* Νομιζειν μεν γαρ δη τον ενθαδε βιον ὡς αν ακμην κυομενον ειναι, τον δε Θανατον γενεσιν εις τον οντως βιον, και τον ευδαιμονα τοις φιλοσοφησασι,

He asked the second, *Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?* He answered, *The earth, for the sea is part of it.* This seems paradoxical; for the sea animals are largest.

The third was asked, *Which was the craftiest of all animals? That*, said he, *with which man is not yet acquainted.* Meaning probably *man himself;* according to the oracle, "*know thyself,*" and to Scripture, "*the heart of man is deceitful above all things—who can know it?*"

The fourth, *Why he persuaded Sabbas to revolt? Because*, said he, *I wished him either to live, or die, with honour* *. This was a noble answer, and fully justifies the emendation Καλως, instead of Κακως.

The fifth, *Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?* He answered, *The day, by one day.* The king appearing surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, *abstruse questions must have abstruse answers.* Perhaps, he alluded to "*a day of Brahma,*" the Creator, which in their mysterious philosophy contained a *calpa*, or a thousand *maha yugas*, and a *maha yuga*, 4,320,000 years; equivalent to eternity. A sublime idea, corresponding to Scripture. Ps. xc. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 8. See Vol. I. p. 196 of this work.

The sixth, *What were the best means for a man to make himself loved?* He answered, *If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared.* A pointed rebuke to *Alexander* himself.

The seventh was asked, *How a man might become a god?* He answered, *By doing what is impossible for man to do.* Thus finely exposing the impious pretensions of the conqueror.

The eighth, *Which is strongest, life or death? Life*, said he, *because it bears so many evils.* This was applicable to their own case.

The last question was, *How long is it good for a man to live? So long*, said the philosopher, *as he does not prefer death to life.* This was a noble answer, in the true spirit of the fourth, intimating fortitude and resignation to their fate.

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. *In my opinion*, said the old man, *they have all answered, one worse than another. If this is thy judgment*, said *Alexander*,

* Αλλ' η καλως ζην, η καλως τεθνηκεναι
Τον ευγενη δει. *Sophocl. Ajax*, 480.

thou shalt die first. Not so, replied the sage, *except you chuse to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should suffer first.*

Struck with their ingenuity and subtilty, the king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them, seeking to conciliate by kindness, those whom he could neither confute by argument, nor terrify with threats. He was equally admired by the *Brahmens*. *Calanus* was his intimate friend; and *Mandanis* declared, that the *Macedonian* invader, at the head of a victorious army, was the only adept in wisdom * he had ever known, even by report. *Strabo*, Lib. XV. p. 705.

VOYAGE DOWN THE INDUS.

Having partly collected, and partly built, a fleet of two thousand vessels, on the *Hydaspes*, since the time he first crossed it till his return, he divided his army into three divisions, and embarked himself with one division, and sailed down that river, till its junction with the *Indus*, attended by the two other divisions on land, who marched downwards, along the opposite banks of those rivers, that the army and fleet might mutually support each other, and also more effectually explore the regions on both sides. This expedition began in spring, B.C. 325, and employed several months, having been frequently interrupted by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the *Malli*, at the siege of whose capital, by "*the*

* We learn from *Plutarch*, in his life, that *Alexander* was instructed by his preceptor *Aristotle*, not only in morality and politics, but also in those abstruser branches of science, which were called *acroamatic*, as taught in "private conversation" to a chosen few. Hearing that *Aristotle* had published a treatise thereon, he wrote a letter to him, which strongly marks his *monopolizing* spirit of *knowledge*, as well as of *conquest*:

"ALEXANDER TO ARISTOTLE, GREETING.

"You did wrong in publishing the *acroamatic* parts of science. Wherein shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge we gained from you, be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the higher branches of *learning*, than in extent of *power* and *dominion*. Farewell."

Aristotle apologized by telling him that his book of *Metaphysics*, though published, was not published; meaning, that none could comprehend it without an instructor. That it was only of use to refresh the memories of those to whom it had been taught by himself.

Of *Aristotle* he said, that "*he loved him no less than his own father: for from the one, he derived the blessing of life; from the other, the blessing of a good life.*"

extravagance of his rashness *," (τῳ ατοπῳ της τολμης,) according to *Arrian*, he ran the most imminent hazard of being slain; leaping down, alone and unsupported, from the wall, among a multitude of the enemy, where he was severely wounded with an arrow in the breast, before his troops could get in to rescue him; who, in their rage, massacred men, women, and children! The *Malli* were a tribe of the *Oxydracæ*.

Having performed his voyage down the *Indus* to the Ocean, and detached one division of his army, under *Craterus*, through the upper provinces of *Arachosia* and *Aria*, with directions to join him in *Carmania*, he set out in September, B.C. 325, at the head of the other division of his army, through the great *Gedrosian* desert, on his return to *Persia*, along the sea coast, accompanied by his fleet. He marched himself on foot in this land and sea voyage of discovery, through the barren sands, and shared all the hardships of the meanest soldier, exposed equally to hunger, thirst, and fatigue. His chief objects, in this perilous march, were to dig wells and discover water, and explore harbours; objects of prime importance in any future navigation along that desolate coast. One day, some soldiers having discovered a small quantity of muddy water in the bed of a torrent, brought it in great haste to the king in a helmet, who was well nigh exhausted with heat and thirst. He received it graciously, thanked them, and then immediately spilled it on the ground, in presence of them all. By this action, the spirits of the whole army were as much revived and recruited as if each of them had drunk the water spilled by *Alexander*. "An action," says *Arrian*, "which I commend especially, because *Alexander* shewed thereby his *fortitude* and his *generalship* †." B. VI. § 26. After a most dreadful march of two months through the great desert, he reached the cultivated province of *Carmania*, which had been reduced by the division of *Craterus*, and was

* The following fine observation we owe to *Jortin*. Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 45.

"The same PROVIDENCE that raised up and conducted *Cyrus*, preserved the rash *Macedonian* from perishing, till he had overthrown the *Persian* empire. I call him *rash*, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprize, though *very bold*, was perhaps neither rash, nor rashly conducted.——*Alexander* was designed and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of *Daniel*."—*Jortin* might have spoken more decidedly on this enterprize, than "*perhaps*:" It was planned and executed with consummate sagacity and prudence.

† See a similar action of *David* in a battle with the *Philistines*. 2 Sam. v. 17—25. Vol. II. p. 331 of this work.

joined by fresh supplies of men and cattle, to repair the waste of both in the course of this destructive expedition.

Mean while, *Nearchus* proceeded with the fleet, and at length arrived in April, B.C. 324, in the *Euphrates*, after a voyage of seven months, from the mouth of the *Indus*, in the winter, and most unfavourable season. The curious journal of this voyage, written by *Clearchus* himself, is preserved by *Arrian*, in his Indian History, from chap. xx. to xli.

ALEXANDER'S REGULATIONS.

The first act of *Alexander*, on his return from his *Indian* expedition, was to enquire into and punish the mal-administration of his generals and governors of provinces, during his long absence.

Cleander and *Sitalces*, commanders of the *Median* levies, were accused by the *Medes*, and their own soldiers, of spoiling their temples and sepulchres, and other atrocious deeds of avarice and cruelty. They were immediately punished with death. Hearing also, that the governors whom he had appointed at *Persepolis*, *Susa*, and *Babylon*, had despised his orders, encouraged by his long absence and adventurous disposition, and acted as independent princes, and oppressed the people, he hastened to *Pasargadæ*, and punished them most severely. This was highly to his honour and to his interest: for, as *Arrian* remarks, "it was this especially that kept in order the nations that had either been conquered by *Alexander*, or voluntarily submitted to him, though so numerous, and so remote from each other; that *under his dominion, the governed were not allowed to be injured by their governors.*" Arrian, B. VI. § 27.

The last year of his life *Alexander* spent in a circuit through the imperial cities of *Persepolis*, *Susa*, *Ecbatana*, and *Babylon*, and in forming the noblest plans for the consolidation and improvement of his mighty empire. He removed the dams and obstructions by which the timid policy of the *Assyrian* and *Persians* kings, averse to commerce, had impeded the navigation of the great rivers *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, and *Eulai*, or *Choaspes*; he formed a bason at *Babylon*, capable of holding a thousand gallies; he restrained the inundations of the *Euphrates*, by cutting new canals; he sent vessels to explore the

Persian and *Arabian* gulphs *; and shortly before his death, he took measures for exploring the coasts of the *Caspian* sea, which then was thought to communicate with the *Northern* Ocean.

To conciliate the minds of his *European* and *Asiatic* subjects, he promoted intermarriages between both, and set the example himself. At *Sûsa*, he married *Barsine*, the eldest daughter of *Darius*, (called *Statira* by Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch,) and gave her sister *Drypetis* to his friend *Hephæstion*, saying that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, likewise, *Perdiccas*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and other general officers; intermarried with the Barbarian nobility; and the soldiers were encouraged by presents and dowers, to follow the example of their leaders. Above ten thousand *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, on this occasion, married *Asiatic* women.

Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, thus finely apostrophizes *Xerxes*, for the folly of uniting *Asia* and *Europe* by a bridge of ships.

"O foolish barbarian, in vain didst thou labour abundantly about the *Hellespontine* bridge! It is thus that intelligent kings unite *Europe* to *Asia;* not by timbers, nor by cords, not by inanimate and insensible bands, but by uniting both races in lawful love, sober wedlock, and intercommunities of children †!"

Montesquieu also thus excellently accounts for his conduct in this and other regulations. *L'Esprit des Lois*, Lib. X. chap. 14.

"He resisted those who wished that he should treat the *Greeks* as masters, and the *Persians* as slaves. Even *Aristotle* himself gave him this counsel. He thought only how to *unite the two nations*, and to efface the distinctions of the victorious and the vanquished people. After his conquest, he relinquished all those [*European*] prejudices that had helped to make it.

* *Plutarch* says, that *Alexander* was so pleased with the account of the voyage of *Nearchus*, that he meditated to sail in person, with a great fleet, to circumnavigate the coasts of *Arabia*, and *Africa*, and enter the *Mediterranean*, by the pillars of *Hercules;* thus emulating the *Phœnician* voyage, in *Pharaoh Necho's* days.

† Ω βαρβαρε Ξερξη, και ανοητε, και ματην πολλα περι την Ελλησποντιαν πονηθεις γεφυραν· ουτως εμφρονεις βασιλεις Ασιαν Ευρωπη συναπτουσι, ου ξυλοις, ουδε σχεδιαις, ουδε αψυχοις και ασυμπαθεσι δεσμοις, αλλ' ερωτι νομιμῳ, και γαμοις σωφροσι, και κοινωνιαις παιδων, τα γενη συναπτοντες. *Plutarch. De fortuna Alexandri.*

He assumed the manners of the *Persians*, wishing not to mortify the Persians, while he made them adopt the manners of the *Greeks*. For this reason it was, that he marked so much respect for the wife and the mother of *Darius*, and that he shewed so much continence. What conqueror but himself was lamented by all the peoples whom he had reduced? What usurper but himself had his death bewailed with tears by the family whose throne he overthrew? [*Sisygambis*, the mother of *Darius*, starved herself for grief.] This is a trait in his life, of which no other conqueror * that we read of in history could boast.

"*Alexander*, who sought to unite the two nations, designed to plant in *Persia* a great number of *Grecian* colonies. He built an infinity of towns †, and so well cemented all the parts of this new empire, that in all the troubles and confusions of the most frightful civil wars, (during which, the *Greeks*, as we may say, annihilated themselves,) not a single province of *Persia* revolted.

"In order not to exhaust *Greece* and *Macedon*, he sent to *Alexandria*, a colony of *Jews*, allowing them to retain their own laws and customs. It mattered not to him, what were their manners, provided they were faithful to him.

"He not only left the conquered peoples their own customs and laws, but often the same kings and governors that he found among them. He put *Macedonians* at the head of the troops, and *Natives* at the head of the government, chusing rather to run the risk of partial insurrections, which sometimes happened to him, than of a general revolt.

"The kings of *Persia* destroyed the temples of the *Grecians*, *Babylonians* and *Egyptians*: on the contrary, he rebuilt them. There were few nations that submitted to him, upon whose altars he did not offer sacrifices. He seemed to conquer, only to be the monarch of each nation in particular, and the first citizen of every town.

"The *Romans* conquered all, to destroy all: he wished to conquer all, to preserve all: and whatever countries he traversed, his first ideas, his first designs were always to do something that might augment its power and prosperity. The first means of

* *Montesquieu* forgot *Cyrus* the Great, with whom we may justly say, no other conqueror was worthy to be compared, beloved by GOD and *man*.

† *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* reckoned that *Alexander* founded no less than seventy cities, in the most important stations, which he garrisoned, to secure the conquered provinces.

promoting these ends, he found in the grandeur of his genius; the second, in his frugality and private economy; the third, in his immense prodigality in great matters. His hand was shut to private expences, it was opened to public expences. Was it necessary to regulate his household? he was then a *Macedonian*. Was it necessary to pay the debts of his soldiers, to share his conquests with the Greeks, to make the fortune of every man in his army? he was then *Alexander*.

" He committed two bad actions: he burned *Persepolis* * and he killed *Clitus;* but he rendered those actions famous by his repentance: insomuch that the world forgot his crimes, to remember his respect for virtue; so that they were considered rather as *misfortunes* than *faults;* so that posterity found the beauty of his mind closely connected with his extravagances and weaknesses; so that it was necessary indeed to *complain* of him, but impossible to *hate* him.

" If we compare him with *Cæsar;* when *Cæsar* wished to imitate the kings of *Asia*, he disobliged the *Romans*, from a motive of mere ostentation; when *Alexander* wished to imitate the kings of *Asia*, he did a thing which entered into the plan of his conquest."

MUTINY AT OPIS.

To this masterly apology and panegyric of *Montesquieu*, we shall add *Alexander's* noble and high-minded vindication to his mutinous troops at *Opis*, on the *Tigris*, after he had seized, with his own hands, and punished thirteen of the ringleaders on the spot, not many months before his death; as recorded by his best historian, *Arrian*. B. VII. § 8—11.

" When the troops, appalled at this prompt execution, were silent, he re-ascended the tribunal, and spoke thus:

" It is not to restrain your impatience to return home, *Macedonians*, that I shall address you—*(You may freely depart, wherever you please, with my consent!)*—but that ye may know in what a different plight ye go away from that in which ye were.

* *Arrian, Strabo*, and *Plutarch* agree, in confining the conflagration to the *palace;* and the last says, that only a part of the palace was destroyed. *Curtius*, with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city so completely, that not a vestige of it was left! This is confuted by *Alexander's* visit to *Persepolis* after his *Indian* expedition.

" And first, as it is fit, I shall begin my speech with *Philip* my father. *Philip* found you vagrants and indigent; for the most part, clad in sheep skins, and feeding a few sheep through the mountains, and ill contending for them with the *Illyrians* and *Triballians*, and the neighbouring *Thracians*. He gave you clothes to wear, instead of the sheep skins; he brought you down from the mountains to the plains, and made you a match for the neighbouring barbarians, so as to trust no more in your strong holds for safety, but rather in your personal valour. He rendered you inhabitants of cities, and adorned you with good laws and morals. From being slaves and dependants, he made you leaders of those very barbarians, by whom yourselves and your goods were led and carried away. Most part of *Thrace* he annexed to *Macedon*, and of the places on the sea coast, having got the most important into his possession, he opened commerce to the country, and enabled you to work the mines in security. He rendered you rulers of the *Thessalians*, of whom ye formerly died with fear. And having humbled the *Phoceans*, he made for you a broad and open avenue into *Greece*, instead of a narrow and difficult pass. The *Athenians* and *Thebans*, who were always plotting against *Macedon*, he humbled so far, with our co-operation, that instead of paying tribute to the *Athenians*, and obeying the *Thebans*, they, on the contrary, derived their own security from us. Passing into *Peloponnesus*, he settled matters there also; and having been appointed generalissimo of all the rest of Greece in the expedition against *Persia*, he gained this glory, not more for himself than for the *Macedonians*. Such were my father's services toward you; they were great indeed, considered in themselves, but little, compared with ours.

" When I succeeded my father, I found a few gold and silver cups, and not sixty talents in the treasury, beside a debt of five hundred talents contracted by *Philip*. I then borrowed myself eight hundred more, and setting out from a country that could not well maintain yourselves, I immediately opened to you the passage of the *Hellespont*, though the *Persians* were then masters of the sea; and having defeated with my cavalry the Satraps of *Darius*, I added to your empire all *Ionia*, and all *Æolis*, and both *Phrygias* and the *Lydians*, and took *Miletus* by storm; and having received the voluntary submission of all the other states, I enabled you to reap the fruits. The profits of *Egypt*

and *Cyrene*, which I acquired without a contest, came to you. *Cœle Syria*, and *Palestine*, and *Mesopotamia*, are your possessions. *Babylon*, and *Bactria*, and *Susa* are yours. The wealth of the *Lydians*, the treasures of the *Persians*, the goods of the *Indians*, and the outer sea are yours. Ye are satraps, ye are generals, ye are colonels. What more then remains for myself, for all these toils, but this purple and this diadem? I possess nothing apart; nor can any one point out *any treasures* exclusively mine, which are not either bestowed on you, or kept for your use; since I have no private motive to keep them, feeding on the same fare with yourselves, and taking the same sleep. Nay, my fare is not equal to that of the luxurious among you. I am conscious of watching before hand for you, in order that you may sleep securely.

" But, perhaps, it may be said, that I have acquired these by your labours and toils, while I led you myself without labour and toil. But which of you is conscious that he has laboured more for me than I did for him? Come now, whoever of you has wounds, let him strip and shew them, and I will shew mine in turn. For there is no part of my body in front that is left unwounded; nor is there any kind of weapon, either in close or distant fight, of which I do not bear the marks on myself: for I have been wounded by sword in hand, or hit by arrows, or from machines, and often struck by stones and clubs, for you and for your glory, and for your emolument, when leading you through every land and sea, and through all sorts of rivers, mountains and plains.

" I have married you with the same marriages as myself, and the children of many of you will be kinsmen to my children; and whoever was in debt, I did not scrutinize rigidly how it was contracted, but cleared it off, though ye had such great pay, and such great plunder, whenever a city was stormed; and most of you have crowns of gold, immortal monuments both of your valour, and of the recompence you received from me: and whichever of you died, his death was glorious, and his tomb conspicuous. Many of your brazen statues stand at home, your parents are held in honour, ye are freed from all public service and tribute; for none of you died in flight while led by me.

" And now I intended to send away such of you as were unfit for war, so as to be objects of envy to those at home; but

since ye all wish to depart, *depart all!* and when ye have gone home, tell that your king, *Alexander*, after conquering the *Persians*, *Medes*, *Bactrians*, and *Sacæ*, overthrowing the *Uxians*, *Arachotians* and *Drangæ*, and acquiring the *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, and *Hyrcanians*, as far as the *Caspian* sea; crossing the *Caucasus*, at the *Caspian* gates, and passing the rivers *Oxus* and *Tanais*, and even the river *Indus*, which was never passed by any other but *Bacchus;* and after crossing the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, and if ye had not been loth, the *Hyphasis* too; and navigating through both the mouths of the *Indus* to the ocean; and marching through the *Gedrosian* desert, which none ever passed with an army before, and acquiring *Carmania*, in the way; and after his fleet had sailed round from *India* to *Persia*, he was brought back indeed by you in triumph, to *Susa;* but that *you* left him, and went home, giving him up to the care of the *conquered barbarians!* These accounts, perhaps, will gain you glory with men, and sanctity with gods: *Depart!*"

Having thus said, he sprang hastily from the tribunal, and passing by to the palace, he neither dressed himself, nor appeared to any of his companions. Nor did he appear the next day. On the third he called in the chiefs of the *Persians*, and distributed among them the commissions of the ranks, and only such of them as he had made relations (by marriages) he allowed to kiss him.

The *Macedonians*, struck at the instant with his upbraiding speech, remained there in silence, at the tribunal, nor did any one attend the king at his departure, except his friends and body guards. The multitude who remained were at a loss what to do or say, and yet were not willing to depart themselves. But when they were told of the king's proceedings in regard of the *Persians* and *Medes*, how that the commissions were given away to the *Persians*, and the Barbarian army marshalled into companies, and the *Persian* guard called by *Macedonian* titles, "the *foot-company*, the *Argyraspides*, the *horse company*, and the *king's guard*, they could no longer contain themselves; but running together to the palace, they threw down their arms before the gates, as suppliants to the king, and standing before the gates, they cried aloud, begging to be admitted; that they were ready to give up the authors of the tumult, and beginners of the clamour, and that they would not quit the gates, day nor night, until *Alexander* should have some compassion on them.

When he was told this, he hastily came out to them, and seeing their dejection, and hearing the cries and groans of the multitude, he shed tears himself. He then received them into full favour again, and dismissed them, shouting and singing *pæans* as they returned to the camp."

I having given this most interesting speech entire, as an admirable and authentic outline of *Philip's* and *Alexander's* history; and also a lively specimen of his extraordinary powers of plain, close, and impressive reasoning; of governing the passions, and conciliating the affections of his troops. It would have been spoiled by abridgment.

VISIT TO BABYLON.

Alexander's last visit was to *Babylon*. He had been warned by the Chaldæan priests*, not to visit that city, or at least not to enter it on the eastern side. But the marshes prohibited his approach on the western side. His friend *Calanus*, the Indian philosopher, who weary of life, had burned himself on a pile, in *Persia*, at their last interview, told *Alexander* that "*they should meet again at Babylon*." He might have heard, perhaps, of *Darius Codomannus'* dream, and the interpretation of the *Magi*. *Alexander* therefore, entered that city with strong forebodings of his fate; and he who had so often employed *superstition* as an engine of state policy, when he represented himself as the son of *Amun*, now fell a prey to it himself. "*Superstition*, like water, always flowing to the depressed and low grounds, filled *Alexander* with dejection and fear," according to *Plutarch's* imagery. Perhaps to conciliate the *Babylonian* god, and avert his anger, he engaged in that fatal project of rebuilding the temple of *Belus*, recorded by *Arrian*, B. VII. § 17, and by *Josephus*, Contr. Apion. B. I. § 22. He knew not, alas! those sacred prophecies of *Daniel*, (well known to the *Magi*), foretelling his early doom, and the desolation of *Babylon*. See Vol. II. p. 533, and the present Vol. p. 67.

Here, *Alexander*, as Doctor G. *Fordyce* has observed, appears to have died of an irregular *semitertian* fever, caught by surveying the marshes adjoining the river *Euphrates*, to ascer-

* *Alexander* suspected that the *Babylonian* priests wished to hinder him from going thither, that he might not detect their peculation of the sacred treasury, and apply the money to rebuilding the temple. This determined him. *Arrian*, B. VII. § 17.

tain the means by which they might be most advantageously drained. The daily reports, or bulletins respecting the progress of his disorder, for the last twelve days, from the eighteenth to the thirtieth of the month *Dæsius*, when he died, have been preserved and transmitted to us, by *Arrian*, B. VII. § 25; and *Plutarch*, in his life. He probably increased his fever by intemperance at first in a continued carousal of two days.

Thus was cut off in the prime of life, and in all the pride of conquest, *Alexander* the Great, after he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned in all, twelve years and eight months from his father *Philip's* death. "When he was *strong*, the *great horn* of the western *goat* was broken!" Dan. viii. 8.

What he atchieved in the short compass of his reign, is altogether astonishing. When asked once, by what means he had effected such wonderful things, he answered, μηδεν αναβαλλομενος. "*By postponing nothing.*" His measures indeed were all planned with the soberest and most deliberate circumspection; and then executed without delay, and with all the rapidity of "the double-winged *leopard*" in prophecy. For as *Arrian* justly observes, "he *resembled no other man*, and seemed to have been *born* by a special PROVIDENCE *."

What he accomplished, however, fell infinitely short of what he intended. He was greatly disappointed in his *Indian* campaign, at the refusal of his soldiers to cross the *Hyphasis;* and unquestionably meditated a future invasion even of the regions beyond the *Ganges*, to which his subsequent measures were plainly subservient; and he must have been irresistible, humanly speaking, with all *Asia* under his controul, from the shores of the *Ionian* sea, to the banks of the *Hyphasis*, with increased fame, experience, and resources both by land and sea.

That he meditated the conquest of *Africa* also, appears from his preparations for circumnavigating that vast peninsula, and returning by the straights of *Gibraltar* into the Mediterranean sea; emulating *Pharaoh Necho's* expedition.

And that he meditated the conquest of the rest of *Europe*, appears from the timber he ordered to be cut on Mount *Libanus*, and the fleets to be built in the sea-ports of *Phœnicia* and *Palestine;* and from his intended survey of the shores of the *Caspian*

* Ουκουν ουδ' εμοιγε εξω του Θειου φυναι αν δοκει ανηρ, ουδενι αλλῳ ανθρωπων εοικως.

sea. In his tablets were found memorandums for building new cities in *Europe* and *Asia;* peopling the former with *Asiatics*, the latter with *Europeans*. The vast and capacious mind of this mighty conqueror, was likely indeed to have produced a grand revolution in the state and manners of the ancient world, by promoting general intercourse among the several branches of his mighty empire; but PROVIDENCE, to shew the vanity of human projects, checked his ambitious career, *hitherto shalt thou go, and no further!* and to humble his inordinate pride, and impious arrogance, soon mingled him with the dust!

He seems to have had a strong presentiment of the ensuing dissentions and convulsions after his death, kindled by the ambition of his generals; and to have despaired of his children's succession. He told his friends, "that he was more troubled on their account than on his own; for he was afraid, that after his death, fortune would throw the empire into the hands of some *obscure* and weak man." When they enquired to whom he left the kingdom? he answered, *to the most worthy;* and he gave his ring, when speechless, to *Perdiccas*.

PHILIP ARIDÆUS, AND ALEXANDER ÆGUS.

A contest for a week took place between his generals about the succession, and the distribution of provinces and offices. At length it was agreed, that *Philip Aridæus*, his natural brother, and a weak person, should be elected king, and that if *Roxana*, who was then eight months pregnant, bore a son, (which she did, *Alexander Ægus*), he should be associated with his uncle in the kingdom, and *Perdiccas* appointed regent, or guardian to both.

The first partition of the provinces was *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Lagus; Cappadocia* to *Eumenes; Pamphylia* to *Antigonus; Phrygia* to *Leonatus; Caria* to *Cassander*, the son of *Antipater; Armenia* to *Neoptolemus; Mesopotamia* to *Arcesilas; Babylonia* to *Seleucus; Media* to *Atropates*, the father-in-law of *Perdiccas; Persia* to *Peucestes; Thrace* to *Lysimachus; Macedon* and *Greece* to *Antipater* and *Craterus;* besides several of the *Asiatic* provinces which were left under the government of their native princes. We may date this partition, B.C. 323.

Two years after, *Perdiccas* was slain unjustly invading

Egypt, B.C. 821, and *Antipater* was appointed guardian; but he dying two years after, appointed the unworthy *Polysperchon*, the eldest of *Alexander's* captains, to succeed him in the regency, B.C. 319, in preference to his own son, *Cassander*, whose ambition he dreaded might tempt him to betray that sacred trust. Nor was he mistaken.

On *Antipater's* death, the turbulent and intriguing *Olympias*, mother of *Alexander* the Great, returned from *Epirus*, to which she had fled, and contrived to get possession of the government of *Macedon;* when she put to death *Philip Aridæus*, after a nominal reign of six years and six months, and wreaked her vengeance on the family and adherents of *Antipater*, B.C. 317. But her cruelties were soon retaliated on herself. *Cassander*, who had a powerful party in *Macedon*, came that same year with an army, besieged *Olympias* in *Pydna*, took the city, and put her to death. He then confined the young king, *Alexander Ægus*, and his mother *Roxana*, in the castle of *Amphipolis*, for some years. But after the second partition of the provinces, in the year B.C. 310, when it was agreed that *Cassander* should hold *Macedon; Lysimachus, Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt;* and *Antigonus*, all *Asia*, in trust for *Alexander Ægus; Cassander*, to make sure of the crown of *Macedon* for himself, privately murdered the young prince in his confinement, and his mother *Roxana;* the just reward of her wickedness, in putting to death *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, the wife of *Alexander*, shortly after his decease, for fear she might be with child, and bear a son that might exclude her son *Ægus;* and also her sister *Drypetis*, the widow of *Hephæstion*, with the connivance of *Perdiccas* the regent.

Polysperchon loudly exclaimed against the treason of *Cassander*, and sending for *Hercules*, the remaining son of *Alexander*, by *Barsine*, the widow of *Memnon*, the *Rhodian*, from *Pergamus*, where they had resided in privacy, proposed him as king to the *Macedonians*. This so alarmed *Cassander*, that he came to a compromise with the base *Polysperchon*, to share the government between them, and so seduced him to destroy *Hercules* and his mother, the ensuing year, B.C. 309. On the death of *Hercules*, "the generals put on *crowns*."

Thus was "the posterity of *Alexander*" all extirpated in the course of fourteen years from his death, and "*his kingdom plucked up*, and *given to others;*" by a righteous retaliation,

that he whose sword had made many parents childless, should leave his children and all his family "to perish by the sword!"

SELEUCUS NICATOR.

Although *Seleucus* was excluded by the second partition treaty, B.C. 310, from the government of *Babylonia*, allotted to him by the first, in B.C. 323, and *Antigonus*, his competitor, elected in his room, yet his reign is dated by the oriental historians two years before, from B.C. 312, when he retook *Babylon* from *Antigonus*, and established his interest there upon such a solid foundation, that it could no more be shaken. It was not, however, till the celebrated battle of *Ipsus*, B.C. 301, in which *Antigonus* was slain by the other confederate generals, that his title was acknowledged, on the third and final partition of the empire, when *Ptolemy* was established in *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Arabia*, *Cœle Syria*, and *Palestine*; *Cassander* in *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus* in *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and the adjacent districts on the *Hellespont* and *Bosporus*; and *Seleucus* in *Syria*, *Babylonia*, and the eastern provinces. To this last partition, *Daniel's* prophecies of the division of *Alexander's* empire among his four generals, seem to have alluded, Dan. viii. 8; xi. 4.

Seleucus was reckoned by *Appian*, "the greatest king after *Alexander*," B. VII. § 22, and is so represented in prophecy; Dan. xi. 5. See Vol. II. p. 537, of this work. He first conquered *Antigonus*, and seized his provinces of *Syria* and *Asia Minor*; he at last conquered *Lysimachus*, king of *Thrace*, who had previously annexed *Macedon* to his dominions; so that he united three of the kingdoms into which *Alexander's* empire was split, and was thence styled *Nicator*, "Conqueror," while *Ptolemy*, the wisest, retained the fourth, *Egypt* and its dependencies.

Seleucus built *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, on the river *Orontes*; and three other cities of note, *Seleucia*, *Apamia*, and *Laodicea*, in the same province; which in his time was divided into three parts, *Upper Syria*, *Cœle Syria*, and *Palestine Syria*. The maritime coast of the two latter, was called *Phœnicia*. Afterwards he built *Seleucia*, about forty miles above *Babylon*, on the western side of the *Tigris*, opposite to the modern city of *Bagdad*, and made it the capital of the eastern provinces. He

built a great number of cities besides, and adopted *Alexander's* policy of planting the *Jews* in many of them, with ample privileges. He was beloved by his subjects for his justice and mildness, and remarkably fond of his children; of which he gave a signal proof, in resigning his favourite queen *Stratonice* to his son *Antiochus*, who was desperately in love with her, to save his life, and with her the provinces of *Upper Asia*, of which they were crowned king and queen. *Appian*, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus*.

Seleucus did not long enjoy his victory over *Lysimachus*; seven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take possession of that kingdom, he was treacherously murdered by *Ptolemy Keraunos*, a refugee from *Egypt*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours, and intended to have restored to his father's kingdom, who had disinherited him in favour of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, his younger son.

ANTIOCHUS SOTER.

This prince succeeded his father *Seleucus*, and after he had secured the eastern provinces, endeavoured to reduce the western, but was defeated in *Bithynia*. He entered into a war with *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, to whom he at length ceded *Macedon*. And the family of *Antigonus* reigned there till the time of *Perseus*, the last king, who was conquered by the *Romans*.

Antiochus left his throne to *Antiochus*, surnamed *Theos*, his son by *Stratonice*, his mother-in-law, and from this incestuous offspring were descended the succeeding kings of *Syria*, who so miserably oppressed and harassed the *Jews*.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS.

In the beginning of this king's reign lived *Berosus*, the famous *Chaldean* historian, who dedicated his history to him. *Pliny* observes, that it contained astronomical observations for 480 years; from the accession of *Antiochus*, B.C. 261, reaching back to B.C. 741, shortly after the commencement of the *Nabonassarean era*. By the help of these, it is probable *Ptolomy* of *Alexandria* constructed his scientific Canon.

In the third year of his reign, a long and bloody war broke

out between him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, during which great commotions took place in the eastern provinces of the empire, which he had not leisure to suppress. *Arsaces* revolted in *Parthia*, *Theodotus* in *Bactria*, and the northern provinces, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, &c. following their example, expelled the *Macedonians*, and chose governors of their own. *Justin* dates the *Parthian* revolt in the consulate of *Manlius Vulso* and *Attilius Regulus*, B.C. 250, which year is adopted by *Usher* and *Petavius*. *Eusebius* dates it three years earlier than the 133d Olympiad, or B.C. 251; and *Mirkhond* reckoned that *Arsaces*, or *Chapour*, began his reign 72 years after *Alexander's* death, or B.C. 252. We may therefore adopt the mean date, B.C. 251, as the most correct; and from this some date the commencement of the *Parthian* empire. It was not, however, fully established till the ensuing reign.

SELEUCUS CALLINICUS.

This prince, notwithstanding his sounding title, "glorious victor," was uniformly unfortunate in his wars. The ambition of his mother *Laodicea*, who poisoned *Antiochus Theos*, to secure him the throne, involved him in a long and bloody war with *Ptolemy Euergetes*, king of *Egypt*, who stript him of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*. Afterwards he carried on a war against his own brother *Antiochus*, surnamed *Hierax*, "the hawk," from his rapacity. Upon his brother's death, he attempted to recover the eastern provinces that had revolted, but was defeated, in a decisive battle by *Arsaces*, and taken prisoner in the 17th year of his reign, B.C. 229, and died in captivity. From this epoch the *Parthians* reckoned the recovery of their liberty, *Arsaces* assumed the title of king, and hence we date the actual commencement of the powerful *Parthian* empire.

SECTION IX.

PARTHIAN DYNASTY. 454 YEARS.

ASCHKANIAN KINGS.

	Y.		B.C.
1. *Arsaces*, or *Arshak*, or *Aschek*	7	....	229
2. *Arsaces* II. or *Arshak* II.	27	....	222
3. *Priapatius*, or *Schabour*, or *Padeshahi Buzusk*	15	....	195
4. *Phraates*, or *Baharam*, or *Firouz*	12	....	180
5. *Mithridates*	37	....	168
6. *Phraates* II. or *Firouz* II.	9	....	131
7. *Artabanus*, or *Ardevan*	1	....	122
8. *Pacorus*	53	....	121
9. *Phraates* III. or *Khosrou*	12	....	68
10. *Orodes* / *Mithridates* II. / *Orodes* again	20	....	56
11. *Phraates* IV. or *Khosrou* II.	40	....	36
			A.D.
12. *Orodes* II.	11	....	4
13. *Vonones*, or *Narses*	3	....	15
14. *Artabanus* II. or *Ardevan* II. / *Tiridates* / *Artabanus* again	30	....	18
15. *Gotarzes* / *Maherdates* / *Vonones* II.	2	....	48
16. *Vologeses*	19	....	50
17. *Artabanus* III.	8	....	69
18. *Pacorus* II.	30	....	77
19. *Chosroes*	59	....	107
20. *Vologeses* II.	28	....	166
21. *Vologeses* III.	22	....	194
22. *Arabanus* IV. or *Ardevan* III.	9	....	216
Persian dynasty	454	....	225

The chronology of this period is exceedingly perplexed and embarrassed, owing to the loss of the original writers on *Parthian* affairs, *Apollodorus*, *Artemisius*, *Creperius*, *Calpurnianus*, *Quadratus*, *Seleucus Emisenus*, &c. who are cited by *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, *Justin*, *Suidas*, &c. and to the great discordance of

their remaining fragments, with the accounts of the *Persian* historians, *Khondemir*, &c. Hence, the learned writers of the *Universal History*, in their History of *Parthia*, Vol. IV. chap. 12, p. 129, fol. though they have collected the fullest account of the history, yet totally omit the chronology, as desperate and irretrievable; they are even incorrect in the total amount of it, 475 years; p. 291, 323, (for this does not correspond with their own dates, B.C. 300+A.D. 230=530 years; in the margins, p. 291 and p. 324;) this, however, of 475 years, corresponds with the true amount, from the date of the *Parthian* revolt, B.C. 251, to the defeat of *Artabanus* IV. and restoration of the *Persian* dominion, A.D. 225. See U. H. 372, note.

From careful comparison of the fragments that remain of the *Roman* historians with the *Persian*, and from the imperfect dates of the reigns of most of the *Parthian* kings, in *Playfair's* Biographical Index, corrected by those of the contemporary *Syrian* kings, and *Roman* prætors, consuls, and emperors, noticed in the course of the history, the foregoing table is constructed. It is given only as an approximation to the truth, in its detail. The whole period may be considered as sufficiently defined in its length of 454 years.

The *Parthian* names are added from *Khondemir's* scanty abstract, *Un. Hist.* Vol. IV. p. 372, (note A.) and from *Herbelot.*

ARSACES, OR ASCHEK.

Arsaces, according to some Oriental writers, was of the royal *Persian* race of the *Achemenidæ*, and a descendant of *Darius Codomannus*. *Arsaces*, as we have seen, was the family name of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Strabo* says, that he was the king of the *Dahæ* before the revolt of *Parthia*. After he assumed the crown of *Parthia*, he reduced *Hyrcania* and some other neighbouring provinces, and was slain at last, after seven years' reign, according to *Khondemir*, in a battle with *Ariathres* IV. king of *Cappadocia*.

Hence this dynasty is called the *Aschkanian* by the Oriental writers. Some of them divide it into two parts, of twelve kings, whom they distinguish by the name of *Aschkanians*; and of eight more, by that of *Aschganides*. But *Khondemir* judiciously unites them, as only forming one intermediate dynasty, between

the *Macedo-Grecian* and the fourth dynasty of *Persian* kings, called *Sassanian*, or *Khosronian*. In reality, this may be considered as a *Persian* dynasty, and the third; because *Persia* and *Parthia* were contiguous provinces of the empire, and are usually confounded by the Greek and Latin historians and poets; as *Media* and *Persia* were by them, and by the Oriental writers themselves, in the second or *Kaianian* dynasty.

His son, *Arsaces* II. carried on a war with *Antiochus* the Great, king of *Syria*, who at length relinquished to him the provinces of *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on the condition of assisting him to recover the rest.

Priapatius, his son, succeeded him, and left his crown to his eldest son *Phraates*, who reduced the *Uardi*, and other *Median* tribes.

MITHRIDATES, OR FIROUZ,

Was the brother of the last king, to whom he left the crown, on account of his extraordinary merit, in preference to his own children. He reduced the *Bactrians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, *Elamites*, and extended his dominions into *India*, even beyond *Alexander's* conquests. He defeated and took prisoner, *Demetrius Nicator*, king of *Syria*, B.C. 144, and got possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*. So that he was master of all the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Ganges*. His reign is usually considered as the summit of *Parthian* grandeur; and he excelled not less as a statesman and legislator, than as a warrior. Diodor. Excerpt. Valesii, p. 361.

Phraates II. succeeded him, and was invaded immediately after, by *Antiochus Sidetes*, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius* from captivity. *Sidetes* was at first successful, and stripped *Phraates* of all the conquests in the late reign, and confined him to the narrow limits of the first *Parthian* kingdom; but he surprized the *Syrians*, and destroyed their whole army, B.C. 130. Afterwards, in a war with his *Scythian* auxiliaries, he was deserted by the *Greek* mercenaries of *Sidetes*, whom he had ill treated, but released and taken into his service, and slain.

His uncle *Artabanus* took possession of the crown, but was slain also, not many days after, by a *Scythian* tribe of the *Thogarians*. *Justin.*

PACORUS

Succeeded his father *Artabanus*. He first of all the *Parthian* kings made overtures of friendship and alliance to the *Romans*, by an embassy to *Sylla*, then only *Prætor*, about B.C. 93, who had been sent by the *Roman* Senate to reinstate *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, after he had been dethroned by *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*. *Sylla*, assuming the middle seat of honour at the audience, placed *Ariobarzanes* on his right hand, and the *Parthian* ambassador on his left. This compliance on the part of the *Parthian*, so offended *Pacorus*, that he beheaded the ambassador, on his return home, for degrading the majesty of the *Parthian* monarch to a *Roman* prætor. However, he renewed the alliance with *Lucullus*, B.C. 69.

He was succeeded by his son *Phraates* III. who at first espoused the cause of *Tigranes*, son of *Tigranes* the Great, against his father; but upon the approach of *Pompey*, about B.C. 66, he thought proper to renew with him the alliance which his father had made at first with *Sylla*, and afterwards with *Lucullus*. He was murdered by his own sons, *Orodes* and *Mithridates*.

ORODES

First took possession of the throne as the elder brother, but was driven out by his younger. But *Mithridates*, for his cruelties, was driven out, and *Orodes* restored, who besieged his brother in *Seleucia*, and having forced him to surrender, cruelly put him to death, and was himself an eye-witness of his execution.

Soon after he was invaded, unexpectedly, in a time of profound peace, by the Roman pro-consul *Crassus*, B.C. 54, through motives of the most sordid avarice. When *Crassus* landed in *Galatia*, he found *Dejotarus*, the king, who was advanced in years, employed in building a new city; and he sarcastically remarked, *King, you begin full late to build a city, at the twelfth hour of the day*; *Dejotarus* retorted, *And you, general, are not too early in your expedition against the Parthians.* Whose *equestrian* warfare required all the vigour and agility of youth. *Plutarch.*

After plundering the temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Pompey* had spared, of upwards of ten thousand talents, or above two millions sterling, in violation of his solemn promise, he marched through *Syria* to invade *Mesopotamia*. There he was met by ambassadors from *Orodes*, complaining of his unprovoked aggression. *Crassus*, without alledging any excuse, said that they should have his answer at *Seleucia*. But the chief of the embassy said, *You shall sooner see hair growing here*, shewing the palm of his hand, *than be master of Seleucia! Florus.*

The issue of this unjust war was most disastrous. In the next campaign, B.C. 53, *Crassus*, his son, and the greatest part of his army, were destroyed at *Carrhæ*, in *Mesopotamia*, by the policy of the *Surenas*, or generalissimo of the *Parthian* troops. And *Dion Cassius*, an experienced soldier himself, as well as judicious historian, observes, that the Roman army were either ignorant of what ought to be done, or unable to execute it; adding, that "*they seemed to be blinded and persecuted by some Divinity, who disabled them from using either their understandings or their bodies.*" This Divinity was unquestionably the TRUE GOD, though unknown to *Dion*, who thus revenged the sacrilegious plunder and profanation of his holy temple.

Orodes, soon after, most ungratefully, put to death the *Surenas* who had gained him this great victory, thinking he was become too powerful; for which he was punished in turn. He invaded *Syria* unsuccessfully, which was saved by the bravery of *Cassius*, who escaped the slaughter at *Carrhæ*, with a remnant of the *Romans*; and by the consummate generalship of *Ventidius*, the lieutenant of *Anthony*, who in B.C. 38, entirely defeated the *Parthian* army, slew *Pacorus*, the king's son, and fully revenged the death of *Crassus* and the Roman army, fourteen years before, and on the same day of the year. *Orodes*, not long after, was barbarously murdered by *Phraates*, the eldest, and most wicked of his sons, with whom he shared the regal power; but who stifled his father in his bed, and dispatched all his brothers, thirty in number, and cruelly destroyed the nobility, not sparing even his own eldest son, for fear the discontented *Parthians* should place him on the throne!

PHRAATES IV. OR KHOSRU.

This monster of cruelty was contemporary with *Herod* the Great, whom he resembled in this trait of his character. He had given an asylum at *Seleucia* to the venerable and unfortunate *Hyrcanus*, king of *Judea*, in his exile; and when *Herod* sent an embassy to *Phraates*, to permit *Hyrcanus* to return to *Jerusalem*, the *Parthian* king dissuaded *Hyrcanus* from going home, but in vain; where he was sacrificed some time after, to the wicked policy of the *Idumæan*. See Vol. II. p. 597, of this work. The author of the *Lebtarikh* notices that JESUS CHRIST was born in his reign, which was thus eminently signalized by such cruel tyrants.

Phraates was successful against the *Romans*, and defeated *Anthony* on the borders of *Armenia*, B.C. 35, with a loss little inferior to that of *Crassus*. After this battle, *Phraates* reduced all *Media* and *Armenia*.

The *Parthian* nobility conspiring against this merciless tyrant, set up *Tiridates*, one of their own body, against him. But the next year, *Phraates*, returning into *Parthia*, defeated his rival, and drove him to take refuge in *Syria*, where *Augustus* found him, after *Anthony's* death, B.C. 30. In order to prevent the *Romans* from supporting his rival, *Phraates* agreed to surrender and restore the *Roman* ensigns and prisoners that had been taken from *Crassus* and *Anthony*; and he gave also four of his sons to *Augustus*, as hostages for the performance of the conditions required, through dread of his subjects deserting him in a fresh *Roman* war, as *Tacitus* justly remarks, rather than through terror of the name of *Augustus*, as *Justin* and *Horace* report. But vengeance pursued, and overtook *Phraates* in his own family. His illegitimate son *Phraatices*, by an Italian concubine, *Thermusa*, was placed on the throne by his ambitious mother, after poisoning the old king. But the *Parthians* drove him into exile immediately after.

The ensuing reigns of *Orodes* II. *Vonones*, *Artabanus*, *Tiridates*, *Gotarzes*, *Meherdates*, *Vonones* II. during 44 years, present a tissue of treasons, conspiracies and civil wars, by which *Parthia* was harassed and torn in pieces, which were fomented by *Tiberius* and *Nero*, for their own interest.

The succeeding prince, *Vologeses*, humbled himself to *Nero*,

and consented to receive the crown of *Parthia* from his hand, about A.D. 50. And he afterwards made an offer of assisting *Vespasian* in the Jewish war, with an army of forty thousand *Parthian* horse, about A.D. 68, which the Roman emperor declined. His son *Artabanus* III. seems to have retrieved and left the empire in a flourishing condition, which was improved during the long and peaceful reign of his successor, *Pacorus* II. who kept up a strict friendship with the *Romans*.

CHOSROES, OR KHOSRU.

This prince carried on a long and bloody war with *Trajan* and *Adrian*, which ended in *Adrian*'s relinquishing all *Trajan's* conquests beyond the *Euphrates*, as too chargeable and precarious to be retained, and concluded a peace, which *Chosroes* faithfully observed during the remainder of his long reign.

His son *Vologeses* II. broke the peace, and invaded *Syria* in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, but at length concluded a treaty with him, in which he agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Rome*, on condition of not being molested in the eastern provinces beyond the common boundary of the two empires.

Vologeses III. his nephew, carried on a long war with the emperor *Severus*, whom he had opposed by espousing the cause of his rival *Niger*, and afterwards with his brother *Artabanus*, but died before he could bring it to a conclusion.

ARTABANUS IV.

This prince seized the throne on his brother's death; and not long after, he was drawn into a war with the *Romans*, by the treachery of *Caracalla*, about A.D. 211, who sent an embassy to desire his daughter in marriage; pleased with the alliance, *Artabanus* readily agreed, and went to meet him with the flower of his nobility and best troops, in splendid dresses, and all unarmed. But *Caracalla* perfidiously fell upon the peaceable multitude, and massacred and took prisoners many of them. *Artabanus*, in revenge, raised a prodigious army, and carried war and devastation into *Syria*, where he was met by *Macrinus*, A.D. 217, after the assassination of *Caracalla*, with a mighty army also. They engaged with great fury for two days,

without any decisive advantage on either side; at length when *Artabanus*, on the third day, was going to renew the battle, declaring he would continue it till the *Parthians* or *Romans* were cut to pieces, *Macrinus* sent a herald to inform him, that the object of his indignation, *Caracalla*, was dead, and to propose a peace, which the *Parthian* king readily agreed to, on the restoration of the prisoners so treacherously taken, and repayment of his expences in the war.

But in this ruinous battle, the flower of the *Parthian* army being destroyed, *Artaxerxes*, a gallant *Persian*, encouraged his countrymen to seize this opportunity of shaking off the yoke, which they did in a bloody battle of three days' continuance, when the enemy were defeated, and *Artabanus* taken, and put to death.

SECTION X.

IV. PERSIAN DYNASTY. 411 YEARS.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

		Y.	M.		A.D.
1.	*Artaxares*, or *Ardschir ben Babek*	14	10	....	225
2.	*Sapor*, or *Schabour*	31		....	240
3.	*Hormisdas*, or *Hormouz*	1		...	271
4.	*Vararanes*, or *Baharam*	3		....	272
5.	*Vararanes* II. or *Baharam* II.	17		....	275
6.	*Narses*, or *Narsi* ..... (7)	8		....	292
7.	*Misdates*, or *Hormouz*	7	5	....	300
8.	*Sapor* II. or *Schabour doulaktaf*.	70		....	307
9.	*Artaxerxes*, or *Ardschir*	4		....	377
10.	*Sapor* III. or *Schabour ben Schabour*.....	5		....	381
11.	*Vararanes* IV. or *Kerman Schah*	11		....	386
12.	*Isdegertes*, or *Jezdegerd al Athim*	21		....	397
13.	*Vararanes* V. or *Baharam Gour*	23		....	418
14.	*Vararanes* VI. or *Jezdegerd ben Baharam*.... (17)	18		....	441
15.	*Peroz*, or *Firouz*	20		....	459
16.	*Valens*, or *Balasch ben Firouz*.....	4		....	479
17.	*Cavad*, or *Kobad*.....	11		....	483
	Zambad, ...	8		....	494
	Cavad, ...	30		....	502

	Y.	M.		A.D.
18. *Chosroes*, or *Nouschirvan*	48		....	532
19. *Hormisdas* II. or *Hormouz ben Nouschirvan*..	8		....	580
20. *Cosroes* II. or *Khosru Perviz*	39		....	588
21. *Siroes*, or *Shirouieh*.....	1		....	627
22. *Ardesir*, or *Ardeschîr ben Schirouieh* ..... (2 *m.*)	2	6	....	628
23. *Sarbaras*, or *Scheheriar*.....(1, 1 m.)	2		....	630
24. *Hormisdas*, or *Jezdegerd ben Scheheriar*.....	4		....	632
Saracen Dynasty....	411		....	636

This table is constructed by combining together the two tables in the *Universal History*, Vol. IV. p. 324, and p. 373, folio. The former, containing the names and reigns of the Persian kings, according to the Byzantine historians, *Procopius*, *Agathias*, &c., the latter, according to the Persian historians, *Mirkhond*, &c. "which," *Gibbon* remarks, "are preposterously separated." Vol. IV. p. 283. To this is added a correct chronology of the period. The discordant number of reigns in both tables is harmonized, by retrenching two reigns in the former, namely, *Vararanes* III. of only four days, and *Bornarim*, of seven months, which have no correspondences in the latter; and likewise five reigns in the latter, that have no correspondences in the former. The redundant chronology of the latter is by this means reduced to an equality with that of the former, by a few slight corrections.

The commencement of the dynasty is critically determined, on the joint authority of *Abulfaragi* and *Agathias*. *Abulfaragi* (p. 80) reckons that *Artaxares* defeated the *Parthians* three years after the accession of the *Roman* emperor, *Alexander Severus*. But A.D. 222+3=A.D. 225. *Agathias* also (B. II. p. 63,) dates it in the 538th year* of the era of *Seleucus*. But 537−A.D. 312=A.D. 225, as before.

The end of the dynasty is reckoned from the decisive battle of *Cadessia*, A.D. 636, in which *Jezdegerd* was defeated by the *Saracens*. The correct amount therefore of the whole period is 411 years†.

* Instead of the 538th year, the present text of *Abulfaragi* dates it in the 542d year. And this error is adopted by the *Universal History*, reckoning the commencement A.D. 230, as observed before. Such is the carelessness of the Oriental writers, that *Eutychius* dates it as high as the tenth year of *Commodus*, A.D. 190; and *Moses Chorenensis* so low as the reign of *Philip*, A.D. 243. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* represents the *Arsacidæ* as still reigning in the middle of the fourth century, A.D. 350!

† It is incorrectly reckoned 418 years in the present text of *Abulfaragi*.

ARTAXARES, OR ARDSCHIR BEN BABEK, OR BABEGAN.

The Oriental and Byzantine historians differ widely in their account of the family of *Artaxares;* the former represent him as the grandson of *Sassan,* brother of a Persian queen during the *Parthian* dominion; and by his mother's side, the grandson of *Babek,* who was governor of *Persia* proper. Hence, he assumed the title of *Babegan,* and the dynasty, that of *Sassanian.* This is much more credible than the latter, that he was the offspring of an illegitimate commerce of a *soldier, Sassan,* with a shoemaker *Babek's* wife, whence both claimed him as their son! The *Byzantine* historians in general are rather prejudiced against the *Persian* kings, on account of the continual warfare almost subsisting between them and the *Roman* or *Constantinopolitan* emperors, under whose auspices these western historians wrote. They often require therefore to be corrected from the Oriental, who on their parts are too apt to exaggerate, and are to be corrected in turn, from the others.

Artaxares, on the death of his grandfather *Babek,* applied to be appointed his successor in the government; but was refused by *Ardevan,* jealous of his merit, and disturbed by an ominous dream, portending the loss of his life and crown. Offended at this, and apprehensive of the king's displeasure, *Artaxares* fled to *Estachar,* or *Persepolis,* and formed a strong party among the *Persian* nobility, and easily persuaded them to shake off the *Parthian* yoke, which was extremely grievous, and to recover their independence, which they effected after several engagements; in the last of these *Ardevan* was slain. Thereupon, *Ardschir* assumed the sounding title of *Shah in Shah,* "King of kings."

He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he sent a pompous embassy to *Alexander Severus,* the young Roman emperor, requiring him and the *Romans* to relinquish *Syria* and *Asia Minor,* and to restore all the provinces of the ancient *Persian* empire bounded by the *Ægean* and *Euxine* seas. This occasioned a war, which proved unfavourable to the *Romans;* in the course of which *Artaxares* recovered many of the provinces.

This refounder of the *Persian* monarchy was one of the best

and greatest of their kings. He wished to retrieve the ancient glory of the kingdom, by a steady adherence to the maxims of the *Pischdadians* and *Kaianians*, in *politics* and *religion*.

He composed a book for the use of his subjects of every degree, from the highest to the lowest station, entitled *Adab al Aisch*, "Rules for living well *."

The following *political* maxims are truly excellent;

1. *When a king applies himself to render justice, the people are eager to render him obedience.*

2. *Of all princes, the worst is he whom the good fear, and from whom the bad hope.*

3. *All the branches of a community are inseparably connected with each other, and with the trunk; hence kings and subjects have reciprocal cares and duties; which, if neglected on either side, produce ruin and confusion to both.*

4. He so abhorred adulation himself, that he appointed one of his courtiers to examine him every morning, as his confessor, and *to require an account of all that he had said or done the preceding day.*

5. The connexion between the several orders in the state was well expressed in the following: "*The royal authority cannot be supported without troops; nor troops without taxes; nor taxes without culture of the lands; nor this culture without justice well administered, and a police well regulated.*"

6. By the assistance of a select council of seven sages, he abolished the *idolatry* and *superstition* that had been introduced under the *Macedo-Grecian* dynasty, or crept in under the *Parthian*; and he revived the reformed religion of *Darius Hystaspes*; and he proclaimed throughout the empire, that *he had taken away the sword of Aristotle the philosopher, which had devoured the nation for five hundred years past*; meaning the religious and civil innovations of *Alexander*, the pupil of *Aristotle*, which had been adopted by his successors.

After a glorious and prosperous reign, he was succeeded by his son,

* See *Herbelot* Art. *Ardschir Babegan*, p. 116. These maxims are loosely and vaguely paraphrased in the *Universal History*, exhibiting nothing of the conciseness and terseness of *Herbelot*. This remark is true, in general, of its translations.

SHABOUR, OR SAPOR.

The fortunes of this prince were remarkable even in embryo. When *Artaxares* gained the crown by his sword, he with great clemency spared the family of his predecessor, and he married the eldest daughter of the late king, wishing to conciliate the family. But she, looking on him with aversion, as an usurper, soon attempted to poison him, in order to put the tiara on her brother's head. She was detected, however, and sentenced to die. But the Vizier, who was appointed to see the sentence executed, finding she was with child, humanely concealed her, until her delivery, and called her child, *Shah-bour*, or *bar*, "the king's son." A long time after, he disclosed the matter to the king, not without apprehensions of incurring his displeasure; but the king, on the contrary, commended his minister's prudence, blamed his own rashness, received the young prince with the utmost tenderness, and as he had no other son, declared him his heir, and instructed him in the principles of government.

Shabour was distinguished for his bodily strength, mental abilities, and cultivated understanding. He never forgot his obligations to his guardian and uncle, *Ardschir*, who refused the crown when offered to him by the *Persian* nobility, on account of the nonage of the prince at his father's death, and gave up the government to his nephew as soon as he was fit for it. Whenever, therefore, *Sapor* went to any distant province, or on any foreign expedition, he left his uncle in full possession of the royal authority in his absence. Hence some reckoned *Ardschir* among the kings of this dynasty.

He was a martial prince, and carried on a long warfare with the *Romans*, from the reign of the emperor *Gordian*, till he took the emperor *Valerian* prisoner in A.D. 268. According to the *Byzantine* historians, he treated his unfortunate prisoners with the greatest cruelty, and the aged emperor himself, when past seventy years of age, with the most shameful indignity, mounting on horseback, from his neck, as a footstool; and to crown all, after a long imprisonment, he flayed him alive!——Not a syllable of this, however, is to be found in the *Persian* writers. Nothing indeed can be more discordant than these different historians, respecting the character of *Sapor*. From comparing

both, we may collect that he possessed great virtues as well as great vices; he was cruel and implacable to his enemies, but liberal and munificent to his friends, attentive to the welfare of his subjects and the improvement of his kingdom, in constructing great public works, cities, aqueducts, &c. *Mirkhond* relates, that his rigorous administration of justice so alarmed some of his rapacious courtiers, that they murdered him and his attendants, and then set fire to the royal tent, that it might be thought to have been occasioned by lightning.

The best historians of both classes agree, that he reigned 31 years. In his reign flourished the famous *Mani*, or *Manes*, the founder of the *Manichæan heresy* *.

MANICHÆISM.

The founder of this sect or heresy of the *Manichæans*, which spread so widely over the eastern and western Churches, towards the close of the third century, was a *Persian*, named *Mani*, or *Manes*, born A.D. 240, according to the Chronicle of *Edessa*.

Mani, we learn from *Abulfaragi*, p. 82, was at first a Christian priest at *Ehwazi*, who preached and explained the Scriptures, and disputed against *Jews*, *Magi* and *Pagans*. Attempting to reconcile his *philosophy* with *Christianity*, he framed a new system out of both, which he hoped to propagate among *Infidels* and *Christians*. But his personal success was small; he was excommunicated by the *Christians*, and persecuted by *Sapor*, for innovating in the *national religion*, and obliged to fly the country; he was patronised, however, by *Hormouz*, or *Hormisdas*, during the next reign; and was afterwards cruelly put to death by *Varanes* II. at the instigation of the *Magi*, about A.D. 275. But his heresy survived him, and spread itself through *Persia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Spain*; and especially *Africa*.

The *Manichæans* fell into great errors, and strangely corrupted the Christian faith; but they were much misrepresented, and cruelly treated by their adversaries. *Christians* of every sect and denomination, Eastern *Pagans*, *Mahometans*, and *Jews*, all agreed in hating the *Manichæans* for their arrogance and lofty pretensions.

Mani pretended to be an *Apostle* * of JESUS CHRIST, and a *prophet* illuminated by the HOLY SPIRIT, to reform all religions, and to reveal those truths which our Saviour had not thought proper to communicate to his first disciples. This was his imposture or enthusiasm; and in this, he was imitated by his successor *Mahomet*.

By virtue of his divine mission, he chose *twelve Apostles* and *seventy disciples*, whom he sent forth into all parts, to preach his doctrines. He boasted of a perfect knowledge of all things, and of having banished *mysteries* from religion. And the celebrated *Augustine*, who had been seduced into this heresy in his youth, but opposed it strenuously in his age, confesses that his chief motive for adopting it, was the hope of understanding every thing by *demonstration*, and of knowing GOD by the sole light of *reason*.—"But the world by *wisdom* knew not GOD." 1 Cor. i. 21.

Hence, *Mani* rejected the OLD, and professed to reform the NEW TESTAMENT. He

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* *Mani* began his epistles thus: *Mani*, an *Apostle* of JESUS CHRIST, and *all the Saints* with me, unto *Marcellus*, my dear son, grace, mercy and peace from GOD THE FATHER and the LORD JESUS CHRIST"—like another *Paul*.

HORMOUZ, OR HORMISDAS.

This prince succeeded his father. He was called *al horri*, "*the liberal*;" and he seemed to deserve the appellation from

denied the *inspiration* of the *Hebrew* prophets, and opposed to them other prophets, (*Zorouaster*, &c.) whose books the eastern nations pretended to have preserved. He affirmed, that every nation had been favoured with prophets, and that the Christian Church, being chiefly composed of *Gentiles*, ought to be guided by those illuminated Gentile teachers, and not by *Hebrew* instructors; grounding his argument on Heb. i. 1.

He impeached the authenticity of the *Gospels*, pretending that they were not the works of the *Apostles* and *apostolical men*, whose names they bear; or that if they were, they had been early adulterated by *Judaizing* Christians, either by omissions, interpolations, or alterations of the original text. And this groundless and untenable notion, has been adopted by some modern *Unitarians*, and exemplified in their recent *improved Version of the* NEW TESTAMENT; the most daringly *disimproved* that ever was published by any sect *professing* Christianity; for it does not appear that *Mani* or his followers took upon them to curtail or interpolate the NEW TESTAMENT, though they charged it with *dissonances* and *mistakes*.

He admitted, however, the authority of apocryphal books, composed to maintain the heresies of the *Gnostics*, *Docetæ* and *Encratites*, whose notions he adopted; with the two first, he held the proper *divinity* of CHRIST, that he had only the *appearance* of a man, not the reality, and that he was neither born of the Virgin, nor crucified by the *Jews*; and with the last, he enjoined celibacy to his *elect* and his *clergy*, and abstinence from flesh and wine; that, like OUR LORD, they should embrace celibacy, voluntary poverty, and not meddle in secular affairs; but he did not impose those restrictions upon the *laity*.

I. His *theological* notions were a heterogeneous compound of *Christianity*, *magism*, and Oriental *philosophy*.

He held a consubstantial *Trinity*, of three distinct persons in the Godhead. *Faustus*, a Manichæan Bishop, in his controversy with *Augustine*, states it thus:

"We worship *one and the same* DEITY (NUMEN) under the three-fold appellation of GOD ALMIGHTY, THE FATHER, and CHRIST HIS SON, and the HOLY GHOST. But we believe that THE FATHER himself inhabits the supreme and primæval '*light*,' which *Paul* calls '*inaccessible*;' (1 Tim. vi. 16) that THE SON dwells in this secondary and visible *light*, [as THE LORD OF GLORY, 1 Cor. ii. 8] who, since he is two-fold himself, as the same Apostle acknowledges, calling him *the power of* GOD, and *the wisdom of* GOD, (1 Cor. i. 24) we believe that his power resides in *the sun*, and his wisdom in *the moon*; and that the third majesty, THE HOLY SPIRIT, has the *air* for his seat and residence." There, they are supposed to remain, to execute the orders of the Father, till the consummation of the world, which shall be destroyed by fire.—In the latter part of this system, which is pure *magism*, and not remote from the *Egyptian theology*, we have a curious specimen of their mode of wresting Scripture (1 Cor. i. 24) to favour their philosophy, from its proper sense of the grand *mystery* of "CHRIST *crucified*, to *Jews* a stumbling block, to *Pagans* (*Greek* or *Persian*) foolishness;" but to believers in the *atonement*, "the *power of* GOD and *the wisdom of* GOD, unto *salvation*." 1 Cor. i. 21—25; Rom. i. 16; Coloss. ii. 2, 3.

To account for the *origin of evil*, without ascribing it to GOD, the *Persians*, *Chaldeans*, *Indians*, and the early Christian heretic, *Basilides*, who first introduced it into the *Chris-*

the following anecdote: Having built the city of *Hormouz*, or *Ormus*, on the Persian gulph, the governor purchased for him a

'*tian* Church, about the beginning of the second century, and from them, *Mani*, held the existence of two eternal and independent principles, a *good* and an *evil*. The evil power, *Mani* called *matter*, philosophically, *darkness*, mystically, and the *Devil* in popular style; who, he said, was confined, by the LIVING SPIRIT in the *air*, where he and his *demons* cause thunder, lightning, tempests, and pestilent disorders.

Mani ascribed to mankind *two souls*, a *good* and a *bad*; the good of celestial origin, the bad proceeding from the admixture of *matter* in the human composition. *Flesh* being composed of matter, it followed thence, that the SON OF GOD had not the real nature, but only assumed *the figure of a man*. *Mani* therefore denied the *incarnation* of CHRIST; that he used *food* for his sustenance; that he had a soul susceptible of the *innocent affections*; that he *suffered, died*, and *rose again*. He acknowledged indeed, that all this was done in *appearance*, but not in reality. He also denied the *resurrection of the body*, since that would tend to perpetuate those evils of which flesh is the cause. These fundamental errors, he and his followers weakly endeavoured to support by detached texts of Scripture; 1 John v. 19; Matt. vii. 18; Rom. vii. 23—25; Phil. ii. 6—8; 1 Cor. xv. 50, &c. without taking into account others, the most explicit; that GOD is the supreme author and arbiter of *all good* and *evil*; Isa. xlv. 7; Amos iii. 6; Jam. i. 13—17; that "*Greater* is HE presiding in us, than *he* in the world;" 1 John iv. 4; that "if we resist *the Devil*, he will flee from us, when thoroughly armed with the *divine panoply*," Jam. iv. 7; Ephes. vi. 10—17. That whatever inequalities may be found in the dispensations of his providence, in this probationary and preparatory state, will be all redressed and rectified in the future, when "He will *judge the world in righteousness* by that MAN for whom he ordained the judgment; whereof He hath given *assurance* to all, by raising him from the dead, *bodily*." Acts xvii. 31; Job xix. 25; Ps. l. 1; Matt. xiii. 24—30; John v. 22—29; Matt. xxv. 31—46; 1 Cor. i. 42—44.

Mani held a *transmigration of souls* after death; that they passed successively through different bodies; that such as were not sufficiently purged, in a certain number of these revolutions, were delivered to the *dæmons* of *the air*, to be tormented and tamed by them; that after this severe discipline, they traversed the regions of matter, and entered into the *watery* element of the *moon*, and contribute to her increase of light, by their luminous nature, when coming; and that the moon when filled with these bright spirits, at her full, transmits them to the sun, and thereby occasion her decrease, or wane, till the new, by their departure: and that the sun, by his purifying *fire*, sends them refined to heaven, which the *Manichæans* called *the pillar of glory*. *Mani* was not the inventor of these absurd and fantastical notions; which are attributed to him by *Augustine*, *Archelaus*, *Titus of Bostra*, and others; who attest their prevalence among his sect.

II. The *religious worship* and *morality* of these heretics, however, was better, by far, than their *theology* and *physiology*.

When *Augustine* reproached the *Manichæans* with being no other than *Pagan schismatics*, who had separated themselves from the body of the Gentiles, but still retained their *idolatry* and *superstitions*: *Faustus*, his opponent, replied,

"The *Pagans* think that God is to be served by *altars*, *temples*, *images*, and *victims*: I differ widely from them, in this respect also; for I think that I am *myself*, (if I be found worthy) a *reasonable temple of* GOD: I receive CHRIST HIS SON as a *living image of* THE LIVING GOD; I consider his *altar*, a *mind* imbued with *good dispositions* and *discipline*; the *honours* and *sacrifices* acceptable to THE DEITY, as consisting in *prayers alone*, prayers *pure* and *simple*. How then can I be deemed a *Pagan schismatic?*"

This, indeed, affords an advantageous specimen of *Manichæan* worship, in the true,

lot of diamonds for 100,000 gold dinars; informing him, that if he did not chuse to keep them, he might sell them at double the cost, or in the mercantile phrase, gain *cent. per cent.* profit. But this wise and disinterested prince replied, *To me a hundred or a thousand per cent. is nothing. But if I meddle in merchandize, who will undertake the functions of the king? and what will become of the merchants?*

One of his sayings was this; *Princes are like fire: which burns those that approach too near; but greatly serves those that keep at a proper distance.* Its spirit is well expressed by the wise son of *Sirach*,

"*Intrude not on a great man, lest thou be repulsed: withdraw not, lest thou be forgotten.*" Ecclus. xiii. 10.

III.

genuine spirit of Christianity, before its adulteration; superior indeed to the *Catholic*, even at that time; if we may judge from the retort of *Faustus*, representing them rather as retaining many Pagan superstitions themselves.

"You," says he, "have substituted your *agapæ*, or love feasts, for the sacrifices of the *Pagans*, your martyrs for their idols, whom you serve with the very same honours. You appease the *manes*, or shades of the dead, with wine and feasts; you celebrate the solemn festivals of the Gentiles, on their *calends*, and their *solstices*. And as to their *manners*, those you have retained without any alteration. Nothing distinguishes you from the *Pagans*, except that you hold your assemblies separate from them!"

In these charges, it must be confessed, there was some truth, mixed with falsehood and exaggeration. Even at that early period of the Church, *Pagan* usages had begun to creep into it, along with *Pagan* proselytes. The corruption increased rapidly in the next century, and woefully in the ensuing, till the *Reformation*. See its progress traced in the third volume of this work, B. II. p. 610, &c. and in *Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I.

The *Manichæans* observed the Christian sacraments of *Baptism* and *the Lord's Supper*; and like the Orientals in general, were great *fasters*; but with the *Guebres*, or ancient Persians, they justly considered fasting as inferior to *abstinence* or continence.

"When others keep a fast, the meaning is, that they eat nothing before dinner: our fast consists in endeavouring to restrain the organs of our body, our *hands*, our *eyes*, our *tongues* from *all sin*. It is better to *abstain* from concupiscence and vice, than from food."——This indeed is the *fast* recommended by the *prophets*; but it is the least ostentatious, and the most difficult, and not at all calculated to please *hypocrites* of any Church or sect.

From this sketch of their tenets, selected from *Jortin*, Vol. I. p. 388—411, and the copious collections of *Lardner*, Vol. III. p. 368—545, it is no wonder that the *Manichæans* were hated and persecuted by all other sects. So late as A.D. 1022, the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* were persecuted by the See of *Rome*, and massacred under the pretence of being *Manichæans!* See their tenets, Vol. III. p. 355, note, of this work.

They seem indeed to have been an inoffensive and harmless people, in their *religious* and *moral* conduct, more sinned against than sinning; though wild in their theological speculations, and miserable expounders of Scripture mysteries, "*receiving the words of the sacred writers, when they could wrest them to their own purpose; and rejecting them, when they could not;*" says *Jortin*. In which blasphemous and fraudulent practice they were by no means singular.

A fine saying of the next prince *Baharam* is recorded: "*Humanity* cannot be defined, *because it comprehends all the virtues.*" Persian *humanity*, therefore, was equivalent to Christian *charity*. These were the princes whom the arrogance of the *Greeks* and *Romans* called *Barbarians!*

VARANES II. OR BAHARAM II.

This prince acted with so much haughtiness and cruelty at first, that he was surnamed *Khalef*, "unjust," and he would have been dethroned, had not the *Magi* undertaken his reformation; which, by their sage admonitions, they effected, and he became an excellent prince. With *Mirkhond*, I have omitted the reign of his son *Varanes* III. of only four months, following *Agathias*, and who did nothing worthy of notice, by the consent of the Oriental historians.

His successor, *Narses*, or *Narsi*, was engaged in a long war with the *Romans* during the reign of *Diocletian*. At first, he defeated *Galerius*, one of the *Cæsars;* but was afterwards defeated by him in turn, and forced to surrender the five provinces west of the *Tigris*, and his sister, concubines, and nobles were taken prisoners, and led in triumph at *Rome*. These disasters broke his heart.

Misdates, or *Hormouz*, succeeded his father *Narses*, and was eminent for his justice. When he saw that the rich oppressed the poor, he established a court of justice for the redress of the latter: and he often presided therein himself, to keep the judges in awe. When he was dying, the nobility elected the infant of whom the queen was pregnant, his successor; the *Magi* having foretold that it would be a son, who therefore was called *Schabour doulaktaf*, "*the king's son on the shoulder*," or upon "*whose shoulder* the *government* devolved before his birth *. This was a title of THE MESSIAH. Isa. ix. 6.

SAPOR II. OR SCHABOUR DOULAKTAF.

When this great prince came of age, he resolved to revenge the injuries of the *Arabs* during his nonage, and put their king to

* Others say, that he got this title from breaking the *shoulder* or *collar bones* of the inhabitants of *Yemen*, to prevent them from bearing arms. But so singular a punishment may well be questioned. It is unexampled, we believe, in history.

death, and treated the inhabitants of *Yemen* with great cruelty; having been advised by his astrologers, that some one of their nation would, in future, subvert the *Persian* empire. But *Malek ben Nasser*, an ancestor of *Mahomet*, their ambassador, remonstrated with *Sapor*, either that the prediction might be false, and should not be minded, or that, if true, his cruelties would only provoke the *Arabs* to retaliate. Reflecting on this, the king altered his conduct, and treated the *Arabs* so kindly, that they called him *Doulaknaf*, "*on the wings*;" or their *Protector*; from the eagles carrying their young on their wings. This also was a title of the tutelar GOD OF ISRAEL, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11; and of JESUS CHRIST, Matt. xxiii. 37.

Sapor was at continual variance with the *Romans;* but during the reign of *Constantine* the Great, durst not wage open war with them. He opposed them, however, underhand, and more effectually, by stirring up the barbarian tribes, residing on their frontiers, to ravage and harass the Roman provinces. Wishing to learn the true state of the Roman affairs, he went himself in the disguise of an ambassador to *Constantinople*, but was suspected, and imprisoned there. At length he escaped by the assistance of a lady of the court, whom he had corrupted, and fled, disguised, through *Media*, where he was hospitably entertained at a hermitage, thence called *Schabouran;* and afterwards built a city near the hermitage, called *Cazvin*, or *Casbin*, to be a barrier of the empire on that side, against the neighbouring nations; and he reduced the *Delemites* who opposed the building. He then extended his dominions eastward and northward; increased his revenues by encouraging trade and commerce; disciplined his troops; and above all things, affected a profound veneration for the civil and religious institutions of his country.

At the instigation of the *Magi*, he persecuted both the *Jews* and the *Christians;* the former as bad subjects, and avowed enemies of their religion; the latter, as attached to *Constantine* the Great, after his profession of Christianity. Hence *Constantine* interceded for them with *Sapor*, in an excellent letter, given entire by *Eusebius* in his life of *Constantine;* wherein the emperor first gives a short account of his own faith, then of his successes, which he ascribes to God's blessing thereon; he reprobates the folly of idolatry, and represents in pathetic terms, the miseries that attended persecutors, particularly *Valerian*,

who prospered till he persecuted the Christians; and he warmly recommends the Persian Christians to *Sapor's* protection, and beseeches *Sapor*, for his sake, to consider them as good and faithful subjects. This letter probably produced a good effect, for *Sapor* afterwards treated the Christians with less severity.

Upon the death of *Constantine*, the Persian monarch taking advantage of the dissentions that ensued in the Roman empire, under *Constantius*, renewed the war, with various successes and reverses of fortune: in several pitched battles, and in the defence of fortresses, the *Romans* had usually the advantage, but in rapid marches, equestrian skirmishes, and surprizes, the *Persians*. At length, he destroyed the emperor *Julian* and his army, by drawing them too far into his country, and concluded a peace on advantageous terms with the *Romans*, by which the five provinces in dispute were for ever ceded to the *Persians*, and the strong fortress of *Nisibis*, in *Mesopotamia*, which had been so long the bulwark of the eastern boundary of the Roman empire, A.D. 363.

This restless and ambitious monarch ended his long reign and life of 70, or 72 years, in the beginning of the reign of *Gratian*, which began A.D. 375, on the latter supposition; or two years before, on the former; according to the varying accounts of the *Byzantine* and *Persian* historians. The latter date its commencement in the 26th year of *Diocletian*, who began to reign A.D. 284, or two years later than the table. See *Herbelot*, p. 749.

The three following princes did nothing remarkable.

ISDEGERTES, OR JEZDEGERD.

Nothing can be more opposite than the character of this king, as described by the Byzantine and Persian historians. The former represent him as a monarch deservedly renowned for his many virtues; the latter call him *Al Athim*, "*the wicked*," and the oppressor of his subjects. Both accounts are overcharged; and we may ascribe both to his partiality for the *Christians*, whom he first of all the Persian monarchs favoured and protected.

Procopius relates, that the emperor *Arcadius*, from the high reputation of *Isdegertes* for wisdom and probity, with whom he lived not only in peace, but on terms of friendship, declared

him guardian of his son *Theodosius* II. and protector of the Roman empire; and that the will of *Arcadius* to this effect was sent to *Isdegertes*, who accepted the trust, and maintained the peace of the Roman empire during the minority of the young prince. *Cedrenus* relates the same, with the additional circumstance, that *Arcadius*, in his will, bequeathed the Persian king a great sum of money for his trouble. And all the Greek writers own that *Isdegertes* during his reign for 21 years, lived in the utmost harmony with *Theodosius*. These positive testimonies greatly outweigh the doubts of *Agathias* as to the fact of the guardianship, who lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the Persians; and they fully vindicate the character of this illustrious prince from the calumnies of the Persian priesthood, who practised several pious frauds upon the king, for which he ordered the *Magi* to be decimated, allowed the *Christians* to build churches throughout his dominions, and repealed the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors, as we learn from *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. VII. c. 8.

The *Persian* historians relate, that *Jezdegerd* was killed by the kick of a vicious horse; and that the Magi, through hatred to him, set up *Kesra*, a nobleman, in opposition to his son *Baharam Gour*, who was then abroad, educating by an Arab prince.

VARANES V. OR BAHARAM GOUR, OR JUR.

This young prince, (who derived his surname from his fondness for hunting the *jur*, or "*wild ass*,") by the assistance of the *Arabs*, raised an army to recover his crown; while the Persian nobility, persisting in their rebellion, resolved to support the king they had chosen. To prevent the effusion of blood, a proposal was made by *Baharam*, that the crown of *Persia* should be placed on a cushion between two hungry lions, shut up in a particular place, and that the prince who should take it away should wear it. Which being done, *Baharam* said to his competitor: *Kesra, advance courageously, and take away the crown. Kesra* replied: *I am already in possession of the throne; it is your business, who pretend thereto, to fetch the crown from the place where it is. Baharam*, without reply or hesitation, instantly flung himself, though unarmed, upon the lions, with the fury and impetuosity of a tiger; killed them both with his own

hands; and tearing the crown, as it were, from their fangs, put it upon his head, and appeared thus before the lords, who flocked from all quarters to see so extraordinary a spectacle. *Kesra* himself was the first to embrace him, and to adjudge him worthy of the crown which he had now gained by his valour.

Soon after his election, *Baharam* was invaded by the *Khacan*, or *Kaikhan*, "the great king" of *Turan*, or *Turkistan*, with an immense army. *Baharam*, unable to oppose the enemy in the field, appointed his brother, *Narsi*, regent in his absence, and retired with a chosen troop, of only a thousand horse, into *Armenia:* so that the *Turks*, thinking that he had abdicated the crown, advanced in disorder, and without discipline, to the sure conquest, as they thought, of the whole country. But *Baharam*, fetching a compass round by the coast of the *Caspian* Sea, gained the important pass of *Khuaresme*, in the rear of the *Turks;* fell upon them unawares at night, without guards, buried in wine and sleep, destroyed their army, and killed the *Khan* in his tent; and pursued the fugitives to the river *Gihon*, the boundary of the two empires; and after so complete a victory, returned triumphant into his own dominions.

The roving disposition of *Baharam*, which he had contracted from his education among the *Arabs*, led him to the romantic project of quitting his kingdom, now in full peace, and seeking adventures as a private knight, in *India;* where he offered his services to a king of that country. His first exploit was the killing a wild elephant, which had done prodigious mischief, and destroyed all the hunters sent against him. But *Baharam* pierced him with an arrow, in the head, which entered up to the feathers, and slew him. He next defeated a neighbouring prince, who had rebelled against the king; for which service, the king made him his *prime vizier*, and gave him his daughter in marriage, with an immense dower.

Finding, however, that his father-in-law, jealous of his high reputation, altered his behaviour toward him, he disclosed his rank to him, and returned with his wife and his wealth to his own dominions, after an absence of two years.

After his return, he reduced the kingdom of *Yemen*, or *Arabia*, and all its dependencies; and he renewed the persecution against the *Christians*, provoked at the unwarrantable zeal of *Abdas*, the Persian prelate, who burned a fire temple to the ground; and when gently reproved by the king, who had a

great personal respect for him, refused to rebuild it, according to his command. At the instigation of the *Magi*, the king put *Abdas* to death, and demolished the churches, and confiscated the estates of the nobility who would not recant.

This brought on a war with *Theodosius;* for multitudes of the Christians in Persia sought refuge in the Roman dominions, where they were hospitably received; and *Varanes* had refused to send back some miners lent by *Theodosius*, to his father *Isdegertes*, to work anew some neglected gold and silver mines in *Persia.* After various reverses of fortune on both sides, a peace was concluded, and *Varanes* not only desisted from persecuting the Christians, but treated them favourably; struck with the generosity of *Acases*, the bishop of *Amida*, and his clergy, who sold all their consecrated plate of gold and silver vessels, to maintain seven thousand *Persian* prisoners, taken early in the war by the *Romans;* and sent them all home at the conclusion of the war, with money to defray their expences on the road. Thus, by *heaping coals of fire* upon the head of this high-minded prince, did these *Christian* miners *melt his heart* to mutual compassion and kindness; verifying St. Paul's precept. After this, *Varanes* lived in peace, and died beloved and honoured by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours; with the character of the bravest, most generous, and one of the most fortunate princes, that ever swayed the *Persian* sceptre. *Khondemir, Mirkhond*, &c.

VARANES VI. OR JEZDEGERD BEN BAHARAM.

This wise prince succeeded his father, having received an excellent education from his uncle *Narsi.* He followed his father's example in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, while he carefully attended himself to business. He was peculiarly strict in the administration of equal and impartial justice; he restored the ancient regulations that had fallen into disuse, and framed new laws by the advice of his council. And he attended to their execution himself. He kept up discipline in his army without severity; and never punished but with reluctance, whence he was called *Sipahdost*, "*lover of his soldiers.*"

The only military expedition noticed in his reign, was to recover some arrears due by the *Constantinopolitan* emperors;

for which purpose he marched an army into their territories; but treated the inhabitants with the greatest civility, paying for all they got, and not as enemies. Afraid of his subjects being seduced by this kindness, their emperor, *Theodosius* the younger, immediately paid the arrears, which he had refused before; and the Persian returned home, without committing the smallest disorder, by which *noble retreat,* he gained more reputation than his predecessors by their conquests. He is blackened, however, by some of the *Persian* writers, as unchaste, avaricious, and cruel. They style him *Aitam,* which includes violation, pillage, and massacre. The Persian priests indeed detested him for countenancing Christianity; which, by the preaching of *Manetha,* bishop of *Diarbekir,* in *Mesopotamia,* and his assistants, made great progress.

PEROSES, OR FIROUZ.

The late king had two sons, *Firouz* and *Hormouz.* The younger, and the most deserving, he wished to appoint his successor; and with that view, sent away his elder son to be governor of *Nimrouz,* including *Sigistan* and *Makran.* Upon his father's death, *Hormouz* assumed the throne, supported by the nobility in general. But his brother, *Firouz,* engaged the *Haiathelites,* an *Indo-Scythian* tribe, who bordered on his provinces, to assist him in the recovery of his right, promising their king the whole of his province, as a recompence.

With these auxiliaries, and such of the Persians as espoused his cause, he invaded *Persia,* defeated his brother *Hormouz,* after he had reigned for a year, and put him to death.

After a long drought of six years' continuance, and the restoration of plenty in the seventh, the first act of *Firouz,* after this national scourge for national offences, was to invade the country of the *Haiathelites,* his benefactors, to their utter astonishment, at his ingratitude. Their king, however, contrived to draw him into an ambuscade, by a mutilated deserter, like another *Zopyrus,* and compelled him to surrender, with the shattered remains of his army. But he kindly liberated the *Persians,* and sent them home, after taking an oath not to invade his territories any more.

No sooner was *Firouz* extricated, than, in violation of his

oath, he invaded the *Haiathelites* again, with a more numerous army; but was entrapped again, by another stratagem. The enemy having timely notice of his intention, employed several months in digging a great dyke in the midst of a plain, of considerable length and breadth, leaving only a narrow neck of land, in the middle of its extent, for a pass across. The dyke they covered with hurdles, which they strewed with earth and concealed with sods of grass, so as to appear like the rest of the plain. On the approach of *Peroses*, they drew up their army in front of the dyke; and when pressed by the Persian cavalry, they retreated in close order across the pass; while the Persians pursuing, with great fury, fell, and pushed each other into the dyke; when they were all taken or destroyed. Among the rest, fell *Peroses* himself, and thirty of his sons.

This extraordinary and successful stratagem, strongly resembled the fable told by his Roman friend *Eusebius*, to *Peroses*, when he was drawn into the former ambuscade. "*A lion once saw a kid tied at some distance; and springing at it, fell into a pit, that had been prepared to catch him; from which he was unable to extricate himself.*" The drift of this was to shew *Peroses*, the aggressor, that he was at the mercy of his enemy, and must submit to any conditions, however hard or humiliating, that might be imposed on him. The *Haiathelites*, perhaps, availed themselves literally of this same fable, in the second expedition, to catch *the lion;* who met there the just reward of his complicated ingratitude and perfidy. This curious fact is attested both by the eastern and western historians.

The king of the *Haiathelites*, whose generosity was equal to his policy, thinking the death of *Firouz* a sufficient security, not only made peace with the *Persians*, whom he considered as compelled to follow their sovereign to the field; but also dismissed all the prisoners he had taken, without ransom. Such interesting traits of benevolence and charity, as well as of wisdom and sagacity, tend to enliven the gloomy pages of *Universal History*, in which deceit and fraud, rapine and violence, wars and tumults, abound. They tend also to raise our opinion of the moral and intellectual character of ancient and foreign nations, unjustly reputed savage and barbarian. Such anecdotes furnish the true *pith*, or *marrow of history;* the rest, but the *bark*.

The faithless *Firouz* was succeeded by his brother, or rather his son, *Valens*, or *Balasch;* who, during his short reign, submitted quietly to the dominion of the *Haiathelites.*

CAVADES, OR COBAD.

This prince succeeded his brother *Valens*, and was of a martial and enterprising disposition; but rather superstitious *.

In the tenth year of his reign, appeared *Mazdek*, an impostor, in the desert, who set up for a prophet, and pretended to introduce a purer religion than had hitherto been revealed to mankind, like *Mani.* But he relaxed from the austerity and self-denial of his predecessor; and, to gain popularity, inculcated a community of women, and of property, and gave *Cobad*, who patronized him, a dispensation to marry his own sister, a woman of exquisite beauty; and license to plunder his nobility, and debauch their wives and daughters! This naturally produced an insurrection, in which the Persian nobles dethroned and imprisoned *Cobad*, and appointed *Zambad*, or *Giamasp*, a person of great wisdom and integrity, king in his stead. But some time after, *Cobad* contrived to escape from prison, to the king of the *Haiathelites*, who assisted him with an army to recover his kingdom; when he deposed *Zambad*, and put out his eyes.

He then embarked in a war with the *Romans*, to repay the king of the *Haiathelites* large sums of money, which he had borrowed, and for the charges of the expedition to restore him. The *Roman* historians inconsistently represent *Cobad* as having made war on the *Haiathelites*, and subdued them, in the beginning of his reign; and yet, as if more apprehensive of incurring their resentment, by not complying with their demands, than of provoking a war with the *Romans.* They have therefore ante-

* *Cobad*, according to *Persian* romance, once besieged a castle near *India*, called *Tsudador*, filled with immense treasures, but garrisoned by wicked demons, who were proof against all mortal arms. *Cobad*, therefore, had recourse to spiritual. He employed his *Persian* priests, the *Magi*, first to exorcise them; next, the *Jewish Rabbis*, and others, but to no purpose: the demons still held out. At last, he applied to a *Christian* bishop, who undertook it, exorcised and expelled the infernal garrison, and delivered up the castle, with all its treasures, to the king; who thenceforth gave the *Christian* bishop, as was reasonable, a decided preference above all other exorcists.

dated his war with the *Haiathelites*, which followed the *Roman* war during the reigns of *Anastasius*, *Justin*, and *Justinian*, with various success.

The learned authors of the *Universal History* have well accounted for the frequency of the wars between the *Romans* and *Persians* at this period, from the subsidies paid by the *Roman* emperors to the *Persian* kings, though not acknowledged by the *Roman* historians. As often as the former were pacific, or the empire in confusion, the subsidies were paid; but when the emperors were martial, and the empire flourishing, the subsidies were stopped, and then the *Persians* renewed their incursions, until they were either beaten or bought off by the *Romans*. At other times, ambitious and turbulent *Persian* princes, who wanted money, like *Cobad*, began a war without grounds, and as soon as the *Romans* would come up to his price, he sold them a peace; well knowing that the emperors could not well support the immense expence of keeping up a great army on the frontiers of *Persia* for any length of time. This is a more rational solution than that of the *Roman* historians; that these wars were owing to the little respect of the *Persians*, whom they affect to consider as *Barbarians*, for oaths and treaties. The *Persians*, on the contrary, at this time, were not only numerous and warlike, but an intelligent and polished people: and *Christianity* appears to have made considerable progress among them, even before the rise of the *Manichæan* heresy. For *heresies* are not apt to spring up, till a religion gains some establishment. Certainly Christianity was less persecuted in the *Persian*, than in the *Roman* empire; a sure proof that their religion was less corrupt, and their princes, in general, men of more worth and talents than the *Roman*; which must be attributed to a better education; and their government was less disturbed, owing to a better administration of justice, and more respect for the laws and constitutions of the country.

This last circumstance was evinced on the death of *Cobad*. By his will, he left the crown of *Persia* to his youngest son, *Chosroes*, as the most worthy, in exclusion of his two elder sons *Caoses* and *Zames*; and an assembly of the nobles set aside the claim of *Caoses*, confirmed the will, and elected *Chosroes* king.

CHOSROES, OR NOUSCHIRVAN.

This illustrious prince was surnamed *Nouschirvan*, or *Nouschi Revan*, "*a soul candied in honey*;" intimating his uncommon sweetness of disposition. He was by far the greatest prince of this dynasty, and, in the opinion of the Persian writers, *Sadi*, *Hafiz*, *Giami*, *Megidi*, &c. the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in *Persia*. He approached, indeed, the nearest to *Cyrus* the Great, or *Kai Khosru*. He was happy in his genius and talents, and still more so in their cultivation. The dawn of his government disclosed an auspicious presage of an excellent reign; whose long meridian splendour encreased the prosperity of his kingdom.

Though naturally of the mildest disposition, he began his reign with an act of severity. He caused *Mazdek*, that licentious and lawless false prophet, to be apprehended, and sentenced him to death; declaring his determined resolution to extirpate the followers of this pestilent heresy, for the good of the state. The impostor pleaded against the sentence: "PROVIDENCE, *O king, ordained thee to rule over us, to protect, not to destroy.*" "*True, thou son of corruption,*" said *Nouschirvan*, "*but rememberest thou not, how thou once didst impudently demand permission of* Cobad, *my father, to lie with my mother! and how thy followers have plundered my subjects! I seek not therefore to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself, and to protect the people committed by Providence to my care.*" After the execution of their chief, the king published a decree, that *his followers should either restore their plunder to the owners, or be capitally punished, as robbers.* They willingly accepted the alternative, to save their lives: and thus, by this wise and temperate procedure, the peace and properties of the people were secured against the outrages of these profligate fanatics, with little bloodshed.

Nouschirvan next disgraced the public officers who had been obnoxious to the people in the last reign. One of these was reduced to poverty; and notwithstanding the king's prohibition, that they should not appear at court on the king's birth day, he slipped in among the crowd, waited at the royal table, and stole a gold plate, which he hid in his bosom, unperceived by all but the king. When the plate was missing, the chief butler made

a great stir about it; but the king stopped him, saying, *The thief will not restore it again; and the person who saw him will not inform against him.* On the next birth day, the officer appeared again at court, dressed in a new habit. The king observing it, called him, and, whispering, asked: "*Whether he had bought the habit with the money he got for the plate?*" "*Yes, Sir,*" replied the officer, without being disconcerted, "and *these buskins too,*" lifting up the skirt of his robe, to shew them. The naiveté of this reply made the good king laugh; and finding that the theft was occasioned by downright necessity, he gave the officer a further sum of money.

Nouschirvan was as great a statesman and politician, as warrior; equally skilful in the cabinet, as in the field. He kept up a warfare, at intervals, with the Roman emperors, *Justinian* and *Tiberius*, throughout the whole course almost of his long reign, in which he was generally successful, overreaching the *Romans* as much by his address in negociation, as by his valour and activity in war. He encouraged the *Saracens* and *Goths* to invade the *Roman* territories, and when *Justinian* remonstrated, with loud complaints, *Chosroes* replied, "that his brother, the *Roman* emperor, had no right to complain, since it could be proved, by his own letters, that he had practised with the *Saracens* and the *Huns* to invade *Persia.*"

His usual policy was to levy great contributions in the *Roman* territories, and to dismantle their cities, and plunder the rich offerings in the churches *. After he had taken and burnt *Antioch*, and transplanted the inhabitants into *Persia*, aiming to depopulate the *Roman* provinces, and encrease his own population, ambassadors came from *Justinian* to expostulate upon this breach of the first peace. The wily *Persian* received them with great civility and seeming attention; with tears in his eyes, he deprecated the miseries of this war, into which he was reluctantly driven by the *Persian* nobility, he said, to resist the ambition and aggressions of *Justinian*, stirring up enemies against them on every side, and tampering with his Christian subjects to shake off their allegiance. Intimating, however, that he might be induced, by a considerable sum of money paid in hand, and an annual subsidy, to return home, and make a lasting peace. The ambassadors were confounded by his impassioned

* See an instance of this in the next reign.

harangue; confessing, that his eloquence was more formidable than his arms. And nothing more strongly excited the envy of the Roman historians, *Procopius*, in his history of *Justinian*, and *Agathias*, his continuator, or induced them to represent this great prince in an unfavourable light, than that a *barbarian* prince should be admired as a philosopher and a man of letters; but the splendour of his talents burst through the vail of their misrepresentations; while the amplifications of the Persian historians run into the opposite extreme.

Chosroes extended and improved his empire on every side. It reached from *Syria*, and the Mediterranean sea, to the river *Indus*, eastwards; and from the *Sihon* and *Jaxartes*, to the frontiers of *Egypt*, southwards. He built his splendid capital city of *Madain*, on the *Tigris*, about a day's journey from *Bagdat;* and adorned it with a stately and sumptuous palace, called *Thak Khosrou*, "the dome of Khosru," from its magnificent cupola; in the vault of which he deposited his immense treasures. So solid and durable was its construction, that when the Caliph *Almanzor* ordered it to be pulled down, in order to employ the materials in building the citadel of *Bagdat*, he was forced to abandon the attempt, on account of the greatness of the expence and labour, and to leave most part of the palace undemolished. Upon which, a *Persian* poet wrote the following distich.

> "*See here the reward of an excellent work;*
> *All consuming Time still spares the palace of Chosru* *."

He completed also the famous wall of *Gog* and *Magog*, to prevent the irruptions of the *Scythian* and *Tartar* tribes into *Iran*, begun by an ancient prince, called *Askander*.

For the better and speedier administration of justice, throughout his vast dominions, he divided the empire into four districts. The first included the frontier provinces toward *Tartary* and *India;* the second, *Parthia*, and the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* Sea; the third, *Persia*, and the provinces between it and the Persian Gulf; and the fourth, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, *Syria*, and *Arabia*. Over each district, he appointed one of the

* Instead of the simplicity of this elegant distich, thus closely translated from *Herbelot*, the *Universal History* gives the following inflated paraphrase, Vol. IV. p. 393, fol.

> "*Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy:*
> *Nor rage, nor time, can thy designs destroy!*"

royal family, to act as chief justice; and to decide in ordinary cases without appeal; but in capital causes, they could not punish, without receiving instructions from court. Thus reserving to himself the royal prerogative of mercy, to temper the rigour of justice.

And for the general instruction of his people, he circulated the admirable *rules for living well*, written by *Ardshir*, the founder of this dynasty; and obliged every family in *Persia* to have a copy of it. For his own instruction also, he procured from *India*, a work of the famous *Pilpay*, entitled *Homaioun Nameh*, "The Royal Manual," or fables on the art of governing, which he had translated into Persic. And so scrupulous was he to set a good example himself, that when his attendants had taken a quantity of salt from a neighbouring village, to season some venison which he had taken in hunting, he ordered them to pay for it immediately, observing to his vizir, *This is a small matter in itself, but great, as it regards me;* a king *ought always to be just, because he is a pattern for his subjects; and if he swerves in trifles, they will become dissolute.* If I cannot make my people just in the *smallest things, I can at least shew them that it is possible to be so.* Hence his justice became proverbial. *Mahomet* himself boasted, that he was born in the reign of *Malek al adel*, "the just king."

The wisdom of his prime vizir, called *Buzurge mihir*, "the well beloved," is also celebrated by the Persian writers. One day in council, when others had spoken much, *Nouschirvan* asked, why he remained silent? "*Because*," said he, "*a statesman ought to give advice, as a physician medicines, only when there is occasion.*" Another time, at one of the assemblies of the sages, the king proposed as a subject of debate, "*What is misery in the extreme?*" A *Greek* philosopher answered, "*Poverty in old age;*" an *Indian*, "*Great pain, with dejection of mind;*" but *Buzurge* answered, "*A late repentance, at the close of life;*" which was immediately acceded to by the rest, as the best and truest answer. *Buzurge* was privately a Christian.

Nouschirvan, notwithstanding his goodness, was exposed to domestic troubles. He had a favourite son by a Christian wife, *Nouschizad*, whom his mother bred a Christian. This displeased his father, who supported the established religion in his dominions; and he confined the prince, for his obstinate adhe-

rence to Christianity, but without any further ill treatment. *Nouschizad*, however, found means to escape, and excite a rebellion against his father; who sent an army to quell it, with directions to the general, like *Cyrus*, or *Kai Chosru*, *not to spare his son, if he resisted; but if they took him alive, not to treat him with any indignity, nor even to reproach him with his undutifulness; for that his own conscience would inflict sufficient punishment**." But the prince obstinately refusing to submit, was mortally wounded in battle, and made his dying request, that *he might be interred at the feet of the disciples of* THE MESSIAH, or among the *Christians*;—whose principles he disgraced by his practice.

The last instructions of this illustrious prince to his unworthy son and successor, were admirable for *patriarchal* wisdom and piety; resembling those of *Cyrus* to his children.

" I, *Nouschirvan*, sovereign of *Persia* and *India*, address these, my last words, to *Hormouz*, my son, that they may serve him as a lantern in the day of darkness, a path in his journey though the wilderness, a pole star in his navigation through the tempestuous ocean of this world.

" Let him remember, in the midst of his greatness, that *kings rule, not for themselves, but for their people*; respecting whom, they are like the heavens to the earth. How can the earth be fruitful, unless it be watered, unless it be fostered by the heavens? My son, let your subjects all feel your beneficence; the nearest to you first, and so on by degrees, to the remotest. If I durst, I would propose to you my own example; but I chuse rather to remind you of that glorious luminary, which has been an example to me. Behold *the Sun!* It visits all parts of the world; and if sometimes visible, at other times withdrawn from view, it is because the universe is successively gilded and cherished by its splendid beams. Enter not into any province, but with a prospect of doing good to the inhabitants; quit it not, but with the intention of doing good elsewhere. Bad men must needs be punished; to them, the sun of majesty is necessarily eclipsed; but the good deserve encouragement, and require to be cheered with its beams.

" *My son, often present thyself before* HEAVEN, *to implore*

* ——— " Prima est hæc ultio quod, *se*
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur." JUV. Sat. xiii. 2.

its aid; but approach not with an impure mind. Do thy *dogs* enter the temple?—If thou carefully observe this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be confounded, thy friends shall be faithful. Thou shalt be a delight to thy subjects, and shalt have cause to delight in them. *Do justice, abase the proud, comfort the distressed, love your children, protect learning, be advised by your ancient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in state affairs, and let your peoples' good be your sole and supreme object.*

" Farewell, I leave you a mighty empire; you will keep it, if you follow my counsels; but it will be impossible for you to keep it, if you follow others."

How closely he copied *Cyrus*, indeed, we may further collect, from the similar inscription on his tiara, (see p. 98.)

> *" What is long life, or what a glorious reign,*
> *If our successors close upon us tread?*
> *My fathers left this crown, and I, in turn,*
> *Shall leave it too, and mingle with the dust!"*

This great king was too fond of war, in which he was generally successful, by his arts, or his arms. His last war, however, at the advanced age of fourscore, against the emperor *Tiberius*, proved disastrous. He was defeated in a pitched battle, and forced to fly, mounted on an elephant, across the *Euphrates*, with great risque of being drowned; and soon after, died of fatigue and chagrin, at the loss of the *sacred fire*, which was captured by the enemy in the battle, and the murmurs of the *Persians* at his ill success in a war, which he had provoked. He made peace with the *Romans* before his death, and enacted a decree, that none of his successors should risque their persons in a general engagement; conveying a tacit censure of his own rashness.

HORMISDAS II. OR HORMOUZ BEN NOUSCHIRVAN.

This prince was naturally indolent, luxurious, haughty, and cruel. To correct by education the faults of his disposition, his anxious father appointed the wise and virtuous *Buzurge*, to be his preceptor, who endeavoured faithfully to fulfil that arduous trust. Wearied with the repeated remonstrances of his preceptor, and troublesome morning visits, the young prince employed some of his idle companions to waylay *Buzurge* one

morning, who robbed him, and left him quite naked. Hormisdas then bantering him on his disaster, said, *You see the mischief of early rising! This occasioned your being robbed and stripped thus. You mistake, prince,* said he, *the robbers rose earlier than I, and therefore they succeeded. Ah! my dear prince, vigilance is a copy of the divine activity* [which neither *slumbers* nor *sleeps*], *the source of virtue and true pleasure, and the key to victory in all things.*

Rise then betimes, that the sun of fortune may shed his early beams upon your head, and the fresh morning air [*brace your body and*] *dispose your mind to receive those celestial influences which may render you a blessing to the world* *.

In the beginning of his reign, while Hormisdas was guided by his excellent tutor, whom he appointed prime vizier, he promised to surpass even *Nouschirvan* himself. He treated *Buzurge* with so much deference, that he would not wear the tiara in his presence: and when the adulation of some of his courtiers thought this extraordinary, more than was due even to a father, "*You say right, my friends,*" answered the young king, "*I owe more to him than to my father: the life and kingdom I received from* Nouschirvan, *will expire in a few years; but the fame I shall acquire by following the instructions of* Buzurge, *will survive to the latest ages.*"

But three years after, when age and infirmities had induced the venerable vizier to retire from public business and from the court, *Hormisdas,* alas! fell a prey to the adulation and sycophancy of younger and false counsellors, neglecting his wise father's admonitions; and he involved himself and his empire in the greatest calamities. He grew superstitious, suspicious, and cruel. By the instigation of soothsayers and diviners, who got an ascendancy over him, he banished his most faithful judges and counsellors, and put to death multitudes of his best subjects for imputed disaffection or treason; and even his faithful preceptor himself! he affronted the Roman emperor *Tiberius,* who sent ambassadors to renew the last peace made with his father, treated them disdainfully, and required a sum of money as a tribute for granting it, which involved him in a war with the

* What a fine paraphrase is this of the homely proverb—

"*Early to bed, and early to rise,*
Will make a man healthy, wealthy, and wise."

Romans westward; while the frontier provinces of *India* eastward, and *Arabia* southward, threw off the *Persian* yoke, and set up princes of their own. We may date this general revolt, A.D. 584; and to crown all, the *Kaikhan* of *Turkistan* northward, invaded *Persia* with a mighty army. Now, for the first time, the *Turks* were noticed by the *Roman* historians, about A.D. 585.

When his general, *Varamus*, or *Baharam*, had defeated the *Turks*, by stratagem, with great slaughter, he was employed next against the *Romans;* but being worsted, *Hormisdas* sent him a woman's garment, in contempt, and threatened to decimate his troops, which so provoked both, that they revolted, imprisoned him, and elected his son *Chosroes* king, although *Hormisdas* made a long and vehement speech to dissuade the nobles in council from electing *Chosroes*, who was prone to vice of every kind, and regardless of the public good; and as he predicted, would perpetuate that tyranny which they were so anxious to avoid, recommending to them his younger son *Hormisdas*, as fitter to reign over them. But his remonstrances were vain; their leaders massacred the unhappy prince, whom he preferred, in his presence; blinded the old king himself with a hot iron, that he might never resume the throne, and soon after he was murdered either by his unnatural son and successor, or by his own brothers.

CHOSROES II. OR CHOSRU PARVIZ.

This prince early in his reign gave a remarkable instance of superstitious credulity, in a letter to *Gregory*, Bishop of *Antioch*, preserved by *Theophylact*, Lib. IV. cap. 6.

"I, *Chosroes*, son of *Hormisdas*, king of kings, &c. having heard that the famous martyr *Sergius*, granted to every one who sought his aid, their petitions, did, on the seventh day of January, in the first year of my reign, invoke him to grant me victory against *Zadespras;* promising that if that rebel was either killed or taken by my troops, that I would give to his church a golden cross enriched with jewels: and accordingly on the ninth day of February, the head of *Zadespras* was brought to me by a party of horse, which I dispatched against him.

"*To give, therefore, the most public testimony of my gratitude and thankfulness to the saint, for granting my petition,*

I send to his church that cross, and also another, formerly given by the emperor *Justinian*, and taken away by my grandfather *Chosroes*, the son of *Cavades*, which I found deposited among my treasures."

The writers of the *Universal History*, in relating this anecdote, accuse him of *hypocrisy*, because he afterwards persecuted the Christians. But the letter carries with it such internal marks of sincerity, at that time, both by his public acknowledgement and his offerings, that it cannot reasonably be impeached by any subsequent change of conduct, owing to change of circumstances. It proves unquestionably, that the profession of Christianity was then become popular in the *Persian* dominions, otherwise the king would neither have made, nor performed openly, such a vow to a *Christian* saint. Among the *Magi* themselves, we can well conceive, that there were many believers, from the accomplishment of the prophecies concerning CHRIST, of their great Archimagus *Daniel*, and from the spread of *Manichæism* in the east, which was confessedly a *Christian* heresy.

After his accession *Chosroes* endeavoured to conciliate *Varamus*, and offered to make him the second man in the kingdom, if he would support his throne. But *Varamus* haughtily rejecting his overtures with insolence, a civil war broke out, in which *Chosroes*, for his early cruelty in putting to death some of the nobility whom he suspected, was deserted by his troops, and forced to fly for refuge to the Roman emperor *Maurice*, who received him kindly, espoused his cause against *Varamus*, and sent an army to restore him to his dominions; by whose assistance he defeated the rebels, and recovered his throne, and greatly extended his dominions afterwards. From the rapidity of his conquests he was surnamed *Parviz*, "*impetuous*."

He married a Christian, called by the Roman writers, *Irene*, and by the Persian, *Schirin*, "*soft*" or "*agreeable;*" the latter represent her as the daughter of the emperor *Maurice* his protector, who honoured him with the title of his own son, (as the *Byzantine* writers themselves allow) and therefore made him his son-in-law. This is much more probable than the *Roman* account, that she was a music girl, or a public dancer. For her sake, he for a long time treated the *Christians* kindly, but growing jealous of her, or to court the *Magi*, he conceived an implacable hatred against, and persecuted them. And when the

emperor *Maurice* was murdered by *Phocas*, A.D. 602, *Chosroes*, who long wished to invade the *Roman* territories, and was only deterred by his respect for his protector and father-in-law, while he lived, under pretext of avenging his murder, and punishing the assassin, marched a powerful army into the *Roman* frontiers, in his sixteenth year, A.D. 603; defeated the *Romans*, and laid the country under contribution. Next year, continuing the war, he reduced several fortresses, and recovered others that he had given to the emperor *Maurice*, in gratitude for his assistance. In his eighteenth year he plundered all *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and carried off immense riches; in the next year he ravaged *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*, with fire and sword; in his twentieth year his generals wasted *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Paphlagonia*, as far as *Chalcedon*, burning cities and destroying the inhabitants, without respect to age or sex. Nor did his devastation of the Roman provinces cease with the death of the usurper *Phocas*, and accession of *Heraclius*, A.D. 610, fully evincing the falsehood of his pretext, and his monstrous ingratitude to the *Romans*. The next year he took *Apamea* and *Edessa*, and blockaded *Antioch*, and so totally defeated the *Roman* army which came to its relief, that scarcely a man was left to mourn the death of his companions. The year following he took *Cæsarea*, and carried away myriads of people into captivity: he conquered *Judea*, took *Jerusalem*, which he plundered, and carried off the cross on which CHRIST suffered, and sold ninety thousand Christians for slaves to the *Jews* in his dominions, who, if we can credit the *Byzantine* historians, cut all their throats!!

In his twenty-seventh year*, A.D. 614, he invaded *Egypt*,

* In this year, the zenith of his power and arrogance, *Mirkhond* relates a very remarkable dream of this prince, in which he saw his capital city surrounded with a strong wall, and defended by eleven stately towers; which, while he was looking on, fell down one after another, and left the city open and defenceless. In the morning, he consulted the *Magi*, about the interpretation of this dream. They answered, that the fortified city represented the kingdom of *Persia*, the towers his successors, and their fall the subversion of the empire.

But the dream was better interpreted by the event. The eleven towers denoted the eleven remaining years of his reign, in which his power was gradually declining, during his last disastrous warfare; and after their fall, his own dethronement and destruction.

Such an ominous dream, resembling that of the proud and haughty *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the height of his grandeur and prosperity, is credible. But he wanted a *Daniel* to expound it, because he was unworthy and infatuated, obstinately bent on his own destruction.

took *Alexandria*, reduced both the lower and the upper *Egypt*, to the frontiers of *Libya* and *Abyssinia*; adding this kingdom to his dominions, which none of his predecessors, from the days of *Artaxerxes*, had been able to effect. When the emperor *Heraclius*, greatly afflicted at those horrible cruelties, which he was unable to prevent, sent to implore peace, upon any conditions, *Chosroes* arrogantly replied, that he would never grant him or his subjects peace, till they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the *Persian* religion.

In his thirty-first year, elated with his mighty conquests, he meditated nothing less than the utter destruction of the *Roman* empire, while *Heraclius* was embarrassed with his barbarian enemies in *Europe*. The emperor, therefore, making peace with the Barbarians on their own terms, resolved to make a last and desperate effort, and to put all to the hazard of a pitched battle, in which he out-generalled and defeated the *Persian* army with great slaughter. On this success he made fresh overtures for peace, which the haughty Persian rejected with indignation and contempt, but met with his deserved and long-delayed chastisement, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he was totally defeated in a bloody battle, in which no less than fifty thousand prisoners were taken, whom *Heraclius*, not being able to maintain, generously restored to their liberty, by a striking contrast with the cruelty of his implacable enemy, which gained him great reputation and applause in *Persia*, and contributed not a little to the ruthless tyrant's downfal.

Chosroes made prodigious efforts to retrieve his affairs. He plundered the Christian churches, and throughout his dominions he drained the provinces to raise fresh armies to oppose *Heraclius*, who in no wise elated by success, but preserving the strictest discipline, and the full confidence of his troops, defeated them as soon as they appeared in the field, and proceeded so rapidly in his conquests, that the haughty and cruel tyrant was forced to fly to *Ctesiphon* first, and then to *Seleucia*, with his wives and concubines, leaving his magnificent and superb palace, in the hundred vaults of which he had deposited his ill-gotten treasures, and amassed more riches than any of his predecessors. On one of these vaults was an inscription, "*Windfalls*," containing the treasures, jewels, &c. of his benefactor the emperor *Maurice's* family, which in their distress they had put on board two or three vessels, to take them to a place of secu-

rity; but the vessels being driven by contrary winds on the coast of *Persia*, he seized and confiscated them to his own use! in his inscription adding mockery to guilt.

At length, wearied out with the suspicious cruelty of *Chosroes*, his chief officers and nobility seized, imprisoned, and deposed him, and raised his eldest son *Siroes*, whom he wished to have excluded, to the throne; who treated him with the greatest severity; and after he had reproached him with all his cruelties and oppressions, put him to death, saying, *you cannot think this unnatural in me, since, for a less cause, you pronounced the same judgment on your own father.* *Siroes*, however, did not long survive this parricide, and the murder of seventeen of his brothers; he died after he had reigned seven months, according to the oriental, or little more than a year, according to the *Roman* historians.

His son *Ardeshir*, a child of seven years old, was then appointed king, but was deposed and murdered by the commander of the forces, *Sarbarazas*, or *Scheheriah*, shortly after; who usurped the throne; but for his own cruelties, and for a civil war kindled by other pretenders, was put to death by the nobility: they next placed on the throne a grandson of *Chosroes*, by one of his sons, and the only surviving branch of the royal family.

HORMISDAS, OR JEZDEGERD BEN SCHEHERIAH.

This prince was elected in his seventeenth year, and because it was with the free consent of the nation, the *Persians* date the *era of Jezdegerd* from his election, June 16, 632. But his reign was short and disastrous; the kingdom was so weakened and exhausted by the incessant wars of his grandfather, *Chosrou Parviz*, in which all the flower of their armies were slain, and by the ensuing civil wars, which deluged the land with blood, that in three years *Persia* became a prey to the ambition of the *Saracens;* and their Caliph *Omar* sent a detachment of his army to invade it, under the command of *Sad.* The *Persians* opposed him, however weakened, with spirit, and avoiding a general engagement, harassed his army for some time. At length he brought them to a pitched battle, near the city of *Cadessia*, A.D. 636, which was fought with great fury for three days,

and at length ended in the total defeat of the *Persians*, by which the capital, with the greatest part of the *Persian* dominions, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Jezdegerd, on the loss of this decisive battle, retired into *Khorasan*, and by the help of the two other eastern provinces of *Kerman*, or *Carmania*, and *Segestan*, which adhered to him, kept up a desultory warfare with the *Saracens* as long as he lived, they not being at leisure to pursue him into those remote parts. But at length, after he had possessed the royal title nineteen years, in an attempt to recover one of his few remaining fortresses, *Merou*, on the river *Oxus*, or *Gihon*, which had revolted to the *Turks*, he was defeated by the rebels; and endeavouring to pass the river in a fisherman's boat, to whom he offered a bracelet of jewels for ferrying him over, the stupid boatman refused to take more or less than his stated fare, five farthings, and while they were disputing, a party of the rebel horse coming up, and knowing *Jezdegerd*, killed him, A.D. 652.

So rapid a declension as this, in the space of twenty years, from A.D. 614, when the *Persian* empire was at its height, and larger than it had been since the days of *Alexander* the Great, to A.D. 636, appears astonishing at first sight, and is quite unexampled in history *. But *Chosrou Parviz*, by his rapacity and his cruelties, alienated the affections of his generals from his family, while his rage for war had drained the country of its ablest defenders, and left it wasted and distracted, an easy prey to the ferocious and needy *Saracens*.

SECTION XI.

SARACEN DYNASTY. 636 YEARS.

		Y.	A.D.	Heg.
	1. *Mahomet's Hegira*, or flight	10	622	1
	CALIPHS.			
Companions.	2. *Abubeker*	2	632	11
	3. *Omar*	9	634	13
	4. *Othman*	12	643	23
	5. *Ali*	5	655	35
	6. *Al Hasan*	5m.		

* The kingdom of *Israel* arrived to its greatest splendour, in the reign of *Jeroboam* II. It declined rapidly from thence, and was destroyed in 74 years.

		Y.		A.D.	Heg.
Ommiadæ.	7. *Moawiyah*, or *Moavias*	19		660	40
	8. *Yazid*, or *Jesid*	4		679	60
	9. *Moavias* II.		20*d.*		
	10. *Merwan*		7*m.*	683	64
	11. *Abdalmelek*	21		684	65
	12. *Al Walid*, or *Valid*	9		705	86
	13. *Soliman*	3		714	96
	14. *Omar* II.	2		717	99
	15. *Yazid* or *Jesid* II.	4		719	101
	16. *Heshain*	19		723	105
	17. *Al Walid* or *Valid* II.	1		742	125
	18. *Yazid* or *Jesid* III.	1		743	126
	19. *Ibrahim*		70*d.*		
	20. *Merwan* II.	6		743	126
Abbasidæ.	21. *Abul Abbas* or *Al Saffah*	5		749	132
	22. *Al Mansur*, or *Abu Jaafar*	20		754	137
	23. *Al Mohdi*	11		774	158
	24. *Al Hadi*	1		785	169
	25. *Harun*, or *Aaron Al Raschid*	22		786	170
	26. *Al Amin*	5		808	193
	27. *Al Mamun*	20		813	198
	28. *Al Motasem*	8		833	218
	29. *Al Wathek*, or *Vathek*	5		841	227
	30. *Al Motawakkel*	15		846	232
	31. *Al Montaser*		6*m.*	861	247
	32. *Al Mostain*	4		862	248
	33. *Al Motaz*	3		866	252
	34. *Al Mohtadi*		11*m.*	869	255
	35. *Al Motamed*	22		870	256
	36. *Al Motaded*	9		892	279
	37. *Al Mochtaphi*	6		901	289
	38. *Al Moktader*	25		907	295
	39. *Al Kaher*	1		932	320
	40. *Al Radi*	7		933	321
	41. *Al Mottaki*	4		940	329
	42. *Al Mostakphi*	1		944	333
	43. *Al Moti*	28		945	334
	44. *Al Tai*	18		973	363
	45. *Al Kader*	40		991	381
	46. *Al Kayen*	43		1031	422
	47. *Al Moktadi*	20		1074	467
	48. *Al Mostader*	24		1094	487
	49. *Al Mostarshed*	16		1118	512
	50. *Al Rashid*	1		1134	529
	51. *Al Moktafi*	25		1135	530

		Y.	A.D.	Heg.
Abassidæ.	52. *Al Mostanjed*	10	1160	555
	53. *Al Mostadi*	9	1170	566
	54. *Al Naser*	46	1179	575
	55. *Al Daher*	1	1225	622
	56. *Al Mostander*	16	1226	623
	57. *Al Mostasem*	16	1242	640
	End of the dynasty	636	1258	656

The chronology of this period is collected from *Abulfaragi's* accurate annals of the *ninth dynasty;* which he reckons by the Lunar years of the *Hegira*, or celebrated era of Mahomet's flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, commencing July 16, A.D. 622, the second day of the new moon, when she became visible (See *Abulfeda's* life of *Mahomet*, p. 53.) and reduced from *Lunar* to *Solar* calendar years *.

The use of the Lunar year in computation was appointed by *Mahomet*, rejecting intercalations. He alludes thereto in the Koran, sur. 10. ver. 6. "GOD *made the sun for brightness and the moon for light; and He disposed them into stations, that ye might know the number of the years.*" These "*stations*" are the twelve *solar* constellations of the *Zodiac*, and the 28 *Lunar*, called *anwa*, "the *mansion of the moon*," because the moon every night of her period, is in one of these constellations. This latter is a classification of the zodiacal stars peculiar to the *Arabs*. *Costard* in his astronomy, has given from *Ulug Beigh*, a description of the stars composing each, p. 19.

A complete lunation, or *synodical* month, consisting of 29½ days, the *Arabs* composed their months of 29 and 30 days alternately, thus,

1. *Muharram*	30	30	7. *Rajan*	30	207
2. *Saphar*	29	59	8. *Shaaban*	29	236
3. *Rabia* I.	30	89	9. *Ramadan*	30	266
4. *Rabia* II.	29	118	10. *Shawal*	29	295
5. *Jomada* I.	30	148	11. *Dulkaadah*	30	325
6. *Jomada* II.	29	177	12. *Dulheggia*	29	354

This *Lunar* year of 354 days falling short 11 days of the

* The reigns of the Caliphs, in *Abulfaragi*, are computed according to the years of the Hegira, and their amounts necessarily differ from the amounts in this table, which are accommodated to the Calendar years. We have followed the chronology of *Abulfaragi*, in preference to that of *Eutychius* in his annals.

Solar or Calendar year of 365 days, is moveable, or runs through all the seasons, in $\frac{365}{11}=33\frac{2}{11}$ years, or 33 years, and sixty-six days over. So that a cycle of 33 Lunar years, gains an entire year upon the calendar, and contains only 32 solar years; and three cycles gaining three years, we may reckon 100 lunar years equal to 97 solar. Hence is derived the following easy rule for reducing the current years of the *Hegira* to solar or calendar years of the *Christian era.*

Multiply the centuries in the proposed year by 3; *and to the product add* 1, *for each additional cycle; subtract the amount from the proposed year; and add* 621 *to the remainder; the sum will give the calendar year required.*

Thus, in the year of the Hegira 295, the centuries 200 give 6, and the surplus 95 years in the third cycle, 3 more, or 9 in all; this subtracted from 295, leaves 286; which added to 621, gives A.D. 907. And thus, the year of the Hegira, 512 gives 15; this subtracted, leaves 497, which added to 621, gives A.D. 1118.

But where two lunar years fall within the same calendar year, this rule will give the result a year short. Thus the last year of the foregoing dynasty, 656, gives 18+2=20, which subtracted, leaves 636; to which, adding 621, the result is A.D. 1257, instead of A.D. 1258.

Beveridge in his chronology, Lib. I. cap. 17. has given accurate rules for reducing not only the *years*, but the *months*, *days*, and *feriæ*, or week days of the current years of the *Hegira*, to calendar time; by the help of which was constructed a large useful table, in *Playfair's* Chronology *, p. 304—309.

The use of this table of *the years, &c. of the Hegira*, may be thus illustrated.

Al Januabi, an Arab historian, relates that *Mahomet Khan* took *Constantinople*, in the 857th year of the Hegira, on the 20th day of *Joma* I. the third day of the week, or Tuesday. See *Pococke's* Supplement to his Latin translation of *Abulfaragi*, p. 47. But by *Playfair's* table, this year of the Hegira began A.D. 1453, Jan. 12, on the sixth day of the week, or Friday. And by the foregoing table of *Arabian* months, the

* *Playfair*, in his biographical index of the *Khalifs*, follows *Eutychius*, who is usually a year later than *Abulfagari* in the dates of their reigns.

20th of *Jomad* I. was 137 days complete, from the first day of the first month *Muharram;* or 12+137=149 days, counted from the first of *January* A.D. 1453; which corresponds to *May* 29, according to the table of *Julian* days, p. 54. Vol. I. of this work; and it fell on the third day of the week, or Tuesday; according to the rule for computing the *feriæ*, or days of the week, in *Beveridge*, p. 125. And how critically this calculation corresponds to the fact, appears from the patriarchal history of *Crusius*, thus dating the capture of the city, Ησαν χρονοι απο Χριστου γενεσεως χιλιοι τετρακοσιοι πεντηκοντα τρεις, μαιω εικοστη εννατη, ἡμερᾳ τριτη. "It was 1453 years from Christ's nativity, on the 29th of May, the third day of the week."

Such a minute coincidence between the *Mahometan* and *Christian* historians, respecting this important date, is highly gratifying; and affords an instance of the great ingenuity and accuracy of the *chronological* rules and tables in question; which is more level to ordinary capacities, than the long and complicated calculation, by which *Beveridge* comes to the same conclusion, p. 119—127.

MAHOMET, or MOHAMMED*.

This famous founder of *Islamism*†, and of the *Saracen* dynasty, was born at *Mecca*, in the 881st year of the era of *Alexander*, or *Seleucus*‡; 881—B.C. 312=A.D. 569; and 53 years before the era of the *Hegira*, A.D. 622—53=A.D. 569. Vid. *Abulfed. Vita Mohammed.* p. 2, 50. The concurrence of these computations with *Abulfaragi*, p. 103, dating his death

* The *life of Mahomet* has been written by *Prideaux*, and by the authors of the *Modern Universal History*, in their history of the Arabs, Vol. I. 8vo. at considerable length. *Savary*, to his French translation of the *Koran*, has prefixed an *abridgment of the life of Mahomet*, collected principally from *Abulfeda*, his best Arabian historian, *Gagnier's* edition, published with learned notes, 1723. Oxford: folio. According to *Savary*, (who resided a good while in *Egypt* and *Arabia*), this word is pronounced by the Arabs, *Mahammed;* it signifies "*celebrated* or *glorious*," like its Hebrew root, מחמד, *Mahmad*, rendered, ενδοξος, by the Septuagint, Isa. lxiv. 11.

† The word *Islamism* comes from the Arabic root *Islam*, or *Eslam*, and signifies simply, "*consecration*," or "*dedication to God.*" It is usually appropriated to the *Mahometan* religion, and its professors are called *Mussulmans*, from the Arabic *Meslemoun*, "*consecrated.*" *Savary.*

‡ Instead of the correct number 881, given by *Abulfeda*, we read erroneously, in the present text of *Abulfagari*, 892, p. 101. and in *Eutychius'* annals, 933, p. 227. tom. II. who misdates the *Hegira*, A.D. 614.

ten years after the Hegira, A.D. 632, when he was 63 years old, gives his birth as before, A.D. 632—63=A.D. 569; and leaves not a doubt, that this was the precise year of his birth *. His father *Abdallah* died about the time he was born, or shortly before, and left him in his grandfather's care, *Abdal Motalleb*, a prince of the *Koreishites*, the most noble tribe among the *Arabs*, and high priest of the temple of *Mecca*. On the seventh day after his birth, his grandfather named him *Mohammed*; (signifying "*celebrated*, or *glorious*,") and when his assembled friends observed, that none of his family was called by that name, "*I wish*," said the old man, "that GOD may *glorify* him in heaven, whom he hath created upon earth." *Abulfeda*, p. 2.

When *Mahomet* was eight years old, his grandfather died, and consigned him to the care of *Abu Taleb*, his eldest son; who bred him a merchant, and took him at twelve or thirteen years of age into *Syria*, on a commercial journey to *Bosra*. There they were entertained at a Christian monastery, by a *Nestorian* monk, called *Boheira*, and by the Christians *Sergius*, who told *Abu Taleb*, that his nephew would prove a very extraordinary person.

Mahomet at the age of five-and-twenty, A.D. 594, married *Khadijah*, a rich and noble widow, who had been twice married, of his own tribe, in whose service he had been employed as a factor to conduct her mercantile concerns, which she had considerably improved by commerce. And he so recommended himself by his fine person, address, and diligence in her service, that she married him, and gave him the disposal of her fortune. This match gave him affluence and influence †. *Abulfaragi* and *Abulfeda* reckon that *Khadijah* was forty years old at the time of this marriage; but *Mahomet* was passionately fond of her, and they had eight children, nor did he take any other wife during her life-time. It is unlikely, therefore, that she was so old, as probably to be past child-bearing in that warm climate, where women are sooner ripe. The account of *Maracci* indeed is more probable, that she died twenty-four years after, in her

* Instead of the correct year, A.D. 569, the *Modern Universal History*, Vol. I. p. 17, dates the birth of *Mahomet*, A.D. 578. following a marginal error in *Abulfeda*, p. 1.

† After *Khadijah's* death, *Mahomet* married *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abubeker*, with with whom he got a large fortune; and still a larger with the widow *Hafsa*, daughter of *Omar*. This increase of wealth increased his influence.

49th year; and therefore was only five and twenty at her marriage, the same age as *Mahomet*.

The long chasm in *Mahomet's* history, of twelve years, from his marriage, till he began to fabricate his imposture, in A.D. 606, in a cave at mount *Hara*, about three miles from *Mecca*, to which he usually retired during the month of *Ramadan*, may consistently be filled up by the pursuit of his mercantile concerns, and successive journeys to *Syria*, and in informing himself in the *Jewish* and *Christian* tenets, and *sects* or *heresies* that then divided the eastern and western world.

MAHOMET'S MISSION.

At length, in A.D. 609, when he was full forty years old, like *Moses*, he disclosed his prophetic mission at first to a favourable hearer, his own wife, *Khadijah*, and told her how the angel *Gabriel*, or the HOLY SPIRIT, had appeared to him in glory, and declared that GOD sent him as an *Apostle* to reform the world, and gave him the *Koran* * as a divine law, to complete all antecedent revelations. The night of this revelation, near the end of *Ramadan*, was called *Al Kadr*, "the divine decree," and is celebrated in the *Koran*, chap. 97.

Although the *Koran* was supposed to be given or shewn entire to *Mahomet* on this night, he most artfully communicated it, by piecemeal, to his followers occasionally, and as best suited his purposes.

Before this night, *Mahomet* pretended to be illiterate, not knowing how to read, and that he was then miraculously instructed: when *Gabriel* gave him the book, and said "*Read*,"

* The word *Koran* signifies, with the prefix *al*, "*the*," "*The reading*, or *the book*," by way of eminence, from the verb *Kara*, "to *read*," and contains the *Mahometan* law. The best edition of it was published by *Maracci*, with a rugged Latin translation, and learned notes and refutations. 2 Vols. fol. 1698. Patav.

Sale published a literal English translation of the *Koran*, with explanatory notes, and a learned preliminary discourse. Lond. 1724. Quarto. But the Translation is paraphrastic and obscure.

Savary published a French Translation, with notes, 2 Vols. 8vo. Paris, 1782: the best that has hitherto appeared, for concisely and elegantly expressing the spirit of the original.

Both *Sale* and *Savary* are partial to *Mahomet* and his doctrines. The latter was a downright Mussulman, and a panegyrist of *Mahomet*; who is blackened by *Maracci* and *Prideaux* on the other side. *Nulla falsa doctrina* est, quæ non *aliquid veri* permisceat. *Augustine*. This is a just description of the *Koran*, which blends *truth* with *falsehood*.

Mahomet answered, "*I know not how;*" *Gabriel* replied, according to *Savary's* translation:

> "*Read, in the name of* GOD THE CREATOR,
> *Who formed man, and joined the sexes;*
> *Read in the name of* THE ADORABLE GOD,
> *Who taught man the use of the pen,*
> *Who infused into his soul the ray of science* *." Chap. 96.

Khadijah gained her husband an important proselyte in her uncle *Waraka*, a Christian, and well read in the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT. He not only agreed with her, that "*Mahomet* would be the *prophet* of his own people," but swore that "he was *the great prophet* foretold by *Moses*, the son of *Amram*." He was a more probable assistant to *Mahomet*, in com-

* *Mahomet* is frequently styled in the Koran, "the *illiterate* prophet;" but it is a mistake to suppose that he *pretended* to be illiterate, after the revelation of this night. That would be absurd; and it is strange that Professor *White*, among others, could countenance it. Sermons, p. 189. *Mahomet* only meant, that he had been illiterate, *before that time:* as proved by the very instances adduced by the professor in his notes, p. xxviii—xxx. He introduces GOD, saying to him: "*Before the Koran*, thou couldst not read any book. *It was not written with thy hand*, [but with the finger of God]: otherwise, the gainsayers would doubt of its truth." Chap. xxix. And *Al Bochari* relates, that in his treaty with the *Meccans*, when they objected to the diplomatic language of "*Mahomet, the Apostle of God*," *Mahomet* desired that title to be erased by the scribe; but *Ali* refusing, with an oath, *Mahomet* took the pen himself, and complaisantly wrote; "*Mahomet, the son of Abdallah*, agrees to these conditions," &c.

Abulfeda also relates, that in his last sickness, "*he called for pen and ink, to write them a book that would keep them from error after his death, for ever.*"——The *Arabian* historians indeed both pretend, that he forgot his *feigned ignorance*, or that he raved. But it is unnecessary to suppose *Mahomet* a greater impostor than he really was. This is a justice we owe to his character. Folly did not enter into his composition. He frequently disputed with the *Jews* on the laws of *Moses*, and the religion of *Abraham*, and was too many for them in the *Hebrew* Scriptures. See Vol. III. p. 616.

The *Koran* was first written in the character called *Kufic*, and without points or vowels. A fragment of it, written on vellum, was brought from Egypt, by Mr. *Greaves*, which is still preserved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*.

The several *suras*, or chapters of which it consists, were written originally on palm leaves, or pieces of parchment, as they were pretended to be revealed. After *Mahomet's* death, these were collected into a volume, by his successor *Abubeker;* but without any attention to the order of time in which they came out, or to their subjects. The longest chapters were placed at the head of the volume, and the shortest at the end; although the shortest were usually the first written, and the longest, the last. Thus the first chapter actually published by *Mahomet*, was the foregoing invitation of *Gabriel* to "*read*," though now the 96th chapter, near the end of the *Koran*. The present fifth chapter was written after his *farewell pilgrimage to Mecca*, the year before his death; and the last chapter he published was the ninth.

This want of vowel points, and this dislocation of chapters, occasioned the necessity of *mokras*, or readers, and produced many various readings, and much embarrassment among the *Mahometan* doctors, to determine the meaning of many obscure passages.

posing his *Koran*, than *Boheira*, or *Sergius* the monk, or any other person, in a matter of such trust and delicacy.

He next gained over *Abubeker*, a rich and respectable citizen of *Mecca*, and, by his means, others of the first rank. This encouraged him to a more open profession of his mission. Having collected a numerous party of his relations of the *Koreish* tribe to an entertainment, he offered them the joys of this world, and the happiness of heaven, as his followers, in the name of God, and asked which of them would become his *vizir*, or prime minister? Which of them would become his brother, his deputy, and his *Khalif*, or successor? The rest of the guests remained silent, in surprize, when young *Ali*, that "*son of thunder*," then a boy about thirteen or fourteen years old, started up with indignation, and said, "*I will be thy vizir, O prophet of God; I will break the teeth, pluck out the eyes, rip up the belly, cut off the legs of thine enemies* * *!*"

This impetuosity of zeal did not displease *Mahomet*. He embraced *Ali*, and said in presence of his relations: "*See here is my brother, my deputy, and my Khalif. Hearken to, and obey him!*" The whole assembly, at this, burst into a fit of laughter, and turning their eyes toward *Abu Talib*, the father of *Ali*, exclaimed, "*You are bound to receive orders from your son, and to obey him in future!*"

This, however, did not discourage *Mahomet;* he proceeded with firmness in the execution of his schemes. He declaimed against Idolatry, and exhorted incessantly his relations and friends to embrace *Islamism*. This occasioned an alarm among the chiefs of the *Koreishites;* they requested *Abu Talib* to repress the fanatical zeal of his nephew, and threatened to take up arms against him, in defence of their established religion. This threat alarmed *Abu Talib*, and he endeavoured to prevail on *Mahomet* to desist; but he answered, steady to his purpose, "*My uncle, though the Koreishites should arm against me the sun and the moon, the one on my right hand, the other on my left, I would not be shaken the more in my resolution.*" *Abulfeda*, p. 21.

Though the credit of *Abu Talib* screened his nephew in some measure, it could not prevent a public decree for the banish-

* This was an apt and an early specimen, "*what manner of spirit, Mahomet* and his beloved disciple, *were of*," who thus *sought to destroy men's lives;* so different from HIM *who came to save!*

ment of his followers, many of whom fled into *Abyssinia*, in the fifth year of his Mission, A.D. 613, and *Mahomet* himself retired to a castle on mount *Ṣafa*. Here he gained two remarkable converts, *Hamza*, another of his uncles, a man of great bravery, and the ferocious *Omar*, who went with a resolution to kill *Mahomet*, but was converted by reading a chapter of the *Koran*, shewn him by his own sister, and became one of his most zealous partizans.

After this persecution had subsisted a good while, *Mahomet* sustained a great loss in the tenth year of his Mission, A.D. 618, by the deaths of his venerable protector *Abu Talib*, who died at fourscore, without embracing *Islamism* *, and his wife and first convert, *Khadijah*.

To support his drooping cause †, *Mahomet* fabricated a new and more extraordinary revelation in the twelfth year of his Mission, A.D. 620.

THE NIGHT JOURNEY TO HEAVEN.

Moses had two conferences with GOD on Mount *Sinai*, and *Paul* was taken up, in ecstatic vision, into *Paradise*, and into the *third heaven;* outdoing both, *Mahomet* related to his friends a miraculous journey, in which he was taken from *Mecca* to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to the throne of GOD, above the *seventh heaven*, and brought back to *Mecca*, all in the course of one night. The simplest and most authentic account of it is given by his best historian, *Abulfeda*, from the prophet's recital. The others have larded it with the most extravagant fictions; as

* When *Abu Talib* was dying, *Mahomet* pressed him to repeat the Mussulman Creed: "*There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet;*" but the old man declined, lest his memory should be dishonoured, and the *Koreishites* think, that the weakness of death had rendered him a *Mussulman*.

† After the death of his venerable protector, *Abu Talib*, the prophet was deserted by his friends *Abulahab*, *Elkahim*, and *Okba*, and surrounded by a host of enemies, who insulted and persecuted him; as he thus complains in the *Koran*, chap. xcvi. ver. 9.

> "What think you of him who troubles
> *The servant of God*, when he prays,
> When he fulfils the decree of Heaven,
> When he recommends piety!"

Here, *Mahomet* appeared "like a *lamb*, with the two horns" of his temporal and spiritual power only budding: but he soon "spoke like a *dragon*," when his horns were grown; and he assumed the "*stout looks*" of his western compeer, the *Pope*. Rev. xiii. 11, 12; Dan. vii. 20.

may be seen in the long account of the *Modern Universal Hist.* Vol. I. p. 65—78. 8vo.

The following is an abridgment of *Abulfeda's* account:

"While I was in the *Caaba* *, or temple of *Mecca*, reclining on *the* [*sacred*] *stone*, [like *Jacob*, Gen. xxviii. 11—13,] a certain saint, *Gabriel*, came to me, attended by another. And I heard him speaking; and he opened my breast, from the breast-bone to the groin, and took out my heart, and washed it in a golden basin, full of the water of *Faith*, and then restored it to its place. Afterwards a white beast was brought to me, less than a mule, and larger than an ass, called *Al Borak* †, [the lightning,] so swift, that he finished his course in the twinkling of an eye; upon which I was borne.

"Then *Gabriel* proceeded with me to the *first heaven*, and knocked at the door. He was asked, '*Who is there?*' he answered, '*Gabriel.*' '*Who is that with you?*' he answered, '*Mahomet.*' '*Is he now sent as an Apostle?*' he answered, '*Yes.*' '*Success attend him, he is welcome;*' and then the door was opened. When I entered, lo, there was *Adam*. *Gabriel* said to me, '*This is Adam, thy father, salute him.*' So I saluted him, and he returned the salute, saying, '*Success attend thee, my best son and best prophet.*'

"Then he ascended to the *second heaven*, and knocked at the door. And after the same questions and salutations, he saw there *Yahia* and *Isa; John Baptist* and JESUS; who also saluted him, as '*best brother* and *best prophet.*'

"Then he ascended to the *third heaven*, where he saw the Patriarch *Joseph*, who saluted him in the same manner.

"Then he ascended to the *fourth heaven*, and saw *Edris, Enoch*, who saluted him in the same manner.

"Then he ascended to the *fifth heaven*, and saw *Aaron*, who saluted him in the same manner.

"Then he ascended to the *sixth heaven*, and saw *Musa (Moses)*, who saluted him in the same manner. But when *Mahomet* approached him, *Moses* wept, saying: '*A child is sent*

* The *Caaba* was supposed to have been first built by *Ishmael*, 2793 years before the *Hegira*, or B.C. 3415. *Abulfeda.*

† This *Al Borak* was evidently compounded of *Abraham's* ass, Gen. xxii. 3, and the *Simurgh*, of Persian romance. Some of the commentators represent, that the ass was restive, (like *Balaam's* ass) and kicked, and would not let *Mahomet* mount, until he had promised, *this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise!*

after me, of whose nation more will enter Paradise, than of my nation!'

"Then he ascended to the *seventh heaven*, and saw *Ibrahim* *, *(Abraham)*, who saluted him, as *best son, and best prophet.*

"Thence he was carried up to *Sedrat*, the *Lotus* tree, (corresponding to the *tree of life*, Gen. ii. 9,) where were the sources of the four rivers of *Paradise;* two inner, and the two outer, the *Nile* and *Euphrates.*

"Then he was taken to *Al Mamur* (the house of *visitation*), where seventy thousand angels daily assemble. There, three vessels of *wine, milk*, and *honey*, were brought to him; but he chose the milk, and was commended by *Gabriel*, for making the best choice for himself and for his nation.

At last he came to the *throne of* GOD, when he was enjoined to repeat fifty prayers every day. On his descent, *Moses* asked him: "*What command he had received?*" he answered: "To *repeat fifty prayers a day.*" But *Moses* objected to such a burthensome number, and sent him back to pray for a diminution; which GOD therefore reduced, on the prophet's intercession, to forty: and at length, after repeated intercessions, by *Moses'* desire, to five. And when *Moses* still thought five too much, and wanted *Mahomet* to go back again; he declined, saying, that *he had interceded so often, that he was ashamed to trouble* GOD *any more.* So he bade farewell to *Abraham*, and prayed for his salvation. (This is evidently a parody of *Abraham's* intercession for *Sodom*, Gen. xviii. 23—33.)

And when he proceeded further, [or returned to the *Caaba*] the crier called him [to prayers]. "*Thus*," concluded *Mahomet*, "*did I bring with me the prescribed number of prayers; and lessened the burthen for my nation.*" *Abulfeda*, chap. 19. —These are at the *dawn* of day, *noon*, *first afternoon*, *sunset*, and *two hours* after.

This night journey is recorded in the *Koran*, chap. 17, with the following thanksgiving: "Praise be to HIM who transported his servant by night, from the holy temple of *Mecca*, to the temple of *Jerusalem.*"—The artful impostor stopped short at *Jerusalem*, on earth; not venturing to publish the particulars

* Some of the commentators, to please the Christians, by a pious fraud, substituted *Jesus Christ* for *Abraham*, in the seventh heaven, and say, that *Mahomet* commended himself to his prayers. But this is contrary to the whole tenor of the vision, which sets *Mahomet* above Christ and all preceding prophets.

of his journey to heaven, in the *Koran* itself; but he alludes thereto in the sequel, reciting the objections of the *Koreishites*, that he had no voucher but his own word for it, and requiring him to prove his revelation by miracles; either by causing a *fountain of water* to spring out of the ground, [like *Moses*], or letting them *see God and his angels visibly*; or mounting himself by *a ladder to heaven*, and bringing down *a book that they could read*, &c.

With great address, in the same chapter, he parried these demands of open *miracles*, as unnecessary for a *Preacher*, like himself. That even those of *Moses* did not work the conviction of *Pharaoh*, who treated him as an impostor, and the *Jews* also *Jesus*. That miracles had failed to convert the world, from the beginning, as in the days of the Patriarch *Selah*, the *Themudeans*; that miracles were designed rather to strike terror, and to punish, than to convince. And he warned them, that *the vision of the night journey*, with which God had favoured him, should be to them a subject of dispute and offence, by doubting thereof; like the accursed tree *Zacoun*, (described chap. 37.) growing in the bottom of hell, and bearing bitter fruit *; which should only increase the errors and the condemnation of the Infidels, who doubted, *how shall this tree bear fruit in the flames of hell* ?* See *Savary*, Tom. I. p. 42; and Tom. II. p. 32, note.

When *Mahomet* told his journey to heaven, in a public meeting, he appealed to his father-in-law, *Abubeker*, to vouch it: and the credulous *Abubeker* declared, that *if Mahomet affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole.* Whence *Mahomet* honoured him with the title of *Al Saddik*, "*the faithful witness.*"

While the more intelligent people of *Mecca* were disputing about the vision, he made a rapid progress at *Medina*. Twelve of the citizens swore allegiance and obedience to the prophet of God, whence they were styled, *Al Ansar*, "the *defenders* or *auxiliaries.*" Hence the year A.D. 620, was styled the *accepted year*. And from "this most remarkable year" of the public mission of the false prophet, and his acceptance at *Medina*, may we date the commencement of the *woeful* period of persecution

* The deeply-learned *Milton* has transplanted this tree into his *Pandemonium*. Paradise Lost, B. I.

of the *faithful witnesses*, in the east, for 1260 years, foretold in *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*. See Vol. II. p. 521, Vol. III. p. 616, of this work.

Next year, A.D. 621, the thirteenth of his mission, and second of his acceptance, his uncle, *Al Abbas*, was converted; and *Mahomet* tendered the oath of allegiance to seventy-three proselytes from *Medina*, at the mountain *Al Akaba*, "*to defend him from all insult, as they defended their own wives and children.*" Then said they to the Apostle of God, "*if we be slain in thy cause, what shall be our reward?*" He answered, "*Paradise.*" Then said they: "Stretch forth thy right hand;" and he did so; and they took the oath of obedience, promising rather to die than be perjured to God and his Apostle. *Abulfeda*, ch. 21.

This was confirmed to them in the *Koran*.

"The reward of them that die for the faith shall not perish. GOD shall be their guide; he shall approve their intention, and bring them into *the garden of delights*, of which he hath given them the description." Chap. 47, ver. 5.

"GOD hath secured the life and goods of the faithful. *Paradise* is their reward.——Rejoice in your covenant, it is the seal of your happiness." Chap. 9, ver. 112.

He now established twelve apostles of *Islamism*, vested with the same powers to discipline the people, as the apostles of JESUS; himself being the prime instructor, and chief of all the true believers; and he then sent away the auxiliaries, his followers, and his family, to *Medina*, for security; and remained behind himself at *Mecca*, attended only by *Abubeker* and *Ali*.

Hitherto, *Mahomet* had propagated his tenets by persuasion and argument, by patience and perseverance under insults and opposition. He now found himself strong enough to alter his measures, and turn persecutor himself; and accordingly began from this year to manufacture revelations in the *Koran*, impowering him to make war against all opposers.

"GOD hath permitted all who have received injuries, to resist; and he is powerful to defend them." Chap. xxii. ver. 9. This, according to the commentators, is the first passage in which God permitted *Mahomet* to take up arms in his defence, and was followed by others:

"O prophet, fight against the *Incredulous* and the *Infidels*;

treat them with severity. Hell shall be their frightful abode *." Chap. ix. ver. 74.

" Fight against them, till there be no more *schism*, and till the *holy religion* triumph universally." Chap. viii. ver. 42.

The Faithful are promised, moreover, the protection of the *Holy Angels*, and required not to fly in battle.

" GOD said to his *Angels*, I will be with you; encourage the believers; I will terrify the impious. Strike (ye believers) with your arms upon their heads; smite them on the feet and hands; spare none of them. Let them be punished for their *schism* against GOD and the prophet. Whoever shall separate himself from God and the prophet, shall find him terrible in his vengeance. Let them suffer the torment of fire prepared for the Infidels.

" O believers, when ye encounter the army of the enemy marching in order, betake not yourselves to flight. Whoever shall turn his back in the day of battle, unless it be to fight again, or to rally, shall incur the wrath of God, and shall have his abode in hell, the mansion of misery." Chap. viii.

THE HEGIRA, OR FLIGHT.

The establishment of *Islamism* at *Medina*, alarmed the unbelievers at *Mecca*. They held a council, in which they agreed to send a party of assassins, chosen out of all their tribes, to kill *Mahomet* in his house. But the prophet had early intelligence of their conspiracy, and prevented its execution, by a timely flight, at night, with *Abubeker*, leaving *Ali* behind, to personate *Mahomet*, wrapped up in his green cloak. The conspirators not having a commission to kill *Ali*, let him depart, when they found out their mistake. According to *Abulfeda*, chap. xxiv. when they surrounded the house, *Mahomet* sprinkled dust on their heads, and smote them with blindness, (as the *Angels*, the people of *Sodom*, Gen. xix. 11.) and passed through the midst of them, reciting the beginning of the 36th chapter of the *Koran*,—" WE *covered them* [*with dust*] *so that they could not*

* *Sale*, who seldom fails to palliate the errors of the *Koran*, thus renders this verse: " O, Prophet, attack the infidels with *arms*, and the hypocrites with *arguments*."—There is nothing like " *arguments*" in the original; and surely, *hypocrites* are unworthy of such. *Mahomet* consigned them to the seventh or lowest hell.

see," ver. 9. And the following passage of the *Koran* plainly alludes thereto: " *While the infidels spread snares for thee, while they wished to seize thee, to put thee to death, or to expel thee*, GOD, *whose vigilance exceeds that of the plotter, counteracted their plots.*" Chap. viii.

To baffle pursuit, *Mahomet* avoided the direct road to *Medina*, and turned aside to a cave in Mount *Tor*, southward of *Mecca*, where he remained three days; on the fourth, he set out for *Medina*, along the coast of the Red Sea, with all speed, but was overtaken on the way by a select party of horse, headed by his enemy *Soraka*. " *O Apostle of God*," exclaimed *Abubeker*, " *behold our persecutor! Fear not*," said he, " *God is with us!*" Then turning suddenly about, he shouted, *Soraka!* The horse, startled at this, or at his camel, stumbled, fell, and threw his rider, who was stunned by the fall, and instantly converted, by this prodigy, as he deemed it, so as to ask pardon, and intreat the Apostle of the Faithful *to intercede with God for him. Mahomet* kindly pardoned him, interceded for him, and dismissed him with a prophecy, if we believe *Abulfeda;* " *O Soraka, how wilt thou behave when thou shalt put on the bracelets of Khosru Parviz!*"——Which prophecy was accomplished, according to *Jannabi*, in the fifteenth year of the *Hegira*, A.D. 636, after the decisive battle of *Kadessia*, in which *Izdegird*, the last king of *Persia*, was defeated, and his bracelet, belt, and diadem, which had belonged to *Khosru Parviz*, brought to the Caliph *Omar*, who rewarded *Soraka* therewith, for his valour, as a good *Mussulman*.

Mahomet owed this escape to his undaunted firmness and presence of mind, and confidence in his prophetic character, which were all likely to strike with awe a superstitious young man and his troop. Whether the donative to *Soraka* originated from the prophecy, (which could scarcely be unknown to *Omar*,) or the prophecy from the donative, coined after the event, does not appear. Be this as it may, *Mahomet* proceeded without further interruption to *Medina*, and entered that city in triumph. When the *Ansars* disputed the honour of lodging and entertaining the prophet, and took hold of the bridle of his camel, *Mahomet* desired them to *let her take her own way, for she was a stubborn animal.* Which she took accordingly, and stopped at the stable of two rich orphans, *Sahali* and *Sohaili;* where she bent her knee for the prophet to dismount. This spot he pur-

chased from the orphans *; after he had refused their offer to bestow it, (like *David* the offer of *Araunah* the *Jebusite*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 24,) and *Abubeker* paid the money. He then erected thereon a mosque, and a habitation for himself, at which he laboured with his own hands.

He now consummated his marriage with *Aiesha*, the daughter of the faithful and trusty *Abubeker*, when she was nine years old, whom he had espoused after *Khadijah's* death.

To prevent schism between the two parties of his followers, the *Ansarians* or auxiliaries of *Medina*, and the *Mohagrians* or refugees of *Mecca*, he instituted an armed *fraternity*, or brotherhood, which should cordially unite both under his dominion, in the prosecution of his wars. He chose *Ali* as his own brother in arms, and coupled the *Ansarian* and *Mohagrian* chieftains in pairs: *Abubeker* with *Hareja*, *Omar* with *Otban*, &c. and he cemented this military association by a verse of the *Koran*, chap. iii. "Embrace the divine religion in all its extent. Form no *schism*. Remember the blessings which heaven has showered upon you. *Ye were enemies*; GOD *has put concord in your hearts*. Ye are become *brothers*, render thanks to him for his goodness."

This was the most politic of all his institutions; it extinguished the rising jealousies and contests for superiority, between his old and his new followers, that would otherwise have ruined his plans. The leaders of the French revolution, who were disciples of *Savary*, and, of course, "*true Mussulmen*," (as *Buonaparte* boasted in his Mahometan manifesto, see Vol. III. p. 621, of this work,) tendered the offer of their *fraternity* to the revolutionists of other countries, copying *Mahomet*; and, unhappily for the peace of Christendom, have been too successful.

The artifices of *Mahomet* were more powerful than his arms. We date the institution of this fraternity in the second year of the *Hegira*, A.D. 623, with *Abulfeda*, p. 54.

In this year also, he appointed the anniversary fast, in the seventh month *Ramadan*, signifying "*burning*," because in the fixed solar year, which the Arabs anciently used, it is the hottest

* *Gagnier* in his notes upon *Abulfeda*, and *Savary*, are anxious to vindicate *Mahomet* from the calumny of *Prideaux*, that he robbed the orphans of this ground. This, indeed, would neither have been consonant to justice nor sound policy, at the beginning of his reign; nor to the example of his predecessor, *David*, the royal prophet.

month of the year. This was only the revival of the *Mosaical* institution of the fast in the seventh month, before the great day of *atonement*. The Mahometans date the commencement of *Mahomet's* reign from the year of the *Hegira*, A.D. 622.

THE BATTLE OF BEDER.

In this remarkable battle, fought on the 17th day of *Ramadan*, the same year, *Mahomet* with 313 foot, 2 horse, and 70 camels, defeated a body of a thousand *Koreishites*, escorting a caravan of a thousand camels richly laden from *Syria*, and took the whole. In this great victory, *Mahomet* lost only fourteen soldiers, whom he directly dubbed *martyrs;* and, indeed, he had the address to persuade his troops, that, at his intercession, GOD had sent to their aid, in this battle, three thousand invisible *angels*. So that nothing could resist their enthusiasm.

This was soon confirmed by a revelation in the *Koran*. "On the day of *Beder*, when thou *(Mahomet)* saidst to the believers, Is it not sufficient that God should send you a succour of *three thousand* angels? Doubtless, this number was sufficient; but if ye had *perseverance* and *piety*, he would have caused *five thousand* angels to fly to your aid." Chap. iii. and viii.

In the heat of the battle, when *Mahomet* saw the enemy giving way, he took a handful of dust, and cast it toward them, saying, *Let their faces be confounded.* He then exclaimed, *Charge the enemy!*—Immediately they charged, with fresh vigour, and the enemy fled. *Ali*, singly, slew seven idolaters with his own hand.

This stratagem *Mahomet* repeated in the battle of *Honain*, six years after, the most desperate he ever fought, when he and his army were surrounded, in a narrow defile, by the enemy, and with equal success. When *he flung a handful of dust in the faces of the idolaters, they were instantly put to flight. Abulfeda*, p. 58—115.

In such critical cases, *Mahomet* himself must have felt that *enthusiasm* which he inspired. We cannot impute it wholly to *hypocrisy*. His imagination was heated by his zeal against *idolatry*, and we may conceive that he was ready, in this emergency, to draw a parallel between himself and the prophet *Elisha*, when surrounded by a troop of *Syrians* sent to take him, who was miraculously defended by *chariots of fire and*

horsemen of fire, or a host of angels *invisible* to mortal sight, and who prayed that *God would blind the eyes of the enemy*, so that he led them into the midst of *Samaria*, into the power of the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 14—22. He might also have compared himself to CHRIST, who, when surrounded by the officers of the high-priest sent to take him at *Gethsemane*, could have prayed the Father to send more than *twelve legions of angels* to his succour, Matt. xxvi. 53, but did not. There the comparison failed. *Mahomet*, indeed, like *Simon Magus*, after boasting that *he was some great one*, to the *Arabs*, might, at length, have persuaded himself that he was such, and deceived himself, while he deceived others. This is perfectly consistent with the *deceitfulness* of the human heart.

Mahomet treated the principal prisoners taken at *Beder* with severity. And he remained three days on the field of battle, to divide the spoils among his followers. A fifth part he reserved for himself.

To reward the valiant and faithful *Ali* for his services, *Mahomet* gave him in marriage his favourite daughter, *Fatima*, then fifteen. He ranked her among the four celebrated women, the wife of *Pharaoh*, the virgin *Mary*, his first wife *Khadijah*, and *Fatima*.

BATTLE OF AHAD.

Watchful, gradually to extend his dominions, *Mahomet* reduced several of the neighbouring *Arab* tribes, both *Jewish* and *Pagan*, by the secrecy and rapidity of his motions, attacking them separately and unprepared. He met, however, sometimes, a determined resistance. He was defeated by the *Koreishites* of *Mecca*, at Mount *Ahad*, through the insubordination of a reserve of archers, whom he had ordered not to quit their post. In this battle he was wounded himself in the mouth, and his front teeth broken, and his uncle *Hamza* was slain. He preserved, however, his usual presence of mind: "*How can that people*," said he, "*prosper, who have stained with blood the face of their prophet?*" And he manufactured a revelation from the angel *Gabriel*, on the spot, informing him, that "*Hamza was written among the inhabitants of the seventh heaven*, and honoured with the title of *the lion of God, and the lion of his prophet*." *Abulfeda*, p. 64—68.

In one of these expeditions, *Mahomet*, being fatigued, was sitting down to rest himself, at some distance from his army. A bold *Gatfanite* undertook to rid his country of this common enemy. He approached *Mahomet*, unarmed, and civilly asked permission to look at the prophet's rich sabre, which lay beside him. Having received it from his hands, he immediately unsheathed it, and was going to smite him. But, most fortunately for the prophet, as *Abulfeda* relates, GOD *threw him down on the ground.* Converted by this fall, and representing his attempt as only a feint to try his courage, he asked Mahomet, *Were not you afraid of me?* Who answered, *Why should I be afraid of you!* The intended assassin returned him his sabre. Then it was soon revealed from heaven: "*O ye believers, render thanks to God, when the enemy meditated to stretch forth his hand against you. But God restrained his hands from you. Koran,* chap. v. ver. 12.

Here *Mahomet* artfully exalted a natural occurrence into a divine interposition. The intended assassin might have been daunted by the composure of *Mahomet*, and might easily have stumbled and fallen, in his hurry and confusion; but considering this as an unlucky omen, he desisted from his purpose. At all events, it demonstrates the cool intrepidity of *Mahomet.*

BESIEGED IN MEDINA.

His ambitious views were early disclosed. A general confederacy of *Jewish* and *Pagan* tribes, assembled to besiege their common enemy, *Mahomet*, in *Medina*, who was not strong enough to face them in the field. He therefore determined to fortify the town with a deep trench, to stop their approach, and he laboured himself at the work. Having struck fire three times, with his hammer, against a rock, which he was endeavouring to remove, he was asked by *Salman*, a *Persian* friend, *what these sparks portended?* The first, says he, that GOD will reduce, by my arms, *Arabia Felix;* the second, *Syria*, and the west; and the third, the east." *Abulfeda*, p. 76.

SENDS EMBASSIES TO FOREIGN STATES.

Accordingly, *Mahomet* having subdued a great part of the idolatrous *Arab* tribes, and annihilated the *Jewish*, at length, in

the seventh year of the Hegira, A.D. 628, took upon him the state of a sovereign prince, and sent ambassadors to the neighbouring princes, *Khosrou Parviz*, *Heraclius*, &c. &c., exhorting them to embrace *Islamism;* not, indeed, with any prospect of success, but merely to seek a ground of quarrel from their refusal.

The haughty Persian monarch treated his embassy with contempt, and tore his letter, saying, *How dare my servant write to me?* When this was reported to *Mahomet*, he said, GOD *shall tear his kingdom. Chosrou* was not long after dethroned and put to death by his own son. There is no occasion, however, to erect this into a prophecy. The distracted state of *Persia* at this time might have suggested it.——The Roman emperor treated his letter with more respect. He read it and laid it upon his cushion.

His letter to the king of *Abyssinia* was remarkable for the declaration of his sentiments respecting CHRIST and the Virgin *Mary*, as recorded by *Abd Elbahi*.

In the name of GOD, *gracious and merciful:*

Mahomet, Apostle of God, to *Naiashi Ashama,* emperor of *Abyssinia*, Health.

Glory be to GOD, *the only God, holy, pacific, faithful, and the protector.*

I testify, that *Jesus*, the son of *Mary*, is THE SPIRIT OF GOD, and HIS ORACLE; which GOD caused to descend into *Mary*, the blessed and immaculate virgin, and she conceived. He created JESUS of his spirit, and animated him with his breath; as he animated *Adam.* (Gen. ii. 7.)

"I call thee, on my part, to the worship of *the only God;* of *God who has no equal,* and who commands the powers of heaven and earth. Trust in my mission, follow me, be in the number of my disciples, I am *the Apostle of* GOD."

"I have sent into thy states my cousin *Jafar*, with some *Mussulmans.* Take them under thy protection, and prevent their wants. *Lay aside the pride of a throne.* I invite *thee* and *thy legions* to embrace the worship of THE SUPREME BEING. My ministry is discharged; I have exhorted thee. Heaven grant that my councils may be salutary. Peace be with him who marches by the torch of the true faith."

The king of *Abyssinia* having received this letter, applied it

to his eyes, descended from the throne, seated himself upon the ground, pronounced the profession of Mussulman faith, and answered in this manner:

In the name of God, gracious and merciful.

To *Mahomet, Apostle of God, Elnaiashi Ashama, Health.*

Peace be with thee, *Apostle of God!* May he cover thee with his mercy, may he load thee with his blessings! There is no God, but he who led me to *Islamism*. *O prophet*, I have read the letter which thou hast sent me. What thou sayest of JESUS is the true belief. He himself added no more. I thereto call to witness the Sovereign of heaven and earth.

"I have attended to thy recommendation. Thy cousin and his companions have been received with honour in my estates. They have enjoyed therein the rites of hospitality. I testify that thou art the *Apostle of God, true* and *real*. I have taken the oath to thee, between the hands of *Jafar;* I have professed *Islamism* in his presence. I have devoted myself to the worship of the GOD OF THE WORLDS. O prophet, I have sent unto thee my son *Ariha:* if thou commandest, I will go myself to render homage to *the divinity of thy apostleship*. I testify that *thy words are truth.*"

The apostacy of this *Christian* prince was most highly gratifying to *Mahomet* *.

* His extraordinary success in *Abyssinia*, produced a revelation in the Koran, favourable to the *Christians*, as contrasted with the *Jews*.

"The incredulous *Jews* have been cursed by the mouth of *David*, and of *Jesus*, son of *Mary*. Always *rebellious* and *impious*, they sought not to turn from their crimes. *Confusion to their works!*——

"Ye see them flock in crowds to join the *Infidel* party. Confusion to their crimes! GOD in his wrath will plunge them for ever into horrible torments! If they had believed in GOD, the *Prophet* and the *Koran*, they would not have sought their alliance: but the greatest part of them are perverted.

"Ye shall find the *Jews* and *Idolaters* the most violent enemies of the faithful; but among the *Christians* ye shall find men that are humane, and attached to the believers, because they have *priests*, and *religious* orders, devoted to *humility*. When they shall hear the reading of the *Koran*, ye shall see them weep for joy, of having known the truth: *Lord*, they will say, *we believe. Write us in the number of those who bear witness! Why should not we believe in God, and in the truth which he hath revealed? Why should not we desire to have a place among the just?*

"GOD hath heard their voice. He will give them for an everlasting habitation, *the gardens of delights, watered with rivers.* Such shall be the reward of the deserving; but the *Infidels*, and they who accuse our doctrine *of lies*, shall be plunged headlong into *hell.*" Chap. v.

Haret, a prince of *Arabia Petræa*, whose dominions extended to the confines of *Syria*, did not send so favourable an answer to his requisition. "*Return*, said he to the ambassador, *to thy master; I will carry my answer to him, shortly, myself.*" "*May his kingdom perish*," exclaimed *Mahomet*.——Such now, was the haughtiness and arrogance of this *Pontifical Potentate* in the east, strongly resembling that of his brother in the west, at this period, both equally *antichristian* in their principles and in their practices!

INVASION OF SYRIA.

A pretext for the invasion of *Syria* offered the eighth year, A.D. 629. *Elharet*, an ambassador whom he had sent to the sovereign of *Bosra*, in order to persuade him to embrace *Islamism*, was assassinated on the way, at *Mouta*, a town of *Syria*, near the head of the river *Jordan*, by *Amrou*, governor of the town under the emperor *Heraclius*. This little spark kindled a vast conflagration, that ravaged the east for eight hundred years, till the capture of *Constantinople* by the Turks. *Mahomet* instantly sent an army of three thousand men to *Mouta*, with orders for the inhabitants to embrace *Islamism*, or, on their refusal, to waste their territory with fire and sword. They were opposed by a hundred thousand men; but after a most obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the three generals appointed by *Mahomet* were successively slain, *Zaid*, *Jafar*, and *Abdallah*, the heroism of the fourth, *Khaled*, who then assumed the command, won the day. During the engagement, he broke no less than nine swords! and the generals who fell, equally signalized their valour. They counted fifty wounds, of the sword or lance, on the body of *Jafar*, all received in front. Such was the irresistible impetuosity of *fanatics*, whose watchword was "*victory* or *martyrdom!*"

When *Mahomet* received the account of this great victory, he assembled the people and said, "*Zaid* (his adopted son) who bore the standard of *Islamism*, at the head of the army, is fallen; *Jafar*, who then took it, is fallen; *Abdallah*, who succeeded, has suffered the same fate." At these words, the believers burst into tears. He was softened himself, but resuming his firmness, he added, "At length, a warrior, *the sword of the swords of God*, having seized the standard, forced victory to

declare for the *Mussulmans.*"——"Weep no more," said he, "for *Jafar;* his lot is worthy of envy. GOD *has given him a pair of wings, and he is making use of them to traverse the immense extent of the heavens, every where open to his wishes.*" *Jannabi, Libokar.*

THE CAPTURE OF MECCA.

Mahomet had long wished for an opportunity of reducing this refractory city under his dominion; but a ten years' peace, which he could not refuse them, some time before, restrained him. He therefore gladly seized the pretext of some violence offered by the *Koreishites* to his allies the *Chozaites*, in which some of the latter were slain, to invade that city so suddenly, with an army of ten thousand men, that he was at their gates before they had learned his departure from *Medina*. There was no choice, but of immediate surrender, or utter destruction. The *Koreishites* chose the former, and submitted to the stronger religion of *Islamism*. His hostile uncle, *Abu Sofian*, at their head, pronounced the double profession of faith, in the *one God*, and his *prophet*. *Mahomet* entered the city in triumph, repeating with a loud voice the following passage of the *Koran*: "*We have granted thee a signal victory. God hath pardoned thy sins, he hath completed his favours, and he will conduct thee in the path of justice. His protection is thy powerful shield,*" &c. Chap. xlviii.

He marched straightway to the temple, and his first care, (in imitation of *Christ purging the temple of Jerusalem*) was to throw down 360 idols, placed around its walls. He struck them with his cane, and said, "*The truth hath appeared, falshood is going to disappear, and shall shew itself no more*"——"*it is dispersed as a thin vapour.*" Koran, chap. xxxiv.

He then went in procession seven times round the temple, and he touched respectfully the *black stone;* entered the temple itself, and repeated the formulary, *God is great*, &c. and made his prayer, with two inclinations; went to the holy well *Zemzen*, said to be discovered by the angel to *Hagar*, drank there of the holy water, and performed the ablution required.

After these religious ceremonies, he assembled the trembling *Koreishites*, and thus addressed them:

"*There is but one God; he hath accomplished his promises,*

and succoured his servant. He alone hath overthrown the enemies' battalions. He hath given me the dominion over you, and hath made use of my ministry to make you abjure idolatry. You must pay no more sacrilegious worship to our fathers, Abraham and Ishmael, who are men like us."——

Then turning to the citizens, who dreaded death or captivity, he said, *What do you expect from me? How think ye that I will treat you?* They answered, "*Kindly, as a generous brother, as the son of a generous brother.*" "*Go then,* said he, *you are liberated, resume your freedom.*" All the citizens came to take the oath of obedience to him. His inauguration took place on the hill *Elsafa*, where he was seated on an eminence, surrounded by his officers. *Omar* received from the men the oath of allegiance, that they would be faithful and obedient unto death; while the politic *Mahomet* himself took the oath of the women also, well knowing their powerful influence in every revolution, especially in *Arabia.*

However, he exempted from the general pardon, and proscribed, ten of the most obnoxious of his opposers, six men and four women, most of whom, notwithstanding, he graciously pardoned; among them, *Henda*, the wife of his uncle, *Abu Sofian*, who, with a cannibal brutality, after the battle of *Ahad*, had torn out and devoured the heart of the fallen *Hamza*, her brother in law! When he discovered her in disguise, she threw herself at his feet, saying, "*I am Henda, forget the past; pardon me.*" He pardoned her. *Hobar*, another of the proscribed, who had insulted *Mahomet* and his daughter, was pardoned, on turning Mussulman. "*Islamism*," said he, "*effaces all sins committed in the time of ignorance.*" But he beheaded *Al Nadhr*, who had ridiculed the *Koran*, and said, "*What else does Mahomet produce to you, but the fables of the ancients?*" This was *the blasphemy against the prophet, not to be forgiven.*

Thus, by tempering the rigour of conquest with some popular acts of mercy, did this crafty reformer steal away the hearts of his high minded and impetuous countrymen: to whom he nominally granted freedom, because unused to bear the yoke, while he rivetted their chains, by the most imposing of all authorities, the sanctions of religion and superstition.

After a short absence of only nineteen days, he returned from the conquest of *Mecca*, to *Medina*, which he made the seat of his government: not chusing to trust himself at *Mecca*, which

had so long been hostile and disaffected; nor to give umbrage to his faithful and attached city of *Medina*, which formerly had been called *Yathreb*, but now *Medina al nabi*, "the city of the prophet," or simply *Medina*. *Abulfeda*, p. 60.

Mahomet employed the rest of this year in sending forth his armed missionaries to convert the remaining idolatrous tribes of *Arabia* in his neighbourhood, on the terms of *Islamism*, or *slavery*. Most chose the former. And the ninth year, A.D. 630, he received, most graciously, deputations from the remoter tribes, who had awaited the issue, and were intimidated by his successes, and especially by the capture of *Mecca*, and reduction of the *Koreishites;* offering to submit to his government and embrace *Islamism*. *Mahomet* had prophesied this in the *Koran;* "*When* GOD *shall send his succour and victory, you shall see the people eager to embrace Islamism.*" Chap. cx. This wily reformer well knew how to work upon the ruling passions of mankind, their hopes and their fears.

SYRIAN CAMPAIGN.

He now resolved to put in execution his plans of distant conquest, beginning with *Syria*, that rich and powerful province; and he made preparations suitable to the greatness of the undertaking. His friends contributed largely thereto. *Abubeker* gave all his wealth to this holy war; *Omar*, half; *El Abbas*, large sums of money; *Othman*, a thousand crowns of gold, three hundred camels, for provisions, and a promise of maintaining three battalions during the campaign. *Mahomet*, therefore, set out, at the head of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, on the expedition, in the heat of summer; during which, they suffered extremely from thirst, in passing the burning sands. When they came to *Hegr*, a valley furnished with water, which had originally belonged to the *Themudians*, an ancient tribe, who were destroyed by GOD for their infidelity, he would not taste himself, nor allow his army to taste of the *accursed waters;* but covered his face with his mantle, and galloped through the valley, to shew the conformity of his own conduct to his doctrine, and to prove his ascendancy over his troops.

In the course of this campaign, he accepted the submission of the *Christian* states on the confines of *Syria*, and did not insist on their embracing *Islamism*. He only imposed on them a tri-

bute. This was sound policy. His first object was to detach them from the *Roman* emperor, without wounding their religious prejudices. They were not yet ripe for *Islamism* *.

But on his return to *Medina*, he encreased his severity against the *Idolaters*, and absolutely prohibited all such from making the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, or any stranger from entering the *Caaba*, on pain of death. This pilgrimage was enjoined to *Mussulmans*, in the *Koran*, "*Perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, and visit the temple, in honour of God.*" Chap. ii.

These were regulations of profound policy. He retained the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which had been of ancient standing, among the descendants of *Abraham* and *Ishmael*; and though he destroyed their images at *Mecca*, as objects of idolatrous worship, he carefully retained the holy relics of the *black stone*, and the impression of *Abraham's* foot. While the privilege of visiting these was, for the future, exclusively confined to the Mussulmans, by a decree of the *Koran*—"*O ye believers! the idolaters are impure, let them no more approach the temple of Mecca, after this year.*" Chap. ix. This, we may be assured, contributed to propagate *Islamism* among the superstitious, not less than his arms among the timorous. The petty princes of *Arabia Felix* now followed his example; they pulled down the altars of their gods, destroyed their idols, and professed their submission to the true religion, and their zeal against idolatry. He then wisely sent two legates, or lieutenants, to preside in that rich province; *Abu Musa*, whom he appointed to reside at *Aden*, and his intimate friend, *Moadh*, at *Jaad*. When the latter was departing, *Mahomet*, to do him honour, helped him to mount his mule, and attended him a considerable way on foot. *Moadh*, confused at this condescension, wished to alight, but the prophet prevented him: "*Think not*," said he, "*that I degrade my dignity; I accomplish the decree of Heaven, and gratify myself. He that is invested with authority ought to be honoured. Alas!*" said he, sighing, "*this is the last time I shall converse with you; we shall meet no more till the day of the resurrection.*" They shed tears at parting, and for the last time. *Jannabi*, p. 273.

* His policy in this case, appears from the *Koran*. "We have accepted the alliance of *Christians*; but they have forgotten a part of our commandments. We have sown among them *discord* and *hatred*, which shall not be extinguished till the day of the resurrection. *Soon God will shew them what they have done.*" Chap. v.

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE.

Mahomet's health had been on the decline, for three years past, ever since he was poisoned at the castle of *Khaibar*, by *Zainah*, a Jewess, in some roast mutton, to revenge the death of her brother, and the capture of the place, though he instantly spit out the meat, saying, *This sheep tells me she was poisoned! Abulfeda*, p. 92. He now set out from *Medina*, in the tenth year of the *Hegira*, A.D. 631, on a most solemn and pompous pilgrimage to *Mecca*, attended by all his wives *, and an immense multitude of pilgrims, ninety thousand, according to some writers, 114,000, according to others. There, he scrupulously performed all the prescribed rites and ceremonies, and did not forget to kiss the *black stone* twice, at the beginning and end of his seven processions round the temple. He sacrificed, with his own hands, sixty-three victims, and liberated sixty-three slaves, in thanksgiving for each year of his life; and he shaved his head, and scattered his hair among the people, which was eagerly caught and preserved as a relic. *Khaled*, the warrior, collected a portion of it, which he fixed in his turban; and attributed to "*this blessed turban*" his ensuing victories. *Abulfeda*, p. 131. Though an enemy to idolatry, *Mahomet* artfully countenanced superstition. He closed the solemnity with the following declaration, as if from Heaven, which formed the conclusion of the whole *Koran*. "*Henceforth, wretched and miserable shall they be, who deny your religion. Fear not them; but fear* ME: *This day, I have perfected your religion, and completed my grace toward you. I have willed that Islamism be your religion.*" Chap. v. ver. 4. He now established the lunar moveable year of 354 days, and forbad its reduction to the solar, by intercalary months. He also prohibited any alteration of the *four sacred* months, the first, seventh, eleventh and twelfth, during which it was not lawful to *make war*, which it had been customary among the *Arabs* to evade by changing. He allowed them, however, to *resist* the *Infidels* at all times, when attacked. Chap. ix.

* After *Khadijah's* death, *Mahomet* married fifteen wives, of whom nine survived him. He had eight children by *Khadijah*, four sons and four daughters, who all died before him, except *Fatima*. He had not any children by the rest, except a son, *Ibraham*, by a concubine, *Mary* the Copt, who died shortly before him.

When the whole solemnity was over, *Mahomet*, as supreme *Pontiff*, or *Iman*, dismissed the people with a farewell, the last, he foretold, that he should give them. Whence this derived its name of the *Farewell Pilgrimage.* *Abulfeda*, p. 132.

THE DEATH OF MAHOMET.

Early in the eleventh year of the Hegira, A.D. 632, *Mahomet* fell sick, and lingered for thirteen days, according to *Eutychius*, during which he kept up the part he had acted through life, with perfect consistency. Notwithstanding the violence of his fever, and the sharpness of his pains, he planned another expedition into *Syria*, which he consigned to the command of *Ocama*, the son of *Zaid*, who had been slain in the former. And when he put the standard of *Islamism* into his hands, he said, "*Take arms for the cause of God; fight valiantly the holy war; put the Idolaters to the edge of the sword.*"

When his only surviving daughter *Fatima* came to visit him, he made her sit down beside him, and whispered in her ear, "*Gabriel usually appeared to me once a year before; but he has visited me twice this year. I shall see him no more till the moment of my departure from this world: That time is not far off; and I am rejoiced to go before you.*" *Fatima* melted into tears. Seeing this, he endeavoured to console her: "*My daughter, why do you abandon yourself to sorrow? Ought you not rather to rejoice at being the Princess of the Faithful, the first of your nation?*" *Fatima* smiled. She did not long survive her father. *Abulfeda*, p. 134.

The same day, notwithstanding his malady, he went to the mosque, leaning on the arms of *Fadl* and his son-in-law *Ali*; and there, like *Moses*, (Numb. xvi. 16) made public protestation, after prayer, of his innocence, to the people. "*If I have scourged any man's back* [*unjustly*] *lo, here is my back; let him inflict thereon an equal number of stripes. If I have injured any man's character, by reproach or calumny, let him injure mine likewise. If I have taken any man's money unjustly, here is my purse, let him take as much. Let none be afraid of incurring my hatred or enmity; for this is contrary to my disposition and character.*"——Here, a man claimed *a debt of three drachms*, as due to him. *Mahomet* immediately paid it, with interest, saying: "*The disgrace of this world is easier to be*

borne, than the disgrace of the next.——GOD *gave one of his servants the choice of this world or of heaven. He chose heaven.*" Then said *Abubekr*, weeping, "*We have given thee all authority over our souls!*" 'Abulfeda, p. 135.

His last mandates were delivered to the *Ansars* of *Medina*.

1. *Expel the idolaters from the Peninsula of Arabia.*

2. *Permit proselytes to enjoy the same privileges as yourselves.*

3. *Be constant in prayer.*

He ended with a curse against the *Jews*, recorded by *Aiesha*.

4. GOD *curse the Jews; for they converted the sepulchres of their prophets into temples.* (Matt. xxiii. 29.) *Aiesha* added: "If he had not prohibited it under a curse, his own tomb would have scarcely escaped from being converted into a temple, in imitation of theirs."

He went regularly to public prayers at the mosque during his illness, till the last three days; then he directed that *Abubekr* should act as *Iman*, and *perform prayer to the people.* Abulf. p. 136.

To *Aiesha*, his favourite wife, (to whose house he desired to be removed, and who attended him during his sickness,) he complained of the fatal effects of the poison administered to him at *Khaibar*; which probably contributed to encrease his hatred to the *Jews*, and to produce the preceding inveterate curse. According to her account, in his last moments, he put his hand into a basin of water that stood beside his bed, and sprinkled his face, and said: "O GOD, *pardon me, and pity me, and admit me into the society of heaven.*"

When he expired, the people without could not believe it. *The prophet*, said they, *is not dead, but is translated like Jesus.* And the ferocious *Omar*, blinded and transported by his zeal, joined them; he exclaimed, *Mahomet, the prophet of God, is not dead*, as the infidels declare, *but is gone to his Lord; like Moses, the son of Amram, who was absent from his people forty days, and then returned to them again.* And he threatened to cut off the hands and feet of any man that should say he was dead!

However, when his belly began to swell, and symptoms of putrefaction appeared, *Al Abbas*, his uncle, came forth to the multitude, and declared, *By the only God, Mahomet, the Apostle of God, has most certainly tasted death.*

He was wrapped in perfumes, and buried on the fourth day, according to his own directions, in a grave made under the place where he lay. *Abulfeda*, p. 141.

Thus lived, and thus died, the most extraordinary and consummate deceiver that ever appeared, perhaps, on the stage of the world; who acted his part throughout uniformly and consistently, from first to last, steady to his principles; and, though he lived not the life of the righteous, seemed *to die the death of the righteous*, in the serenity and composure with which he departed. His acknowledged celebrity, and the wide spread of the religion which he founded, not inferior to that of *Christianity* * at the present day, demand a candid and critical sketch of his *character* and *doctrines*, equally removed from the partialities of *Mahometan*, and the prejudices of *Christian* historians.

CHARACTER OF MAHOMET.

Mahomet was endued, by nature and education, with all the talents and attainments requisite to frame and to conduct a deep-laid and comprehensive scheme of *political religion*. To a fine person, insinuating address, captivating eloquence, skill in the most polished dialect of the Arabic language, the *Koreish*, and extensive information, derived from his travels and his studies, he joined an ardent spirit, a bold, intrepid, enterprizing disposition, and promptness of decision, that led him to undertake the most daring attempts; a coolness and steadiness, patience and perseverance, to carry him through, not to be baffled or deterred from his purpose by insult and opposition, difficulty and danger; a thorough knowledge of mankind, and an astonishing ascendancy over his fiery and superstitious countrymen, the *Arabs*, whom he moulded to his will, by humouring their leading passions, and by forging the most audacious revelations from heaven, to support his imposture.

Other impostors, before *Mahomet*, and after him, equally assumed the *Apostolical* character, as *prophets* sent from God, to reform the world, but not with equal success. *Mani* and *Mazdek* had preceded him in Persia, and gained proselytes, but *Mahomet* was a profounder politician than either. The doc-

* *Brerewood*, p. 79, computes, that if the habitable world be divided into thirty equal parts, the *Christians* will be found in possession of five parts, the *Mahometans* of six, and the *Idolaters* of nineteen.

trines of *Mani* were too philosophical and mystical for ordinary capacities, and too severe and rigid for popular reception; the principles and practices of *Mazdek* too licentious and levelling to gain the approbation of the upper ranks in society, who had property to lose. While *Mani* arrogantly denied the authority of the Old Testament entirely, and impeached the authenticity of the New, by accusing it of adulteration, either by interpolations, or by omissions, *Mahomet*, more cunningly, professed to reverence both, to introduce no new religion, but to restore the primitive religion of *Abraham*, and to reform the corruptions that had crept into the *Mosaical* and *Christian*. This was a specious lure to gain over *Pagans*, *Jews*, and *Christians*, by persuasion.

The age and country in which *Mahomet* broached his imposture, were both peculiarly favourable to its propagation.

Arabia, at this time, had shaken off the *Persian* yoke, and was a populous and flourishing country. Its numerous and independent tribes were in that early state of progressive civilization, when they are perhaps most powerful, brave, hardy, and untainted by luxury, and they were split into a variety of religions and sects. Among the native *Arab* tribes, the most prevalent was the *Zabian* Idolatry, from the days of *Job*. The *Magian* superstition was imported from *Persia*; there were also considerable colonies of *Jews* settled in Arabia, who had debased the Law of *Moses* by their vain traditions and Talmudic legends; and *Christianity* got an early footing there, even from the day of *Pentecost*, in which "*Arabians*" are noticed among the first-fruits of the Church; but it was corrupted, likewise, by the influx of *Christian* refugees from the persecutions of the *Roman* emperors and *Persian* kings, bringing with them their several heresies, among which, the *Jacobite*, introduced by *Jacob*, a *Syrian*, about the close of the sixth century, was the most prevalent. The *Jacobites* held the *single nature* of *Jesus Christ*, and denied the double, the divine, and human, as subsisting in his person.

Such an unconnected and divided state of the country, in respect of government and of religion, was highly favourable to *Mahomet's* innovations in both. Had the several powerful and independent tribes of that extensive peninsula been united and consolidated under one commonwealth, or monarchy, his daring project would have been crushed in embryo, by the vigorous arm

of the state; unlike CHRISTIANITY, which had to contend with the united opposition of *thrones* and *potentates*, able and willing alike to persecute. Or had one common system of *national faith* prevailed in *Arabia*, the mass of the people would have joined the more intelligent *Koreishites* of *Mecca*, in resisting the subversion of their established religion.

This was clearly evinced by the fate of his competitors, who set up for prophets likewise. *Al Aswad*, *Mosailama*, and *Taliha*. The first, nicknamed *Aihala*, "the fickle," who apostatized from *Islamism*, in the space of four months, reduced great part of *Yemen* to his principles, and to his obedience; but was assassinated, by *Mahomet's* contrivance, on the very day he died himself. The second, whom he nicknamed "the liar," collected very numerous followers; but was defeated, the year after, by *Khaled*, in the first year of *Abubekr's* Caliphat, and the false prophet himself, and ten thousand of his troops, were slain in the field. And the third, having raised a considerable party, was routed by *Khaled* likewise; but renounced his errors, and returned to his allegiance, in the reign of *Omar*, the second Kaliph. *Elmacin.* Hist. Sar. p. 16.

These are curious and important facts. They tend to lessen our wonder at *Mahomet's* success, by shewing how ripe the *Arabs*, at that time, were for innovations in religion and government, and how zealously they abetted other daring impostors, who wanted the profound policy and the advantageous opportunities of *Mahomet.*

The rest of the world was also in a situation equally favourable for his ambitious views of *universal dominion*, which he so early formed, and avowed to his confidential *Persian* friend.

The mighty *Persian* and *Roman* empires, which, at an earlier period, would singly and jointly have opposed his impudent invitations to embrace *Islamism*, and have crushed his armed missionaries, were both on the decline, and verging fast to ruin: the former, distracted and convulsed by intestine divisions; the latter, harassed and inundated by fierce barbarian hords; and both, weakened and exhausted by their incessant and bloody wars, and incursions into each other's dominions, which drained them of men and money, lay panting and defenceless, an easy prey to the irresistible fury and impetuosity of "*the swords of God*," when wielded by such able generals, and such ferocious armies, as those of *Khaled*, *Omar*, and their successors, who

overran the eastern, and part of the western world, with a rapidity altogether astonishing.

With all these singular advantages, the rapid conquests of *Mahomet* and the *Khalifs*, and the speedy progress of *Islamism*, are by no means surprising, nor should they irrelevantly or invidiously be drawn into comparison with the rejection of CHRIST by the *Jews*, and the slow progress of *Christianity: Mahomet's kingdom was of this world*, and his servants fought strenuously to advance it; CHRIST'S *kingdom was not of this world*, and his followers forsook, or betrayed Him!

Light and darkness, indeed, were not more opposite than CHRIST and *Mahomet*. It is no wonder, therefore, that a sensual and corrupt world *loved darkness more than light, because their deeds were evil;* more congenial to the *Koran* of *Mahomet*, than to the GOSPEL of CHRIST. The pure and holy JESUS, *who did no sin, nor was guile found in his mouth, who went about doing good* to the souls and bodies of men, by his beneficent *miracles*, and still more salutary *doctrines*, nobly and boldly challenged his enemies to impeach his moral character if they could, *Which of you convicteth me of sin?* And even his betrayer and his persecutors bore testimony to "*the innocent blood*" of "THE SON OF GOD," "THE RIGHTEOUS SON OF MAN."

On the contrary, boundless *ambition*, and unbridled *lust*, cloaked under the most consummate and presumptuous *hypocrisy*, possessed, like fiends, the heart of *Mahomet*. He was indeed a true son of *Belial*. "*None but great souls can be completely wicked:*" little souls want the ability to contrive, and to execute splendid mischief, upon a great scale.

Mahomet wore the mask of *sanctity* and *mortification*, while he was preparing his imposture, and establishing his reputation as an *Apostle of* GOD, and a *reformer* of the world. But when his mission was acknowledged by some of the principal citizens of *Mecca*, and by the *Ansars* of *Medina;* and when his lying *journey to heaven* was vouched by the credulous *Abubekr*, that "*faithful witness*," and his deluded followers became disposed to swallow the greatest impieties and absurdities, implicitly surrendering to him *all authority over their souls*, their senses, and their understandings; he quickly threw off the mask, and broke through all the restraints that Prudence and Policy had hitherto laid on his impetuous passions, and went about as *a raging and*

roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour, among *men*, by his wide and wasting *ambition;* among *women*, by his unbridled *lust.* And with the most matchless effrontery, and most daring impiety, he deliberately brought down pretended revelations from heaven, to sanction his lies, and pander to his vices!

Mahomet at first temporized with the *Jews.* To flatter them, he stopped at *Jerusalem*, in his pretended journey to heaven; he directed his votaries, at first, to pray with their faces toward *Jerusalem*, as the mother church; and he placed *Moses* in the sixth heaven, higher than *Jesus*, in the fourth; but when he found that they were neither to be seduced nor driven into *Islamism*, he resolved to extirpate them, and to plunder their great wealth, and seize their territories; in all which he succeeded, after many severe and bloody conflicts with that warlike and stubborn race.

The *Koraidite Jews*, in particular, possessed a strong fortress, and great substance. In the fifth year of the Hegira, therefore, A.D. 626, he counterfeited an order from *Gabriel* to invade them. After a siege of twenty days, they were unwisely induced by his emissaries to surrender at discretion. He artfully referred the decision of their fate to *Saad*, prince of the *Awsites*, their confederates, wishing to throw the blame of their massacre from off himself; and they unguardedly agreed to abide by his judgment, as a friend, from whom they might expect favour. But he, suborned by *Mahomet*, (we may be assured) cruelly and perfidiously sentenced *the men to be slain, the women and children to be enslaved*, and *their goods to be confiscated.* Instantly, *Mahomet*, with savage delight, exclaimed, *'Surely thou hast judged a judgment, come down from the top of the seven heavens, from the most high God himself!* Accordingly, he sent off all the men to *Medina*, in chains, to be kept there until his return, confined in pits, which he ordered to be dug for their prisons, like wild beasts; and on his return, some time after, (not in the heat of battle, not exasperated by losses, for he lost but one man at the siege) he, with the most cool and deliberate malice and cruelty, sent his executioners, who beheaded *seven hundred men* in the pits; after he had divided the captive *women*, and *children*, and *goods*, among his followers, and reserved a *fifth part* of the spoils for his own use; and for his own bed, *Rishana*, the daughter of a chieftain, and the most beautiful of the *Koraidites;* whom he kept as his concubine, till his

death. After repeated refusals on her part, he prevailed on her, at length, to profess *Islamism* * !

Can we then wonder at the righteous retaliation, when a *Jewish* heroine was found, at *Khaibar*, to poison this miscreant!

To crown all, GOD himself is blasphemously introduced in the *Koran*, as commending this *diabolical* massacre.

" GOD compelled the *Jews*, who succoured the *Idolaters*, to come down from their citadel. He cast dismay into their souls. *Ye killed a part of them* [*in cold blood*], and ye carried the rest into captivity. He gave you their houses, their lands, and their riches, for a heritage. Ye possess a country, which your footsteps had not entered into before. *The power of* GOD *is infinite.*" Chap. xxxii.

This is evidently a *hypocritical* parody of *Moses'* warning to the *Israelites*, after the extermination of the *Canaanites*, devoted by the divine decree. Deut. vi. 10—12, &c.

Indulging the sensuality of his countrymen, *Mahomet* licensed polygamy and concubinage, in the *Koran:* " Beware of being unjust to your wives. Marry two, three, or [at the utmost] four. Choose those you like. If you cannot render them their dues, take only one, or else confine yourself to your slaves [or concubines]. This prudential conduct will enable you to render them their dues, and to portion your wives more easily." Chap. iv.

But he assumed an unlimited *indulgence* for himself:

" *O prophet*, we have permitted thee to marry the *women* whom thou hast portioned; the *captives*, whom GOD hath put into thine hand; the *daughters* of thy uncles and aunts, by father's and mother's side, who fled with thee from *Mecca; and any other faithful woman, who shall give thee her heart.* This is a peculiar privilege which we grant thee!" Chap. xxxiii.

Not satisfied with this ample dispensation, he cast his incontinent eyes on *Zeinab*, the beautiful wife of *Zaid*, his freedman and adopted son, in the same year, A.D. 626; and exclaimed, in admiration of her charms, in her hearing, as she passed by, *Praised be God, the changer of hearts!*——This hint was suf-

* The learned and sensible *Abulfeda* gives the outlines of this tragic tale, without comment or censure, p. 79. *Savary* palliates the cruelty of *Mahomet*, by representing the massacre of the Jews as immediately following the decision of their treacherous umpire, Tom. I p. 107, 108; whereas it was some time after. He attributes *Rishana's* conversion to female vanity.

ficient: *Zaid* complaisantly repudiated his wife; and after the legal time, the prophet took her to his bed, and made a most sumptuous marriage feast on the occasion.

This marriage, however, was looked on as incestuous, and gave great offence to several of the believers, which was removed by the following revelation, approving the deed:

"When thou *(Mahomet)* saidst to *Zaid**, *Take to thee thy wife, and fear God;* thou didst conceal in thy mind, what God intended to manifest, [namely, thy love toward *Zeinab.*] And thou *didst fear men,* [or, to incur public scandal]; but thou shouldst rather *fear* GOD. When *Zaid,* therefore, divorced her, we (GOD) joined her to thee in marriage; in order that the *Faithful might no longer scruple to marry the wives of their adopted sons, after their repudiation.*" Chap. xxxiii. ver. 36.

If ever there was a finished *hypocrite,* possessed of the most audacious and shameless effrontery, it surely was *Mahomet,* whose GOD *was his belly, who gloried in his shame, who minded earthly things,* under the garb of sanctity and religion!

The whole range indeed of sacred and profane history, does not exhibit such a gigantic *rebel,* from the days of *Nimrod,* as the *Arabian,* who, in allusion to his assumed title of *the Prophet of God* †, seems to be designated by that of "*the false prophet,*" in the Apocalypse. Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10.

It has been alledged by his admirers, *Gagnier, Sale, Savary,* &c. that *Mahomet* made no pretensions to the power of working miracles; but this is not true. He aped both *Moses* and CHRIST, as far as he durst, in *lying wonders,* which could not easily be detected. He was too cunning indeed, to appeal to overt, or visible miracles, like them, as the test of his divine mission, for fear of exposing himself to disgrace and ridicule, by the absurd attempt; but he did delude his followers, with repeated assurances of the aid of *invisible* hosts of angels, in his battles, as we have seen; he blinded their eyes and their understandings, in *throwing dust at his enemies* for their discomfiture. He cured his son-in-law of a pretended *ophthalmia,* by anointing *Ali's* eyes with his spittle, in imitation of CHRIST:

* It has been remarked, that *Zaid* is the only one of *Mahomet's* disciples noticed in the *Koran.* His base resignation of his wife to the prophet's lust, entitled him to this ignominious distinction, immortalizing his infamy.

† "*He said*——*I am a prophet also*——*and an angel spake to me* by THE ORACLE OF THE LORD.—*But he lied.*" 1 Kings xiii. 18.

and when his troops were distressed for water, near *Mecca*, he desired a man to strike a spear into the bottom of a dry well; upon which water gushed out in abundance; like *Moses* bringing water, by a stroke of his rod, from the rock at *Massah* and *Meribah*. These *Abulfeda* reckons among "the *authentic* miracles of *Mahomet*," p. 85, 89.

How thoroughly and completely he *deceived others*, his whole history evinces; how fatally he *deceived himself*, the calmness and composure of his death declares. He was indeed a frightful instance of the *deceitfulness* and *desperate wickedness* of the human heart, in the *presumptuous* and *obdurate* sinner, who is habituated to resist the warnings of conscience, and the means of grace; to *grieve* the SPIRIT, and to *quench* the SPIRIT. The *conscience* of such becomes at length *seared*, as with a hot iron; and, by a *judicial infatuation*, the most awful and tremendous, GOD at length *blinds* his understanding, and *hardens* his heart; by delivering him up to a *reprobate* (or *undiscerning*) mind, to work all uncleanness with greediness, and without remorse*; like *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, *Judas* and the *Jews*.

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAMISM.

Islamism, as exhibited in the *Koran*, is a motley compound of *Judaism* and *Christianity*, *Magism* and *Zabiism*, collected at sundry times, and divers occasions, without any order or method, from the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, from the *Talmudic Legends*, and *Apocryphal Gospels* † then current in the east, and from the *traditions* and *fables* of oriental romance, which abounded in *Arabia* ‡.

The *Koran* is not seldom extolled for the sublimity of its doctrines, the goodness of its precepts, and its conformity with the primitive patriarchal religion, by its admirers both in the

* ——*Stupet* hic *vitio*, et fibris increvit *opimum*
Pingue——*nescit quid perdat*, et alto
Demersus, *summâ rursus non bullit in undâ!* *Persius.*

† Such as the histories of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Cain* and *Abel*, *Enoch* and *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, *Ishmael*, *Moses* and *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *David* and *Solomon*, *Ezra*, *Infancy of Christ*, and Virgin *Mary*, &c.

‡ Such as the *Seven Sleepers*, the martyrs under *Decius*, the *Persian* romances, &c. whose *Genies*, &c. *Mahomet* has introduced into the *Koran*.

east and in the west. The *Mussulmans* represent it as a *miracle*, or *prodigy*, affording internal evidence of its divine origin, by the unrivalled excellence of its composition. "

Lebid, a celebrated *poet*, affixed upon the gate of the temple of *Mecca*, as a general challenge, against the next meeting of the *Ocadh* assembly, a distich, or couplet of verses, which was thought so sublime, that none would hazard a competition therewith; till *Mahomet*, at length, placed beside it the opening of the second chapter of the *Koran*. *Lebid* no sooner read it, than conceiving it to be something more than human, or inspired, he tore down his own verses; and from being a determined enemy to the new religion, became immediately one of the prophet's firmest and most powerful friends. The second chapter begins thus:

" There is no doubt respecting this book (the *Koran*)
It is the rule of them that *fear* THE LORD,
Of them who *believe* its sublime truths,
Who do *pray*, and pour into the bosom of the *poor*
A portion of the goods WE have given them;
Of them, who believe *the doctrine* sent thee from heaven,
And THE SCRIPTURES; who are firmly attached
To the hope of the *life to come*:
THE LORD will be their guide, and happiness their lot."

The same chapter contains the following deservedly admired description of the attributes of THE DEITY. The *Mahometans* usually engrave it on the precious stones that ornament their dress:

" GOD is the ONLY GOD, the LIVING, and THE ETERNAL;
Sleep approacheth HIM *not.*
He possesseth all things in heaven and upon the earth,
Who can intercede with him without his will?
He knoweth what hath been before the world,
And what will be after.
Men know nothing of his supreme Majesty,
But what he is pleased to teach them.
His lofty throne encompasseth heaven and earth.
He supporteth them without labour.
He is THE GREAT GOD, THE MOST HIGH GOD *." *

This is evidently a tissue from THE SCRIPTURES.

The *unity* of THE MOST HIGH, or SUPREME GOD, is taught

* These advantageous specimens of the *Koran*, are given from *Savary's* French translation, Vol. I. p. 2—36. *Sale's* English is greatly inferior, in correctness and elegance. Professor *White* should not have copied the latter in his *Bampton* Sermons, p. 247.

in the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, Gen. xiv. 22; Deut. vi. 4; Mark xii. 39; John xvii. 3. *His creation of the heavens and earth*, Gen. i. 1—3. Rev. iv. 11. *His self-existence* and *eternity*, Deut. v. 26; Ps. xc. 2; cii. 24—27; Dan. vii. 13; Rev. i. 4. His grant of *redemption* and *intercession*, Job xix. 25; Gen. vi. 8; Ezek. xiv. 14; 1 John ii. 1. His *immensity*, *omnipotence*, *wisdom*, and *incomprehensibility*, Job xi. 7—9; xxiii. 3—10; Ps. cxxxix. 1—11; 1 Kings viii. 27; Rom. xi. 33—36. His unremitting *vigilance*, Ps. cxxi. 3—4; Prov. xv. 3; Matt. vi. 4. And all these, described with infinitely greater sublimity and grandeur. The *Koran*, indeed, has no claim to originality. Whatever is good in it is derived from HOLY WRIT: Its tameness, tedious repetitions, and disgusting egotism, from *Mahomet*.

The *Koran* records the angel *Gabriel's* annunciation to the virgin *Mary*, and the miraculous conception of *Jesus*. It styles him, "*the word of* GOD," or *oracle*, "the *Messiah*," "*great in this world, and in the world to come*," "*the Counsellor of* THE MOST HIGH," Chap. 3. This is evidently taken from the prefaces of *Luke's* and *John's* gospels, and from *Isaiah*, vii. 14: ix. 6. But it is disgraced by absurd and lying additions, borrowed from the spurious gospel of the *Infancy of Jesus*: How, when his mother was taxed by her relations with incontinence, she appealed to Jesus, then *lying in his cradle*, to clear her innocence; when, to their great astonishment he said to them, "I am the *servant of God*. He hath given me *the gospel*, and ordained me *a prophet*. His blessing shall attend me every where.—*Peace* was given me on the *day of my birth*; and it shall attend *my death* and *resurrection*," chap. 3 and 19.

But the *Koran* elsewhere inconsistently denies his death.

"The *Jews* have said, We killed *Jesus*, the *Messiah*, the son of *Mary*, the *ambassador* from GOD. But they did not kill him, they did not crucify him. A *phantom* deceived their rage. They who dispute about it, have nothing but doubts; true knowledge enlighteneth them not. The *(Jews)* did not kill *Jesus*: *God took him to himself*, (like *Enoch*, Gen. v. 24.) because He is powerful and wise. All *the Jews* and *Christians* shall believe on him before *their* [*second*] *death**: he shall *witness* against

* *Maracci*, in his edition of the *Koran*, and *Sale* in his English translation, p. 79, read and render, "*before his death*," ambiguously denoting either the *death of Jesus*, or the *death of each Jew* and *Christian*. The former opinion is untenable, as *Mahomet*

them at *the day of resurrection.*—Against the *Jews* for rejecting him as the *Messiah;* against the *Christians,* for calling him *a God,* and *the Son of God.*" Chap. 4. *Mahomet* followed the *Gnostics* and *Docetæ,* and *Manicheans,* who denied the *suffering* of CHRIST.

But *Mahomet* expressly and repeatedly denied in the *Koran* that *Jesus* was *a God,* and *the Son of God,* like *the Jews,* John v. 18; x. 33.

" *Jesus* in the sight of the MOST HIGH was *a man* like *Adam. Adam* was created from *dust:* God said, *Be thou,* and *he was,*" chap. 3.

" O ye *(Christians)* who have received THE SCRIPTURES, exceed not the bounds of faith: say nothing but the truth, of GOD. *Christ* is the son of *Mary,* the *ambassador* of the MOST HIGH, and his *oracle.* He caused him to descend into *Mary;* he is *his spirit.* Believe in GOD and in his *apostles.* Say not that there is a *Trinity* of persons in GOD. He is ONE. This belief will be more serviceable to you [in the day of judgment.] Far from having *a son,* HE *alone* ruleth heaven and earth. He is *sufficient of himself,*" [without *any coadjutor,*] chap. iv.

" They who say that *Christ,* the son of *Mary,* is *a God,* are *Infidels:*—they utter *blasphemy.* Did he not say himself, O children of *Israel,* worship GOD, *my Lord,* and *your Lord!* Whosoever shall give an *equal* to the MOST HIGH, shall never enter the *garden of delight,* his abode shall be *hell fire.* The *reproved* shall have no further relief to expect."—" Thus shall ye answer them, Who could stop the *arm of the* LORD if he chose to destroy the *Messiah, Mary* his mother, and all created beings?" chap. v.

" After *the prophets,* we sent *Jesus,* son of *Mary,* to confirm the *Pentateuch.* We gave him *the Gospel,* which is the torch of the faith, and sets the seal to the truth of the ancient Scriptures. This book enlightens and instructs those who fear the LORD," chap. v.

Mahomet claimed the testimony of *Moses* to himself, as *the prophet like Moses,* Deut. xviii. 15—18. And the following of *Christ.*

" I am the *apostle of God,* said *Jesus,* the son of *Mary,* to

supposed *Jesus* to have been translated to heaven; and the latter also, if referred to the *natural* death of each *Jew* and *Christian.* It can only be true of them after the general judgment; as in Rev. i. 7, after the *first resurrection.*

the *Jews*. I came to confirm the truth of the *Pentateuch*, which was before me, to announce unto you the propitious coming of a *prophet* who shall follow me: *Ahmed* * is his name," chap. lxi.

This spurious prophecy seems to have been taken from the Apocryphal Gospel of *Barnabas*, a work originally forged by some *heretical* Christians, and interpolated to support the pretensions of *Mahomet*.

In this Gospel *Jesus* is represented on his trial before the *Jewish* council, speaking thus to the high priest,

" I am *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, born of *Mary*, of the stock of *David*, a *mortal man*, who fear God, and seek his honour and glory.

" The high priest said, It is written in the book of *Moses*, that GOD *is to send* THE MESSIAH, *who will come and declare the truth, and bring mercy with him.* Tell us therefore, *art thou the* MESSIAH *whom we expect? Jesus* said, It is true that God so promised, but *I am not he, for he was created before me.*

" The high priest said—Tell us *how the* MESSIAH *will come? Jesus* answered, As God liveth, *I am not that* MESSIAH *which the tribes of the earth wait for;* as God promised by our father *Abraham*, saying, *In thy family will I bless all tribes*, (Gen. xxii. 18). But when God shall take me out of the world, *Satan* will again promote this cursed apostacy, making the wicked believe that I am *the Son of God.* My words and my doctrine shall be corrupted, insomuch that *scarce thirty faithful shall be found.* But my consolation is in the coming of the *messenger of God*, who shall destroy all false opinions concerning me; and his law shall run through the whole world; for so God promised our father *Abraham.* And above all, my comfort is, that his faith shall have no end, but shall be inviolable, and preserved by God.

" The high priest said, *What shall the* MESSIAH *be called?* and *how shall his coming and manner of life be known? Jesus* answered, The name of *the Messenger of God* is *very celebrated* †. *Mahommed* is his blessed name. Then the multitude

* *Ahmed* signifies "*celebrated;*" its superlative, *Mahommed*, "*most celebrated,*" is the title of the prophet adopted throughout the *Koran*. *Savary*, Tom. II. p. 355, note.

† Instead of παρακλητος, "*the advocate,*" or HOLY SPIRIT, whom CHRIST promised to send to the Apostles, John xiv. 16; xvi. 7, these heretics substituted περικλυτος, "*very celebrated,*" which is synonymous with *Mahommed*.

lift up their voices and said, Send us, O our God, *thy messenger*, come quickly, O *Mahommed*, for the salvation of the world!"

See the passage, at length, containing the xcvith and xcviith chapters. *White's* Bampton Sermons, *notes* and *authorities*, p. xxiii—xxxvii. first edit.

Hence, the *Mahometan* doctors maintain, that *Mahomet*, at the general resurrection, when GOD shall judge all mankind, will rise first, as the *first-fruits* himself, and will undertake the office of *advocate* or *intercessor*; after it shall have been declined by *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Jesus*, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. *Sale's* Preliminary discourse, p. 87. And this, though not directly asserted, seems to be intimated in the *Koran*.

"We have brought thee *(Mahomet)* the *seven verses* which [compose the *introduction* of the *Koran*, and] serve for prayer [to the *Mussulmans*, at the five stated times in the day,] and the precious *Koran*. Look not to the good things which we have dispensed to *the reprobate*; afflict not thyself at their [prosperous] lot. *Spread thy wings over the faithful*; tell them "*I am your true apostle*," chap. 15. This seems to allude to OUR LORD'S tutelar protection of the *Israelites*, and of *Jerusalem*, under the same imagery, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11; Psalm xci. 4; Matt. xxiii. 37.

As *Mahomet* divided *heaven* into seven stories, or apartments, above each other, for the reception of the good, according to their merits; so he divided *hell* into the same number, for the reception of the wicked, according to their demerits; to which he assigns *seven gates*, chap. 15. The first *Jehenna*, for wicked *Mussulmans*; the second, *Ladha*, for the *Jews*; the third, *Al Hotama*, for the *Christians*; the fourth, *Al Sair*, for the *Zabians*; the fifth, *Sakar*, for the *Magians*; the sixth, *Al Jahim*, for the *Idolaters*; and the seventh, lowest and most dreadful of all, *Al Hawyat*, for the *Hypocrites*, who profess religion outwardly, but have none inwardly. These were conformable to ancient tradition before his time. *Mill de Mohammedismo* ante Moham. p. 412; *Herbelot*, p. 368, &c. *Sale*, Prel. Disc. p. 92.

It is to be remarked, however, that only the *infidels* are reserved for *eternal damnation*. According to his accommodating system, *Mussulmans* who have been guilty of heinous or mortal sins, but believe in the *unity of God*, and mission of

Mahomet, will be liberated from *Jehenna*, after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. *Sale*, p. 87. This strongly resembles the Popish *purgatory*.

But what are the rewards which *Mahomet* held forth to his faithful followers? A *paradise* of sensual gratifications; when, after a purgation in *Jehenna*, of not less than 900, nor more than 7000 years, they shall be liberated by the *mercy* of GOD, and the *intercession* of *Mahomet*; they shall then be baptized in one of the rivers of Paradise, called the *river of life*, which shall wash them whiter than pearls, and be admitted into the *garden of Eden*, or of *delights*, when they shall enjoy all manner of pleasures.

" They shall recline on couches adorned with gold, and jewels,
They shall view each other with good will;
They shall be served by youths in perpetual bloom,
Who shall present them with delicious wine in cups of various kinds,
Its fumes shall not mount up to their heads,
Nor shall it disturb their reason;
A wish shall supply the fruits they shall desire,
And the flesh of the rarest birds.
Beside them shall be the *Houris*, with fine *black eyes*,
The lustre of their complexion shall equal that of pearls.
Their favours shall be the meed of virtue.
Trifling discourses shall be banished from their sojourn,
Their heart shall not be inclined to evil.
There shall they hear only the salutation of *Peace!*
How great the felicity of the righteous!
They shall walk among trees of *Nabk* without thorns,
In the midst of *Bananiers*, arranged in rows.
They shall enjoy their luxuriant foliage,
On the borders of spouting fountains.
A profusion of fruits of various kinds
Shall offer themselves to be plucked by the hand,
They shall repose upon elevated beds,
We have restored to youth their spouses;
They shall be always *virgins*.
Their husbands shall caress them, enjoying the same youth."

With this alluring description is contrasted the lot of *Infidels*:

" They shall dwell in the midst of burning wind, and boiling water.
They shall be enveloped in clouds of *thick smoke*;
Which shall afford them neither coolness nor ease.
While abandoned on earth, to ebriety of pleasures,
And plunged into the blackest crimes,
They said, *When death shall reduce us to bones*
And dust, shall we again revive?
Shall our fathers also be restored to life?

Tell them, *The first men and their posterity,*
Shall be restored to life, they shall be assembled,
At the appointed time of the last day,
Then shall ye, who lived in error,
Who denied the Holy Faith,
Be fed with the fruit of the tree Zacoum *;*
Ye shall fill your bellies therewith,
Ye shall then drink draughts of boiling water,
With the eagerness of a thirsty camel.
This shall be their lot in the day of judgment!" Chap. lvi.

Such are the minute, sensual, and grovelling descriptions of the rewards and punishments of a future state, borrowed from *Magian* and *Rabbinical* legends and fables, to be found in the *Koran;* so widely different from those general and undefined joys of heaven, *which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive,* where *the sons of the resurrection neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like the angels of heaven;* where the intellectual pleasures of a future state are *neither meat nor drink,* but *righteousness, peace, and joy in the* HOLY SPIRIT; where *the pure in heart* shall be admitted to the superlative delight of *seeing* GOD *as he is,* unveiled in all his peerless majesty and goodness. And *shall know* his wonders of creating, redeeming, sanctifying love towards the sons of men, not *partly,* but *perfectly,* even *as they are known to* THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS.—But *the wicked shall be like the troubled sea, whose waves cast up mire and dirt. There shall be no peace for the wicked, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not to be quenched!*—Their *minds* perhaps will be tortured more severely than their *bodies,* by the intolerable agonies of a guilty conscience, and all the unutterable horrors of hopeless despair, amidst the incessant reproaches and revilings of the suffering partners of their crimes and of their misery.

Islamism has been styled by several writers a *Christian heresy*;* and its likeness, indeed, to *popery,* is striking in many of their leading features: their *blasphemy,* their *uncharitableness,* their *intolerance* of all other sects or religions, their spirit of *proselytism* by the *sword;* their burthensome ritual of stated *prayers, fasts,* and *pilgrimages;* and their excessive *superstition.* See Vol. III. p. 611, of this work. But it should rather

* *Reland, Spanheim, Ricaut, Benson, Jortin,* &c. See *Woodhouse* on the Apocalypse, p. 365—370.

be entitled the *grand Apostacy*, both from the *Patriarchal* and *Christian* Faith, which obscured and corrupted, and at length extinguished true religion, throughout a large portion of the globe, by its deleterious influence.

Though *Mahomet* acknowledged the miraculous incarnation of CHRIST, as the WORD or ORACLE, yet he denied his *atonement*. He rejected him as THE SON OF GOD, and THE LAMB OF GOD, *who came to take away the sins of the world*. And not satisfied with this, he blasphemously assumed his titles and functions himself, as the APOSTLE OF GOD, and THE ADVOCATE of *man* with GOD; the last and greatest *messenger* or *prophet* of GOD, commissioned to reform and perfect all preceding dispensations. *Islamism*, therefore, while it degrades CHRIST to a mere *man*, deifies *Mahomet*, or exalts him to *a God*; and is therefore guilty of that very *idolatry* which it professes utterly to abhor and detest, by giving to the *creature* the honour due only to the CREATOR, GOD OVER ALL, *blessed for ever*. Amen.

And though *Mahomet* at first temporized with the *Christians*, as he did with the *Jews*, and admitted them as tributaries, and declared, according to *Elmacin*, "*Whosoever oppresses a Christian, shall find in him* * *an adversary in the day of judgment*," yet afterwards, when his power was established by his conquests, he termed them *Infidels*, because they did not believe in his mission, and absolutely excluded them from heaven, and sent them all to the *third hell*, still lower than the *Jews*. And his successors, the *Saracen* Caliphs and *Turkish* Sultans, did not fail to follow his example and his doctrines, in persecuting *Christians*, as "*dogs*," with the most unrelenting severity.

Islamism, therefore, in its whole extent, is adverse to the mild spirit and liberal genius of *Christianity*. It was hatched and matured in *hypocrisy* and falsehood. It was addressed to the *appetites* and *passions* of a sensual and corrupt people. It was distinguished by a spirit of *hatred* and *hostility* to the rest of mankind, *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Pagans*. It befriended *arbitrary* and *despotic power* over the souls and bodies of men. It encouraged *ignorance*, by representing all liberal arts and

* Not having access to *Elmacin*, I leave undetermined, whether by "*him*" is meant *Mahomet*, or the *Christian* oppressed: The former is supported by Mahomet's claim to *intercession*, and by his sending the *Christian Infidels* to hell.

sciences as unnecessary or as prejudicial, either, if not warranted by, or if contrary to, the *Koran;* and it produced a *torpor* and *apathy*, which chilled and deadened every tendency to speculative exertion and moral improvement, by the desolating doctrine of fixed *fate* or *predestination.* Hence the wide and unresisted spread of the plague at *Constantinople*, *Cairo*, &c.

In the prime and meridian of life, *Mahomet* maintained a fair character for sanctity and decorum. He was then an *enthusiast.* It was not till the wane, in his fiftieth year, that he deviated into those monstrous lusts and abominations that disgraced his latter years, as the *fanatical* founder of a new religion and empire. How appositely, therefore, is he described in symbolical prophecy, as "*a fallen star*," fallen from "*heaven*," from his high estate, like "*Lucifer*, son of the morning," who, with "*the key*" of *hypocrisy*, "opened the door of the abyss," and from his own lowest hell, let out "a *thick smoke* *, which darkened the sun and the atmosphere," a cloud of false and superstitious doctrines, which darkened the understandings of his deluded followers, and produced a swarm of "*scorpion*-like *locusts*, with stings in their tails," or "fanatical robbers," the *Saracens;* who, for five months, or one hundred and fifty *lunar* years, harassed, spoiled, or tormented the world, till the building of *Bagdad*, under the conduct of "the angel of the abyss, *Abaddon*," or their "destroying king;" deceiving chiefly the eastern world, Rev. ix. 1—11, by their means, and their successors, the "*Turkish* horsemen, with *serpent's* tails," for a long period of an *hour*, a *day*, a *month*, and a *year*, or 391 years and 15 days, ending with their conquests, in A.D. 1672. Rev. ix. 15—19.

* The Arabian historians *Al Zamak*, *Beidawi*, *Yahia*, and *Jallal*, relate a remarkable fact, and phænomenon, in *Mahomet's* time. The *Meccans* were visited with a *famine*, accompanied with a *smoke* which filled the atmosphere, *so thick*, that they could only hear, but not see each other. The *Koran* seems to take advantage of this, in the 44th chapter, entitled "*Smoke*, revealed at *Mecca*," and to represent it as a judgment for their disbelief; which is threatened to be renewed before the day of judgment, as one of the last signs.

"Erring in the waves of doubt, the *Infidels* mock our doctrine. Thou *(Mahomet)* shalt observe them in the day when a *thick vail* shall cover the firmament. They shall be enveloped therein. This shall be a dreadful plague. They shall say, *O Lord, deliver us from this scourge! We hold the faith!* How can they hold it? The *true ambassador* hath preached to them, but they have rejected him, and said, *He is taught to speak* [by some other person] or *is possessed by a dæmon!* If we should mitigate the rigour of their pains, they will return to their infidelity!"

With the *smoke* of *Islamism* darkening the *Patriarchal* religion, which it professed to restore, how finely is contrasted that religion in its primitive state of glory and illumination, under the symbolical imagery of a chaste "*matron* arrayed with the *sun*, having the *moon* under her feet, and a crown of *twelve stars* upon her head," aptly representing *Jacob's* family in *Joseph's* dream. Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.

In *Egypt*, her persecutions began, from the same *Abaddon*, under the different imagery of a great *red dragon*, or *water serpent* *, corresponding to the Egyptian *crocodile*, who continued his persecutions of the *Patriarchal* Church, improved by *Moses*, and perfected by CHRIST, that "*male child*" whom he persecuted from his birth to his ascension into heaven; and afterwards set up as his opponent, the gaudy *harlot* of the western world, *sitting on many waters*, or *popery*, to which "he gave his own power and authority," to blaspheme God, by her idolatries, and to persecute the *Matron* and her children, both in the east and west, by these two prime agents of false religion. Rev. xii. 1—17; xiii. 1—9; xvii. 1—18.

The propriety and consistency of this symbolical imagery throughout is admirable. See it more particularly explained in the last period of the third Volume of this work.

Bardesanes, a learned *Syrian* philosopher, about A.D. 180, represented *Christianity* in his time, as correcting the reigning vices of the world, wherever it prevailed. "In *Parthia*, the *Christians*, though Parthians, are not *Polygamists*; in *Persia*, though Persians, they do not marry their *own daughters*; in *Bactria* and *Gaul*, they do not violate the *marriage bed*. Wherever they reside, they resist the influence of *corrupt laws* and *wicked customs*." Euseb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. VI. chap. 40.

This may lead us to correct an erroneous statement of *Montesquieu*, thus accounting for the more favourable reception of *Islamism* in the east than in the west.

"The law which permits only *one wife*, is conformable to the nature of the *European*, but not to the nature of the *Asiatic*

* The credulous *Pontoppidan*, Bishop of *Norway*, among other marvellous stories, mentions a prodigious *sea snake*, called the *Cracken*, which is the terror of the *Norwegian* fishermen. It sometimes suddenly rears its head out of the water as high as the mast of a ship, and then overlays their vessels, and carries them down with it, into the depths of the ocean!!——How finely illustrative is this of the destructive power of the great spiritual serpent, *the Devil*.

climate. It is for this reason, that *Mohammedism* found so easy an admission in Asia, and found such difficulty to extend itself in Europe; that *Christianity* hath maintained itself in Europe, and hath been destroyed in Asia; and that the *Mahometans* have made so much, and the *Christians* so little progress in *China*."

"In the time of *Justinian*, many *philosophers*, uneasy at the restraints laid upon them by *Christian* laws, retired into *Persia* to *Chosroes*. What induced them most, said *Agathias*, was, that *polygamy* was there permitted to men who did not abstain even from adultery." *L'Esprit des Lois*, xvi. 2; xvii. 6.

The reasoning here, is unsound and inconsistent. *Polygamy*, in the east, was an innovation upon the primitive law of marriage, enacted in *Paradise*, (Gen. ii. 24) and in obedience thereto, *monogamy* prevailed in the Antediluvian world, till the seventh generation, when *Lamech* is first recorded, as having *two wives*. From that time, *lust* and *violence* overspread the earth till the deluge. But the righteous *Noah* had but one wife; and afterwards *Job*, in the seventh generation, and *Abraham* in the tenth, until compelled to take a concubine, *Hagar*, by the impatience of his wife *Sarah*. Even *Mahomet* himself, that descendant of *Hagar*, lived soberly and virtuously with his first wife, for four and twenty years. The influence of *climate* therefore seems to be overrated by *Montesquieu*, in the first passage. And the testimony of *Bardesanes*, to the purity of the *Asiatic* Christians in his time, is decisive against him.

In the latter passage, *Montesquieu* contradicts, from experience, his hypothesis in the former. Surely the *European* philosophers of the Roman empire, in the reign of *Justinian*, were as prone to *adultery*, and the *Gauls*, in the time of *Bardesanes*, as even the *Parthians*, *Persians*, or *Bactrians*.

CHRIST, correcting the laxity of the law of *Moses*, revived the primitive law of marriage.

To what better cause then, are we to ascribe the rejection of *Islamism* in the west?

To the superior influence of the ORIGINAL SCRIPTURES, which were more carefully *searched* and compared by the more intelligent *Europeans*, seeking rational evidence of the rational faith required of them, like the *Bereans* of old, and to the revival of pure and undefiled Christianity by the BLESSED REFORMATION, through a great part of *Europe*, which, by recur-

ring to the Scriptures, purged away a good part of the errors and corruptions of *Popery*, analogous to those of *Islamism*, and equally operated to the rejection of both. Even in *Romish* countries, the salutary influence of *Protestantism* has wrought a partial reform, and in some degree counteracted the genius of their religion.

But why has *Islamism* superseded *Christianity* in the east? —a melancholy truth, which we are forced to admit, with *Montesquieu.*

That the east was not at first more adverse to the reception of the GOSPEL than the west, is evident from its extensive propagation, from *Judea* to *India.* But when it became gradually corrupted by the intermixture of *Zabiism*, *Magism*, *Judaism*, and *Paganism*, and the original Scriptures were every where supplanted by spurious Gospels, legends and romances; when no auspicious REFORMATION interposed, as in the west, to restore the authority of the original Scriptures, and the purity of the primitive faith of the first and second century; but when, on the other hand, a pestilential *apostacy* was introduced in the palatable form of the *Koran*, disclaiming all mysteries in religion, and maintaining the simple *unity of* GOD, and divine mission of *Mahomet*, as the last of the prophets, sent to close and perfect the foregoing revelations, and pandering to the prejudices, lusts and reigning vices of the world, with the left hand, in its superstitious ceremonies, and sensual rewards and indulgences, while it wielded the *sword* of persecution in the right, no wonder that *Christianity* withered, as a sickly plant in a dry soil, while *Islamism* flourished, as a noxious weed, in a rank and luxurious *garden of delights.*

Nor can genuine *Christianity* recover its influence in the east, without a miracle, so blinded are the *Mahometans* by the *smoke* of *Islamism*, and the *Idolaters* by the darkness and ignorance of *Paganism*, which overspread those benighted regions, where the "*bright* and *morning star*" once arose, to usher in the SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, with healing in his wings, or rays.

Montesquieu himself has well explained, in another passage, why "*Christians* have made so little progress in *China.*"

"It is hardly possible that *Christianity* should ever be established in *China.* Vows of *virginity*, the assembling of women in the churches, their necessary intercourse with the ministers

of religion, their participation of the Sacraments, *auricular confession*, *extreme unction*, the marrying but one wife, all this oversets the manners and customs, and strikes at the religion and laws of the country." *L'Esprit des Lois*, xix. 18.

This is not genuine *Christianity*, but *Popery*, which the philosopher here describes. And yet, even the *Roman missionaries* were at first favourably received in *China*, contrary to his assumption, until they began to intermeddle in *state intrigues* and *politics*; when they were expelled, not as *Christians*, but as *incendiaries*. See the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c.

To these reasons we are bound to add, with gratitude and thankfulness, that *Europe* has been the most eminently and gratuitously favoured quarter of the globe, ever since the introduction of CHRISTIANITY, and of Europe, these pre-eminently *fortunate isles*,

Ultimos orbis Britannos.

Still left, as the only asylum almost, of *pure Religion* and *rational Liberty*, at this *woeful* crisis. (1812.)

SECTION XII.

THE SARACEN KALIPHS.

ABUBEKR.

THE same day that *Mahomet* died, *Abubekr*, the father of *Aiesha*, his favourite wife, chiefly by her influence and the support of *Omar* and *Othman*, was elected *Khalif*, or "successor" to *Mahomet*, in the *regal* and *pontifical* authority, in exclusion of *Ali*, the kinsman and son-in-law of the prophet, and who seemed to have the best title, from his merits. *Ali*, however, upon his wife *Fatima's* death, forty days after her father, acquiesced in the election of *Abubekr*, finding the people in general prejudiced in favour of "*the faithful witness*."

The beginning of *Abubekr's* reign was disturbed by several revolts and insurrections, excited by apostates from *Islamism*,

and false prophets. These were quelled by the valour and activity of the zealous and ferocious *Khaled*, and his troops.

The expedition against *Syria*, which had been suspended by *Mahomet's* decease, and the ensuing disturbances, was now resumed, and *Osama* revenged his father *Zaid's* death, and ravaged the imperial territories.

Next year, A.D. 633, *Abubekr* sent *Khaled*, with a powerful army, to invade *Irak*, or *Babylonia*, the southern region of *Mesopotamia;* who subdued the country, and compelled the inhabitants to pay a tribute of 70,000 pieces of money, the first tribute brought from foreign countries into the Khalif's treasury at *Medina*. *Eutychius*, Annal. II. p. 259.

He also sent *Yezid* to continue the war in *Syria*, with these remarkable directions, "*Destroy no old women nor children; cut down no palm trees nor fruit trees; burn no corn fields; kill no cattle except for your own use; slay no religious persons in the monasteries, nor injure their places of worship; but give no quarter to the synagogue of Satan, except they either embrace Islamism, or consent to pay tribute.*" The former part of these directions was artfully framed to conciliate the *Christians;* the latter, to exterminate the *Jews*, who are called the "*Synagogue of Satan.*" Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9. These directions in general were framed in the true spirit of *Mahomet's* revelation, on the success of *Islamism* in *Abyssinia*, noticed before, and seem to be recorded in the *Apocalypse*. Rev. ix. 3—5.

Khaled, on his triumphant return from *Irak*, having joined *Yezid*, they defeated the emperor *Heraclius* in a pitched battle near *Damascus*, with great slaughter and little loss, and reduced *Damascus* after a six months' siege, A.D. 634.

This severe blow, the emperor *Heraclius*, in council, represented as a scourge from heaven upon his subjects, for their flagrant violation of the rules of the Gospel; while it was represented by the *Mahometan* generals, as an indication of the Divine favour in this religious war. *Khaled* himself was a gifted preacher, and could pray as well as fight. The following is a specimen of his talents, before the engagement: "*Help us, O* GOD, *we beseech thee, against those wretches, who pray idolatrously, and rely upon another god (Christ) beside Thee! Help us, O* GOD, *who acknowledge thy unity, and maintain, that there is no God but Thou only, against these idolaters; for Mahomet, thy prophet's sake.*"—Then he shouted to his men,

Fight, fight! Paradise, Paradise!——Nothing could withstand these fanatics, determined on victory or martyrdom. *Al Wakedi.*

The powerful influence of their *predestinarianism*, or *fatalism*, strongly appears in his letter to *Abubekr*, stating the particulars of this great victory.

"O Emperor of the Faithful, we encountered the Grecian army, under the command of *Werdan*, who had sworn, by *Christ*, that he would either conquer or die. However, we fell upon them, calling upon GOD, and trusting in him, who supported us, and gave us a complete victory. *As it was decreed that our enemies should be overcome*, we slew them on all sides, to the number of 50,000 men, while our loss was no more than 474 men. I date this letter the 30th of the former *Jomada*, on my march from *Agiraden* to *Damascus*. Pray for our further prosperity and success. The peace and blessing of God be upon thee and all true Mussulmans." *Al Wakedi.*

Abubekr died the very day that *Damascus* was taken, of a fever, in fifteen days, contracted by bathing in cold weather. By his will, he appointed *Omar*, who officiated for him as *Iman* during his illness, to succeed him in the Khalifat.

He was a most zealous and credulous Mussulman, as we have seen, from the beginning. During his short reign, he collected the several chapters of the *Koran* in their present arrangement, and left the copy in the care of *Hafsa*, *Omar's* daughter, and widow of *Mahomet;* which, however, was not published by authority till the thirtieth year of the Hegira, A.D. 651, with corrections, by *Othman.* He so disregarded money, that at his decease, his effects were valued at no more than five *dirhems.* When *Omar* heard this, he said, *God have mercy on the soul of Abubekr, but he has left his successor a difficult pattern to follow!*

OMAR.

This Khalif had also been one of *Mahomet's* earliest companions, and most strenuous supporters, whom he honoured with the title of *Farouk*, "the divider," from the following circumstance.

Mahomet, like *Moses*, acted as supreme judge, or chief magistrate of the Mussulmans. Having decided a cause at his tribu-

nal, in favour of a *Jew* against a *Mussulman*, the latter appealed from the prophet's sentence to *Omar*, who, though not in a judicial office, was in high repute for his justice. The parties found *Omar* at the door of his house, who, having heard both sides, said, *Wait a moment, and I will settle the matter.* He then went in, and immediately returned with his sabre, and, at one stroke, cut off the head of the Mussulman, saying, *This is the reward of those who do not abide by the sentence of their judges!* *Herbelot*, p. 682.

The first act of his reign was to depose the ferocious *Khaled* from the command of the army in *Syria*, because he broke the convention made by *Abu Obeidah* at the surrender of *Damascus*, and attacked and spoiled the garrison and inhabitants, on their retreat. *Khaled* bore his disgrace with great magnanimity, swearing that though he detested *Omar*, still he would submit to the will of God, and obey the commands of *Mahomet's* lawful successor; and accordingly, he served under the more merciful *Abu Obeidah*, on whom the Khalif conferred the chief command.

BATTLE OF KADESIA.

The next year, A.D. 636, was signalized by the decisive battle of *Kadesia*, in which *Saad*, the Khalif's general, defeated an army of 100,000 *Persians*, under *Jezdegird*, with the loss of half their number, while the *Saracens* lost 7,500, and put an end to the *Sassanian* dynasty, as related in a former section. The Saracens disgraced their conquest by the most atrocious cruelties, and persecutions of the unfortunate *Persians*, in every shape; they destroyed the men, sold the women and children for captives, and colonized the country with a swarm of hungry Saracen "*locusts*," who overthrew the religion, laws, customs, and even language, of the natives, in a good measure, and proscribed the noblest monuments of their literature, as hostile to the *Koran*, out of hatred to the *Magian* religion. Among the unfortunate captives, exposed for public sale at *Medina*, was *Sheria banu*, the princess, daughter of *Jezdegird*. But the liberal-minded *Ali* condemned this barbarity, saying, that *the offspring of princes ought not to be sold*, and married her immediately to his second son *Hussain*. *Richardson's* Dissert. p. 216. To this wise and humane conduct, we may perhaps ascribe no

small part of the veneration in which *Ali* was held in *Persia*. To intercept, and secure the *Persian* commerce with the *East Indies*, *Omar* now laid the foundation of *Basra*, or *Bassorah*, at the mouth of the *Tigris*, which was finished in three years. *Herbelot*, p. 682.

BATTLE OF YERMOUK.

This same year, A.D. 636, was famous for the total defeat of the emperor *Heraclius*, at the battle of *Yermouk*, in *Syria*. In this most bloody and hard fought engagement, the *Saracens* were thrice repulsed, and as often rallied, by the courage and intrepidity of their women, who were posted in the rear; one of them knocked down *Abu Sofian*, the general, when giving ground, with a tent pole. The chief women then took the command, till night parted the combatants. Next morning, *Khaula**, sister of one of the generals, led the van to the charge. She was beat to the ground by a Greek, but was succoured by *Wafeira*, one of her female friends, who struck off his head at a blow. Animated by the heroism of their women, the *Arabs* became irresistible, and routed at length the *Grecian* army, with the loss, it is said, of 150,000 killed, and about 40,000 taken prisoners; while the Arabs lost only 4030 men, if we believe *Abu Obeidah's* letter to the Khalif, evidently diminishing his own loss, and exaggerating that of the enemy, according to their fashion. The *Arabs* called this *the day of blinding;* because the *Christian* archers blinded 700 of them, with their arrows, either of one or both eyes; and if so, the number of their slain must have greatly exceeded the representation. However this might be, the total abolition of the Emperor's power and authority from *Syria*, was the consequence of this victory.

The surprizing success of the *Saracens* over the *Christians*, though so much superior in number and discipline, was thus accounted for by a pious officer, to *Heraclius*: "*The Greeks have been every where worsted by the Arabs, because they have for a long time walked unworthy of their Christian profession: they have corrupted their holy religion, injured and oppressed one another, been guilty of fornication, and fomented divisions and animosities among themselves.*" *Theophanes* Chronograph.

* This heroine was afterwards espoused by the caliph *Ali*.

p. 276. What a striking, though unintentional commentary is this, on the *apocalyptic* description of those woeful times of the *Saracen* and *Turkish* plagues. Rev. ix. 20, 21.

SARACEN STRATAGEMS.

Nor were the *Saracen* generals in *Syria* more distinguished for ferocious and enthusiastic bravery, than for military skill and stratagem.

When *Abu Obeidah* had besieged *Hems*, or *Emesa*, a rich and strong city, for some time in vain, he offered to break up the siege, provided the inhabitants would supply his troops with all the provisions they could spare. To this they readily agreed, from a desire to get rid of these military *locusts*, and stripped their magazines. He then left *Emesa*, and proceeded to *Arrestan*, a strong fortress in the neighbourhood, and summoned the garrison to surrender; but they refusing, he offered to depart, if they would allow him to deposit some of his heavy baggage in the citadel, which retarded his march. To this they agreed, for the same reason that the people of *Hems* parted with their provisions. Accordingly, the baggage was admitted, consisting of twenty large chests, carefully locked on the outside, to prevent suspicion, each chest containing an *Arab* soldier, with a sliding bottom, which he could remove at pleasure. After *Obeidah's* army had disappeared, the governor and people of *Arrestan* went to church, to give God thanks for their deliverance, when they were surprized in the midst of their devotions, while singing psalms, by the *Arabs*, who sallied forth from their chests, forced from the governor's wife the keys of the gates, and let in *Khaled* and a party, then lying near, in ambuscade, who took the place without opposition. He then returned to *Hems*, and renewed the siege of that city, expecting soon to reduce it by famine. The governor, provoked to be so outwitted, complained of the treachery of the *Arabs*, charged them vigorously, and got a great advantage that day *. Find-

* When the *Arabs* were dispirited at the superiority of the *Greeks*, *Ikrimah*, the cousin of *Khaled*, to animate his men, cried out, *Methinks I see one of the black-eyed maids of Paradise; so beautiful, that all men would die for love of her, could they but see her. She offers me a green silk handerchief, and a cap enriched with jewels, and tells me she loves me.* He then charged into the midst of the enemy, and met that death which he courted.

ing that he could not succeed by force, *Abu Obeidah* eked out the *lion's* skin with the *fox's* tail, and practised another stratagem. Early next morning, he broke up his camp, and retreated in great disorder. Deceived by this appearance of panic, the garrison sallied out to harass them, without due precaution; when the *Arabs* suddenly rallied, fell upon, and defeated them, and forced the city to surrender the same day.

CAPITULATION OF JERUSALEM.

Next year, A.D. 637, *Jerusalem* was besieged by *Abu Obeidah;* and, after a siege of four months, the Patriarch agreed to surrender it to the Khalif in person, if he would sign, with his own hand, the articles of capitulation for their security and protection. Accordingly, *Omar* came, and signed the articles, of which the principal were:

1. That the Christians should build no new churches, in the city or adjacent territory; and shall keep open the present, for the admission of Mussulmans, at all times.

2. That they should not prevent their children or relations from embracing *Islamism*, nor presume to read the *Koran* themselves.

3. That they should not erect crosses upon the churches, and should only toll, not ring, their bells.

4. That they should not wear the *Arab* dress, ride upon saddles, carry arms, nor use the names or salutations of the Mussulmans, nor the *Arabic* language in the engravings of their seals.

5. That they should pay a marked deference and respect to Mussulmans, and not sit in their presence; and should entertain Mussulman travellers (gratis) for three days.

6. That they should not sell wine, nor any of the intoxicating liquors.

7. That they should pay a capitation tax of two *dinars* each, submit to an annual tribute, and consider themselves as under the dominion of the *Khalif* in future.

These articles formed the basis of all the ensuing treaties made by *Mahometan* princes with their *Christian* subjects. They were most artfully framed, for the gradual extirpation of *Christianity*, by the disabilities and contemptuous restrictions imposed upon its professors.

Omar, not wishing to give offence, by taking possession of any of the *Christian* Churches for the *Islam* worship, modestly applied to the Patriarch for a piece of waste ground to erect a mosque at *Jerusalem;* and accordingly he built one, on the advantageous site of *Solomon's* temple *, which was then covered with ordure, through the hatred of the Christians to the Jews; but *Omar* devoutly began to wipe it away with the skirt of his robe, and his example was followed by his principal officers.

The sordid and filthy attire of the Khalif himself, gave great offence to the Patriarch *Sophronius*, who, when he saw *Omar* entering the Church of the *Holy Sepulchre*, could not help exclaiming: *This is of a truth the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!* Matt. xxiv. 12. From this, the Mussulmans pretended that the conquest of *Jerusalem* by *Omar* was foretold in prophecy, and that his name (consisting of three letters), his person, and his religion were described therein.

When the emperor *Heraclius* expressed surprize, why the *Khalif Omar* should appear in such mean and sordid attire, after he had plundered the *Christians* of so much wealth? *Refaa*, a Mussulman, answered: "*Because he feared God, and regarded the other world.*" The emperor then asked, of what kind was his palace? he answered, "*built of mud.*" Who are his attendants? "*Beggars and poor persons.*" What is his tapestry? "*Justice and equity.*" What is his throne? "*Abstinence and certain knowledge.*" What is his treasure? "*Trust in* GOD." Who are his guards? "*The stoutest of the Unitarians.*"—Such was the *fanatical cant* of the Saracen *locusts*, which *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* brand with the denomination of *satanical hypocrisy* †. The like is not altogether extinct in the west, even in the present age.

The conquest of *Syria* and *Palestine* having been completed,

* The judicious *Maundrel* thus notices it: "A finer place for an august building could not be found in the whole world, than this area.——In the middle of the area stands at present a *mosque* of an octagonal figure, supposed to be built upon the same ground, where anciently stood the *Sanctum Sanctorum*. It is neither eminent for its largeness nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation." Travels, p. 107.

† Perhaps from their *hypocrisy* chiefly, *Abaddon*, the angel of the abyss, is represented as king of the *Saracen locusts;* Rev. ix. 11; for he was a *liar* and a *murderer* from the beginning, and the *father of lies*. Gen. iv. 9; John viii. 44.

Omar sent *Amru* with an army to invade *Egypt* and *Libya*, the next year, A.D. 638. He first besieged *Mesr*, or the ancient capital of *Memphis*; and after a siege of seven months, took it at last by the treachery of the *Coptic* governor, *Mohawkas*, who was of the *Jacobite* sect, and detested the Greeks. *Amru* next advanced to besiege *Alexandria*, which, after a siege of fourteen months, and the loss of 23,000 men, he took by assault, in the 20th year of the *Hegira*, A.D. 640. He sealed up every thing curious and valuable in the city; and, among the rest, the famous *Alexandrian* library, till the Khalif should give directions how they should be disposed of. *Omar* directed, that all the valuable goods should be sold to defray the expences of the war; but that *if the books found in the library were agreeable to the Koran, they were superfluous; if contrary thereto, they were pernicious; and therefore, in either case, should all be destroyed.* Accordingly, *Amru* distributed the books, amounting to half a million at least, among the 4000 warm baths of the city, which they supplied with fuel for six months! Such was the barbarism of this *canting* Khalif, and his proscription of literature!

After this, *Amru* reduced the *Pentapolis*, *Cyrenaica*, and the whole coast of *Libya*, as far as *Tripoli*. On his return, the Khalif wished to see the sword with which his general had performed so many wonders. Having looked at it, and finding in it nothing uncommon, he returned it with contempt, saying: "*It was good for nothing.*" "*You say true,*" said *Amru*, "*for you only desired to see the sword, not the arm that wielded it: while that was wanting, the sword was no better than the sword of Pharezdacus.*" This was a poet, more remarkable for his *fine description* of a sword, than for his *personal prowess*. *Harris's Philological Enquiries*, p. 350.

Omar was assassinated A.D. 643, by a *Persian* slave, *Firouz*, for refusing to remit a part of the tax of two *dirheyns* a day, laid on him by his master, for the free exercise of his religion, who stabbed him in the belly, while he was in the mosque, at *Medina*, performing his morning devotions. He was a prince of great justice and piety, and made the pilgrimage to *Mecca* nine times. As *Abubekr* divided the money in his treasury every Friday night among his subjects, in proportion to their merits, so *Omar* made a weekly division among them, in proportion to their wants. For which, he assigned this excellent reason:

"*The good things of this life were given by* GOD *for the relief of our necessities; whereas the proper reward of virtue and real worth belonged to another world.*" Among other remarkable sayings, this is ascribed to him: "*The Arab empire will fail, when its head shall be destitute of the piety of the Mussulmans, and the liberality of the Greeks.*"

Omar, in the course of his short reign of nine or ten years, erected a most powerful and formidable *empire* *. He expelled the *Jews* and Christians out of the Peninsula of *Arabia*; he subdued almost the whole of *Persia*, and great part of *Aderbigian*, *Khorasan*, *Armenia*, &c., *Syria* and *Palestine*, *Egypt*, a considerable part of *Barca*, and the western *Tripoli*. Before his death, he refused to nominate his own son to succeed him, saying, that *it was enough for his family to have one Khalif, vested with the responsibility of so arduous an office*. And he appointed a committee of six of the *companions* of *Mahomet* to elect a successor, who chose

OTHMAN.

Under this Khalif also, the Saracens extended their conquests northwards, in *Al Jebal*, and *Khorasan*; and southwards, in *Nubia*. But *Othman* soon lost the affections of his subjects, by the errors of his administration. The rock upon which he split was his attachment to his unworthy relations and favourites. He displaced some of his ablest generals, *Amru*, governor of Egypt, and *Saad*, an officer of distinguished bravery, and appointed improper persons in their room; he squandered vast sums of money upon his favourites; and, to crown all, he had the presumption to sit in *Mahomet's* seat, whereas *Abubekr* always sat one step lower, and *Omar*, two. These, and other grievances, excited discontents at home, and revolts abroad: and, by the treachery of *Merwan*, his secretary of state, upon whom he had lavished about half a million of *dinars*, and who forged letters under his seal, proscribing some of his principal

* According to *Khondemir*, his generals took 36,000 towns, fortresses, and castles; destroyed 4000 temples and churches of the *Idolaters*, *Magians*, and *Christians*; and built 140 mosques for the *Islam* worship. *Alexander* the Great durst not meddle with the *religion* of the conquered nations. In this respect, the Saracen *Caliphs* far surpassed him.

officers, he was murdered by the rebel chiefs at *Medina*, in the 82d year of his age.

ALI.

The mischiefs of elective monarchy were fully exemplified in the turbulent reign of this Khalif. Though the most deserving, and the best entitled to succeed *Othman*, *Ali* had scarcely been inaugurated, when his principal officers set up the standard of rebellion against him, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, and *Moawiyah*, instigated by *Ayesha*, the widow of *Mahomet*, who had great influence in the councils of the Arabs, and was dignified with the title of the *Mother of the Faithful*, and who never forgave *Ali*, for supporting a charge of incontinence, brought against her, upon strong grounds of suspicion, in *Mahomet's* life time, from which she was acquitted by a revelation in the *Koran*. She was one of the chief conspirators against *Othman;* but she had the address to transfer the imputation of it to *Ali*, (who certainly considered *Othman* as an intruder into his right); and, to embarrass his administration, her faction were clamorous for bringing to condign punishment the assassins of the late Khalif: which he prudently refused, alledging the distracted state of the *Arabs*, at that time, as rendering such a measure inexpedient. *Telha* and *Zobeir* then applied each, for the governments of *Cufa* and *Basrah*, which he also refused, pretending that his government stood in need of their abilities, to support his councils at home.

BATTLE OF KHORAIBA.

Soon after, *Ayesha* openly joining *Telha* and *Zobeir*, they broke out into rebellion, at *Mecca*, A.D. 656. They advanced to *Basrah* *, which they took, and gave *Ali* battle near that place at *Khoraiba*. This famous action, was called *Yum al Jamal*, "*the day of the camel*," from a large white one, upon which she was mounted. She rode through the ranks; and, to animate her troops, she drove into the thickest of the battle. Seventy hands, it is said, were struck off, in attempting to seize

* This was contrary to *Ayesha's* more prudent counsel, to march directly from *Mecca* to *Medina*, and crush *Ali*, before he could collect an army.

her bridle. And when her camel was at length ham-stringed, the carriage in which she sat, resembled a porcupine, from the number of javelins and arrows, with which it was transfixed. The superior generalship of *Ali*, and his veteran troops, prevailed. Both *Telha* and *Zobeir*, who violated the oath of allegiance they had taken to him, lost their lives, and their more numerous army was routed. When *Ayesha* thus fell into the hands of the victors, *Ali* sent before him one of his officers, to see whether she was dead or alive. Accordingly, when he put his head into her carriage, she said, "*Who are you?*" He answered, "*Your obedient brother.*" "*No,*" said she, "but *a rebel.*" "*Sister,*" said he, "*have you received any injury?*" "*What business is that of yours?*" replied this haughty dame. *Ali*, then coming up, said, "*What think you, Ayesha, of this work of God to you?*" She answered, "*O, Ali, you have conquered, be merciful!*" He generously pardoned her, but ordered her to confine herself to her own house at *Medina*, and not to meddle any more in state affairs. And he sent her back under an escort of seventy women, in men's apparel; a circumstance noticed in the *Tarik u Moslemim*, which shews the military genius and services of the *Arab* women in their wars.

On the death of *Ali*, however, she recovered her influence; and when *Moawiyah* wished to make the Khalifat hereditary in his family, he thought it necessary to secure her interest, by a present of bracelets, valued at 150,000 dinars, near 70,000*l.* sterling.

Moawiyah having now assumed the titles of *Lawful Khalif* and *Prince of the Mussulmans*, *Ali* marched to attack him, and his associate, the valiant *Amru:* and after a succession of engagements, at *Seffein*, near the close of the same year, A.D. 656, in which *Ali* had the advantage, and in the last action, was ready to storm their camp, he was circumvented by a stratagem of *Amru's;* who ordered his men to carry several copies of the *Koran*, stuck upon the points of their lances, towards their opponents, crying, *This is the book which ought to decide our differences; this is the book of God, which prohibits the effusion of Mussulman blood!* This coarse stratagem succeeded: *Ali* in vain remonstrated that *Amru* and *Moawiyah* had not the least regard to the *Koran*, which it was his object to support and enforce; he was compelled by the mutineers to retreat, and even to agree to leave the dispute between him and the rival

Khalif to a reference: and by the weakness of *Ali's* arbitrator, *Abu Musa*, and the art of *Amru*, on the other side, who persuaded his colleague to agree to the deposal of both Khalifs, and the election of a new one, as the best means of restoring the public peace, when *Abu Musa* had given his judgment to this effect, *Amru* assented to the deposal of *Ali*, but elected *Moawiyah*, Khaliff. This unfair award was in the year A.D. 657.

After the continuance of the civil war for three years, with much bloodshed, and various success, *Ali* was deserted by his own brother, *Okail*, who joined the party of his rivals, and was rewarded by them with a large revenue for his infamous defection. And now three fanatics of the *Kharejites*, or "rebels," conspired, for the public peace, to dispatch the three *Imans*, competitors for the Khalifat, *Ali*, *Moawiyah*, and *Amru;* and having poisoned their swords, took their different routes, to execute their purpose. The first, struck *Moawiyah* in the reins, at *Damascus;* but the wound was not mortal, and he recovered. The second, in *Egypt*, killed, in mistake, the *Iman*, officiating for *Amru*, who happened to be indisposed that day. But the third was more successful: he gave *Ali* a mortal wound, at *Cufa*. The generous Khalif ordered *the assassin*, who was immediately taken, *to be spared if he recovered; but executed at one stroke, if he died, that he might have an immediate opportunity of accusing the murderer before the tribunal of God!* He died three days after, and refused to appoint a successor; like *Mahomet*, leaving the choice to the people.

CHARACTER OF ALI.

Thus unworthily fell *Ali*, the most illustrious of *Mahomet's companions;* superior to him in talents and understanding, according to several *Mahometan* writers, and greatly superior in the nobler virtues of the heart. He possessed, in a supreme degree, the three ancient characteristics of his country, *valour*, *generosity*, and *eloquence**. For the first, he was entitled by the Arabs, *Al Haidar*, "the lion," and by the Persians, *Shir Khoda*, "the lion of God." Of the second, he gave many instances, in his hospitable asylum, to the princes of *Persia*, when exposed

* *Saphadius*, an *Arabic* author, cited by *Schultens*, in his *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiæ*, says, *Arabes* antiquitus non habebant quo gloriarentur, quam *gladio*, *hospite*, et *eloquentia*.

for sale; and forgiveness of his most inveterate enemies, *Ayesha*, &c. And his sayings, still preserved, exhibit great acuteness and sagacity, rectitude of judgment, and genuine piety. Of all which, the following may afford a favourable specimen.

1. One of his officers having once impudently asked him, "Why the reigns of *Abubekr* and *Omar were so tranquil*, and the reigns of *Othman* and *Ali* so *turbulent?*" with great readiness, he answered, "Because *Abubekr* and *Omar* were served by *Othman* and *me;* but *Othman* and I, by *you* and *such as you.*"

2. The following decision is creditable to his ingenuity:

Two travellers sat down to dine; the one had five loaves, the other, three. A stranger, passing by, asked leave to eat with them; and they hospitably agreed thereto. After dinner, the stranger laid down eight pieces of money for his fare, and departed. The owner of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other, who insisted on getting half. The case was brought before *Ali*, for his decision, and he gave the following judgment: "*Let the owner of the five loaves take seven pieces of the money, and the other but one.*" And this was the exact proportion of what each had furnished for the stranger's entertainment. For dividing each loaf into three shares, the eight loaves gave twenty-four shares; and as they all fared alike, each person's proportion was a third of the whole, or eight shares. The stranger, therefore, ate seven shares of the five loaves, and only one share of the three loaves. And so, the Khalif divided the money between the owners. *Richardson's* Dissertation, p. 223.

3. The real freedom and independence produced by virtue and religion, were finely expressed in the following:

"Whosoever is desirous to be *rich without goods*, *powerful without subjects*, and *a subject without a master*, has only *to quit the dominion of sin*, and *to serve* GOD, and he will find these three things."

4. The power of prayer and intercession with God.

"GOD gave *two mediators* between GOD and MAN, *the prophet*, who is departed; and *prayer for the pardon of sins*, which always abides with them."

Ali retained his veneration for *Mahomet* to the last; and yet he became, unhappily, the founder of a *schism*, which produced the most fatal effects among *Musulmans;* and which he forc-

saw, and deprecated in the following terms: "Be careful never to *separate* yourselves from the *communion* of other *Mussulmans.* He that separates himself from them, belongs to the *devil;* as the sheep that leave the flock, belong to the *wolf.* Give no quarter, therefore, to him who marches under the standard of *Schism,* even though he should wear *my turban* on his head; since he bears the sure mark of a man that strays from the right way."——The followers of *Ali* not only wore *turbans* of a particular shape; but also twisted their hair in a different manner from the other *Mussulmans.*

Ali's followers were called *Shiites,* or "Sectaries;" and the others, *Sonnites,* or "Traditionists." The chief points in which they differed, are, 1. The *Shiites* prefer *Ali* to *Mahomet,* or at least esteem both equally; but the *Sonnites* admit neither *Ali,* nor any other, to be equal to *Mahomet.* 2. The *Shiites* charge the *Sonnites* with corrupting the *Koran;* and the *Sonnites* retort the charge. 3. The *Sonnites* receive the *Sonna,* or *traditions* of their prophet, as of canonical authority; the *Shiites* reject them, as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. *Herbelot, Ali,* and *Modern Universal Hist.* Vol. II. p. 42, octavo.

To these, and others of a political nature, such as the rejection of the three first Khalifs, as usurpers, by the *Shiites,* &c. may we ascribe the antipathy which has so long subsisted between the *Saracens* and *Turks,* who are *Sonnites;* and the *Persians,* who are *Shiites.*

The *Shiites* split into a variety of sects, the most extravagant. One of these, the *Gorabites,* or "Crows," maintained, that the angel *Gabriel* mistook *Mahomet* for *Ali,* because they were as like each other as two crows. The *Gholaites,* or "Zealots," deified *Ali.* One of them, a *Jewish* proselyte, saluted him: "*Thou art Thou,*" or "Thou art God," blasphemously giving him the divine title." (Exod. iii. 14.)

The *Sonnites,* or Orthodox Mussulmans, (as they styled themselves) and the *Shiites,* or the Heretics, in the grand or leading point of difference, the admission or rejection of *traditions,* strongly resemble the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees,* among the *Jews* and *Samaritans;* and the *Romish* and *Reformed* Churches, among *Christians.* And, to the disgrace of *pure* and *undefiled religion,* all have been at variance with each other! The warnings against *schism,* of *Moses* and CHRIST, his *Apostles* and *Ali,* have been equally ineffectual, alas! to preserve the peace of the

Catholic, or Universal *Church;* rent asunder, torn and convulsed by "*wars* and *fightings*," every where, the fatal consequences of "*lusts* militating (στρατευομενων) in *the members*." James iv. 1.

HASAN.

This eldest son of *Ali*, was unanimously elected to succeed him in the Khalifate. He pronounced his father's panegyric in the following remarkable terms: "Ye have killed *Ali* the same night in which the *Koran* came down from heaven, in which *Isa (Jesus)* ascended into heaven, and in which *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors equal him." But *Moawiyah*, governor of *Syria*, refused to recognize his authority; so that *Hasan* was compelled to declare war against him, and to march with a powerful army to invade his territories. But his troops mutinied, he was thrown from his seat, and wounded, and fled for refuge into the castle of *Madayen*. Finding himself deserted by the troops of *Irak*, and the rest wavering in their fidelity, he offered to resign the Khalifate to *Moawiyah*, upon certain conditions, that, 1. he should never reflect on the memory of the late Khalif, in his presence; 2. that a general amnesty should be granted to *Ali's* adherents, in the late troubles; 3. that *Hasan* should receive all the money in the treasury at *Cufa;* and, 4. should have the revenues of *Daraljerd*, a Persian district, assigned him for his support. To these *Moawiyah* agreed, and *Hasan* resigned his dignity, and retired to *Medina*, with his brother *Husain;* where he was poisoned about five or six months after, at the instigation of *Moawiyah*. He was a peaceable, charitable, and pious prince, and deserved a better fate. He refused to inform against his murderer, saying to *Husain*, who wished to punish him: "*O, brother, the life of this world, is made up of nights that vanish away. Let him alone, till he and I meet before the divine tribunal; there he will certainly receive a just recompence.*" The following saying of his is recorded: *The tears of devotion*, and the *water of legal ablution, should not be wiped away; because this liquid makes the face of the faithful shine, when they present themselves before God.*

His beneficent actions and moral maxims are equally esteemed with those of *Ali*, and even *Mahomet* himself, by many of the Mussulmans.

MOAWIYAH, OR MOAVIAS.

By the cession and death of *Hasan*, this chieftain became full possessor of the Khalifate. He was the son of *Abu Sofian*, the uncle, and one of the steadiest opposers of *Mahomet;* to whom he was forced to submit, after the surrender of *Mecca*, and to embrace *Islamism*, with his family, to save themselves from destruction. *Abu Sofian*, after his conversion, asked three favours of *Mahomet:* 1. To appoint him commander-in-chief of his forces against the Infidels. 2. To make his son, *Moawiyah*, his secretary. And 3. To marry him to his second daughter, *Gazah*. He granted the two first, but refused the last, lest perhaps it might tempt *Moawiyah* to become a rival to *Ali*, who had married his eldest daughter, and was his prime favourite.

Moawiyah inherited his father's courage, abilities, and wealth, and therefore set himself up as the competitor of *Ali*, on his election, and by the important accession of the valiant *Amru* to his party, out-generalled *Ali* in policy, though unequal to him in prowess. When *Ali* proposed to decide their pretensions by single combat, *Moawiyah* declined the unequal contest: and when *Amru* urged him thereto, *I see*, said he, *you wish to be Khalif yourself, in my room!* In which, perhaps, he was not mistaken.

By the same crooked policy, with which he removed *Hasan*, he gained over a spurious brother of his own, *Ziyad*, Governor of *Persia*, a man of great talents, and powerful interest, who might have given him no small disturbance, by acknowledging him as his brother, upon the testimony of a *Greek* slave, still living, whose wife, *Abu Sofian*, when heated with wine, before the prohibition in the *Koran*, had debauched, and on her begotten *Ziyad*. This was the first time that the *Koran* had been openly violated in a judicial process. For *Mahomet*, in such cases, had adjudged *the child to the blankets*, to be reared by his legal father; but *the adulteress, to the stone*, or to be stoned to death.

Moawiyah now employed his brother, *Ziyad*, with great success, in restoring peace and tranquillity throughout the disturbed provinces of *Basra, Cufa, Khorasan, Segistan, Bahren, Amman*, and *India;* which he soon effected, by the steadiness

and unrelenting severity of his administration. *Basra*, when he came thither, was infested by a banditti, that rendered it unsafe for any citizen to walk in the streets after sun-set, without being exposed to robbery and murder. *Ziyad* published an order, that no person whatever should appear in the streets or public places after the hour of evening prayer, under pain of death; and he appointed patroles of soldiers to execute the order.

The first night, two hundred persons were killed; the second night, five; and the third night, none.

At *Cufa*, he was insulted by the populace, who threw stones or gravel at him in the mosque. But he ordered his attendants to secure the doors, and let none out; and then commanded the people who had not offended to seize the offenders, which they did, and he immediately cut off the hands of fourscore of them, on the spot, who could not purge themselves by oath. Soon after he issued an order to the citizens, to leave open the door of their houses all night, promising to indemnify them if they lost any thing by complying therewith. But no theft or robbery was committed, when none dared to appear in the streets, after the prescribed hour. A shepherd, one night, passing through the town with his flock, was apprehended, but pleaded ignorance of the edict. *Ziyad* replied: "*I am willing to believe that you speak the truth; but the safety of the whole town depends upon your death.*" And instantly ordered his head to be struck off, to the inexpressible terror of the spectators. Such unrelenting severity elsewhere would savour of cruelty, but it was necessary for the government of that turbulent and treacherous people; and though it fell heavy on some individuals, it secured the repose of the public, under his just and impartial administration.

After he had completely established the peace of those countries, by the terror of his name, he wrote to the Khalif, requesting the government of *Arabia* also. "*My left hand is employed in governing the people of Irak, but my right hand is idle; put Arabia under its government, and I will give you a good account thereof.*" *Moawiyah* having readily agreed, the inhabitants of *Medina* were so alarmed, that their *Iman*, in his public prayers, put up this petition: "O GOD, *satisfy this right hand, which is idle and superfluous to Ziyad!* Here is an elegant play upon his name, which signifies, in Arabic,

"*abundant*," or "*superfluous*." Soon after this prayer, says an Arabic author, *a plague boil* broke out on his right hand, and he expired in exquisite torture.

The cruelty of *Samrah*, his deputy at *Basra*, during *Ziyad's* residence at *Cufa*, was enormous; in half a year, he put to death 8000 persons. This shocked even *Ziyad*, who expostulated, *whether he was not afraid of having murdered one innocent Mussulman, in all that multitude?* He coolly replied, that *if he had destroyed double that number of Basrans, it would not have given him the slightest uneasiness, on that score.* However, the Khalif deposed him for his savage barbarity; when he exclaimed, on hearing his disgrace, "GOD curse *Moawiyah! If I had served* GOD *so well as I have served him, he would not have damned me to all eternity!*"———What a horrid and furious expression was this, of the deepest remorse and the blackest despair *.

The mercenary and barefaced ambition of *Moawiyah* appeared in his answer to the Greek emperor's ambassador, requesting that he would not assist the rebel *Sapor*, who had seized *Armenia*; but the Khalif alledged, "*both were his enemies*, and *therefore he would assist the party that would pay him best.*" And when the ambassador still pressed him not to assist *Sapor*, he answered, "*Give us the whole revenue of your dominions*, and we will permit you to be *called lords* of them; but if you refuse, *we will drive you out of them.*" "Then," replied the other, "you look upon the *Arabs* as the substance, and the *Greeks* as the shadow; we must therefore appeal to THE LORD OF HEAVEN AND EARTH." The *Greeks* soon had occasion to make the appeal; for the Khalif sent his son *Yezid* with a powerful army to besiege *Constantinople*, for the first time, in the 48th of the Hegira, A.D. 668, but without effect; though some of *Mahomet's* surviving *companions* joined the expedition, animated by the prophet's pontifical indulgence, that *the sins of the first army, which should take the city of Cæsar, were forgiven.*

About the 50th or 51st year of the Hegira, *Moawiyah* gave orders to remove the pulpit and cane of *Mahomet*, from *Medina*, to *Damascus*, his residence. But when those precious relics

* Cardinal *Wolsey's* dying exclamation, when disgraced by the haughty and capricious *Henry* VIII. of England, was not unlike: "*Had I but served* MY GOD *with half the zeal I served my king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs: but this is my just reward!*"

were upon the point of being removed, there happened so great a solar eclipse, that the stars became visible, to the great astonishment and consternation, not only of the people, but of the Khalif, considering it as a symptom of the divine displeasure, for the unhallowed attempt. (In the former year, A.D. 670, there happened a total and central eclipse of the sun, h. $9\frac{1}{2}$, morn. June 23; and in the latter, A.D. 671, another, that was total, in Asia, 2 h. aftern. June 12. It probably was the former, which was greater.) They instantly desisted. And this prodigy, as it was considered, made such a deep impression upon the public mind, that it afterwards deterred other Khalifs, *Abdalmalek*, *Al Walid*, and *Soliman*, from renewing the attempt, which they meditated.

Moawiyah was a bitter and inveterate enemy to *Ali* and his family. He introduced a solemn curse, after the conclusion of divine service, against *Ali's* house; every member of which was cursed and excommunicated, by the Khalif, and the officiating Imans, in all the mosques throughout the empire.

The *superstition* and *uncharitableness* indeed of *Mahometan* and *Romish* faith, during this dark and gloomy period, kept pace with each other.

In the 57th year of the *Hegira*, A.D. 676, vast swarms of *locusts* appeared in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, and did incredible mischief to their brethren, the symbolical *locusts* of these turbulent and rebellious provinces, as we learn from *Theophanes*.

CHARACTER OF MOAWIYAH.

Three years after, *Moawiyah* died. In his last public speech, he declared, "*I am like corn, ready to be reaped; and have governed you till we are weary of one another. I am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were superior to me.* GOD *desires to approach all who are desirous of approaching to him.* O GOD, *I long to meet thee, long thou to meet me!*" ——In arrogance and hypocrisy, this Khalif was scarcely inferior to *Mahomet* himself.

He presided over *Syria* about forty years; as lieutenant, under *Omar*, four years; under *Othman*, twelve years; and forcibly under *Ali*, five years; and over the *Saracen* empire, as Khalif, after the renunciation of *Hasan*, nineteen years; and extended his conquests in *Africa*, westward, and in *Usbeck Tartary*, eastward, by his valour, address, and policy.

His generosity, and love of poetry, are celebrated by the Arabian historians.

1. An *Arab* robber, having been condemned to have his right hand cut off, for his offence, according to the *Koran*, composed on the spot an elegy of four beautiful verses, in Arabic, which so softened the Khalif, that he instantly pardoned him; affording the first example of a dispensation from the rigour of the law, by the supreme magistrate.

2. A young *Arab* having been deprived of a fair wife, whom he loved to distraction, by the Governor of *Cufa*, who was smitten with her charms, addressed the Khalif in a most pathetic copy of verses, praying for redress. *Moawiyah*, delighted with the poetry, ordered the governor instantly to resign the woman. This sensualist was so enamoured of her, that he offered to submit to decapitation at the end of the year, if the Khalif would only suffer her to continue with him till then. But the Khalif was peremptory, and the governor forced to surrender her. When she was brought before *Moawiyah*, he was extremely surprized at her uncommon beauty, and still more at her polished manners, and elegance of expression; and declared, that he had never before heard such a flow of eloquence, as issued from the mouth of this charming *Arab* woman. He then jocosely asked her, Whether she would choose to live with himself, with the governor, or with her husband? She modestly answered in verse, that *however exalted his station, and his ability to raise her higher than she either expected or deserved, it could not secure her against eternal damnation; the highest favour therefore, if he intended her any, would be to restore her to her dear husband.* Which he not only did, but added a splendid equipage, and a large sum of money, to recruit the fortune, which her husband's fondness had expended on her.

3. His patience under the most scurrilous abuse was not less remarkable. The following instance is noticed by *Abulfeda.*

Arwa, his aunt, a very aged woman, and a relation of *Ali's* also, once paid him a visit, and reproached him with his conduct. "*O nephew, you have been most ungrateful and injurious to your cousin, one of the companions of the prophet. You assumed a title which you had no right to, and took possession of what did not belong to you. You have treated us,* as *Pharaoh the children* of *Israel; though Ali bore the same rela-*

tion to Mahomet, that *Aaron* did to *Moses*." "*Old woman*," said he, "*you have lost your wits; hold your tongue*." "*What*," replied she, "*do you prate, you son of a whore? Your mother was the most notorious strumpet in all Mecca; and among her five gallants, reckoned him your father, whom you most resembled*." *Moawiyah* coolly replied: "*God forgive what is past: what do you want?*" She answered: "*Two thousand dinars, for the poor of our family; two thousand more, to portion our poor relations;* and *two thousand more, to support myself in my indigency*." All which was immediately paid her by the Khalif's order.

4. *Hasan* of *Basra*, a man of high authority with the *Sonnites*, or Orthodox, objected four things to *Moawiyah*, each of which, he said, deserved destruction: 1. He usurped the Khalifate, without consulting the *companions*, the *nobles*, or the *people*. 2. He rendered the Khalifate *hereditary* in his own family, and appointed his son *Yezid* to succeed him, though he was a drunkard, a lover of music, and wore silk. 3. He owned *Ziyad*, the bastard, for his brother, in opposition to *Mahomet* and the *Koran*. 4. He treated most cruelly *Hejer*, a man of uncommon piety, and his companions.

YEZID.

The reigns of his son *Yezid* and of the ensuing Khalifs of the house of *Ommiah*, which ended with the ninth, *Yezid* II. during a period of near 70 years, from A.D. 679, to A.D. 743, were turbulent in the highest degree, harassed by revolts, insurrections, and competitions for the sovereignty, among the leading men, and governors of the provinces; and most of the Khalifs themselves were either killed in battle, or assassinated, reigning, at an average, not quite eight years a-piece. The disgusting detail is given at length in the *Modern Universal History*, Vol. II. from which the following particulars are selected, as most worthy of notice.

Ali's second son *Husain*, (who disputed the Khalifate with *Yezid*, and was at length deserted by the treacherous *Cufans*, and slain in battle) when a boy, once asked his father, "*Do you love me?*" "*Yes, tenderly*," said *Ali*. "*Do you love* GOD?"

"*Surely.*" "*But two loves can never meet in one heart* *?" This remark moved *Ali*, even to tears. Seeing this, to comfort his father, *Husain* proceeded; "*Which would you consider the greater evil, my death, or the sin of infidelity?*" *Ali* replied, "*I would rather resign you, than abandon my faith.*" Then said *Husain*, "*it is evident, that you love God better than me. You have natural tenderness toward me, but true love toward* GOD." This prince is still held in the highest veneration among the *Persians*, who celebrate *Yaum Hosein*, "the day of *Husein's* death," by an anniversary mourning, which tends to uphold the schism between them and the *Sonnites*. The *Persian* writers hold the memory of *Yezid* in such abhorrence, that to the mention of his name, they generally annex, *the curse of God be upon him!*

MOAWIYAH II.

This prince, who succeeded his father *Yezid*, finding himself unequal to the burden of the Khalifate, voluntarily abdicated it, and said to the people, "*My grandfather Moawiyah deprived a worthier man of the Khalifate; nor did my father deserve that sublime station. For my part, I am determined not to be responsible to God for so weighty a charge; and shall therefore invest whomsoever you chuse with the authority of Khalif.*" When the people wanted him to make a choice, he refused, saying, *I have not enjoyed the advantages, why then should I incur the most invidious part of the office? Suffer me, therefore, to discharge my own conscience, and judge ye, for yourselves, the most capable to fill my place.*——Such humility and moderation are uncommon in any age or country, and enliven the barren history of his time. If we believe *Abulfaragi*, the house of *Ommiyah* were so exasperated against his preceptor *Maksus*, by whose advice he abdicated, as they supposed, that they buried him alive!—The inscription on this Khalif's seal was remarkable: "THE WORLD IS A CHEAT," strongly resembling that of *Feridun*, p. 36 of this volume.

* *Al Shafei*, a famous Mahometan doctor, and founder of the third orthodox sect of the *Sonnites*, held, that *whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator, at the same time, is a liar.*

ABDALMALEK.

The empire was soon after split into two powerful factions, of which one espoused the house of *Ommiyah* in Syria, the other the house of *Hashem*, or *Ali*, in *Arabia*. The Syrian Khalif, *Abdalmalek*, artfully substituted a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, instead of the pilgrimage to *Mecca;* by the same policy which formerly prompted *Jeroboam*, the son of *Nebat*, to prevent the revolted tribes from attending the national worship at *Jerusasalem;* and he ordered that holy relic, the *stone steps*, on which the Khalif *Omar* had knelt and prayed there, to be removed from the outside into the body of the mosque; as a counterbalance to the *black stone* at the *Caaba*.

In the Khalifate of *Abdalmalek*, in the year 76 of the Hegira, the *dinars*, or gold coins, and *dirhems*, or silver, were first struck with *Arabic*, instead of *Greek* inscriptions, and in the *Cufic* character, without heads. A *dirhem*, coined twelve years after, in the reign of the succeeding Khalif *Al Walid*, has this inscription in front, "*There is only one God, who has no associate;*" on the reverse, "*God is one, eternal, unbegetting, and unbegotten.*" Round the former, "*In the name of God, this dirhem was struck at Waset, in the year of the Hegira* 88;" and round the latter, "*Mahomet is the Apostle of God, sent to propagate the true religion, though it be opposed by the associators.*"—— This Khalif was more powerful than any of his predecessors. He reduced *Arabia*, conquered great part of *India*, and carried his arms westward from *Africa* into *Spain;* and what was more, he curbed the various *sectaries* throughout his dominions.

His son and succesor *Al Walid*, extended his dominions northward, into *Turkestan* and *Tartary*, and took *Bokhara* and *Samarkand*. His governor in *Irak* and *Hejaz*, was *Al Hejai*, who built *Waset* upon the *Tigris*, in the 83d year of the Hegira, pre-eminently distinguished for his enormous cruelty. He is said to have put to death 120,000 men, and to have left 50,000 men and 30,000 women to perish in prison.

HEJAI, THE GOVERNOR.

1. One day, *Hejai* met a stranger, an *Arab* of the desert, and asked him *what sort of a man was the governor?* He answered,

a very wicked man. Do you know me? Not I, said the Arab; *I am Al Hejai*, said he, *of whom you have given so bad a character.* Then said the Arab in turn, *Do you know me? Not I*, said the governor. *I am*, replied he, *of the family of Zobeir: who all become fools three days in the year: and this is one of the days.* Pleased at the Arab's readiness and wit, *Al Hejai* pardoned him.

2. Another time, when he was hunting and alone, grown thirsty with the chase, he civilly asked an *Arab*, who was feeding his camels in a lonely spot, to give him a little water to drink. The *Arab*, without returning his salute, said roughly, *Alight and help yourself, for I am neither your companion nor your servant.* He did so; and when he had drunk, he asked, *Whom do you count the best of all men? The prophet of* GOD, *burst you*, said the Arab. *What think you of Ali? His excellence*, said he, *is inexpressible. What think you of Abdalmalek?* The Arab paused, but being pressed for an answer, intimated, that *he was a bad prince. Why so?* said *Al Hejai. Because he has sent us the most wicked governor under the heavens.* The *Arab* then looking stedfastly at *Al Hejai*, who was finely dressed, asked, *Who are you?* Not chusing to acknowledge himself, he answered, *Why do you ask? Because*, says he, *this bird passing over our heads, by her croaking, tells me you are the chief of the company approaching.* His attendants then came up, and by order of the governor, took with them the poor Arab. Next day, he was brought to *Al Hejai's* table, who desired him to eat. The Arab then said his usual grace, GOD *grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the beginning!* After dinner, the governor asked, *Do you remember the discourse we held yesterday?* The Arab answered, *God prosper you in every thing; what passed yesterday is a secret, not to be divulged to day. But I will divulge it*, replied *Al Hejai. Take your choice, then, whether you will stay with me, as my servant, or be sent to the Khalif, with a report of what you have said.* He instantly replied, *there is a third course, better than either of these. What is that? Send me home, and never let us see each other any more!* Not a little pleased at the poor man's spirit and readiness, the governor dismissed him, with a present of ten thousand *dirhems.*

3. The poet *Kumeil* was brought before him, upon the charge of having, in a certain company, cursed *Al Hejai, The Lord*

blacken his face! may his neck be cut asunder! and his blood be shed!—*Kumeil*, who could not deny, readily acknowledged the charge: *I uttered the words, indeed, but their meaning was mistaken: I was then in a vine arbour, and saw a bunch of grapes not yet ripe;* I only wished that they would soon *turn black, that I might cut off their heads,* and *drink their blood.*

The poet escaped by the readiness of his wit.

The Khalif *Al Walid* was the first that founded *hospitals* for the sick, and *caravanseras* or inns for travellers; and he built, (or his governor, by his directions) at *Samarkand,* one of the most superb mosques in all the *Saracen* empire.

The second siege of *Constantinople* was undertaken by his brother and successor, *Solyman,* with a prodigious army and fleet, in the 98th year of the Hegira, which commenced August 25th, A.D. 716; but after a siege of thirteen months, or two years, according to *Abulfaragi,* the *Saracens* were forced to retreat, with incredible loss, from the Greek artificial fire, which burned under water, from the sword, famine and pestilence. *Solyman,* however, died greatly beloved by his subjects, who styled him *Moftah al Khair, the key of goodness* *.

OMAR II.

His brother and successor was much better entitled to the appellation. He was, indeed, the brightest ornament of that degenerate age. *Abubekr* and *Omar* had been eminent for their justice and piety, at an earlier and better period, but *Omar* surpassed them, because he was free from their fiery zeal and blind superstitions. Shocked at the impious and uncharitable imprecations denounced daily against the house of *Ali,* which had subsisted from the time of his ancestor, *Moawiyah* I. for upwards of half a century; and at the same time, dreading the charge of innovation, and the cry of the bigots, *The law is neglected! the law is neglected!* which he could not entirely silence, he contrived the following expedient. He desired a confidential *Jew,* whom he frequently honoured with his conversation, *to ask of him his daughter in marriage, before his whole court.* The *Jew* accordingly did so; and the *Khalif* purposely refused him, say-

* When *Mahomet* was furnished in the Apocalypse with *the key of imposture,* to open the abyss and let out the *smoke* of *Islamism* and the Saracen *locusts,* the imagery, we see, was purely Oriental, and *Arabian.*

ing, *This cannot be, since you and I differ in religion.* The *Jew* replied, *Did not Mahomet marry his daughter to Ali? Yes,* said the Khalif, *but the cases are not alike:* for *Ali* was a *Mussulman,* and afterwards *Khalif* himself. *Why then,* retorted the Jew, *do you curse him publicly in your mosques?* Seemingly embarrassed by this home question, he turned, and said to his courtiers, *Answer this Jew.* But they being unable to answer, and confounded themselves, he declared, that for the future, the malediction should be suppressed, and instead of it, the following fine passage of the *Koran* substituted: "*Forgive us our sins,* O LORD, *and pardon all our brethren, who profess the same faith with us!*" This was in the genuine spirit of the Gospel and of our reformed Church. See our *Collects* for *Good Friday's* service.

This excellent *Mussulman,* and *almost Christian,* introduced this reform in the 100th year of the *Hegira,* A.D. 718, in the second year of his reign. But it involved him in a fatal dilemma, which occasioned his death. One *Shuzib,* a zealot, excited a revolt against him, and sent deputies to represent, that as he had condemned the *Khalifs* of his own house of *Ommiyah,* by rescinding their malediction against the house of *Ali, he was bound, in justice, to transfer the malediction to them.* This, *Omar* refused to do, because even *Pharaoh,* who arrogantly opposed himself to God, was never *formally cursed* in THE SCRIPTURES; much less would he curse his pious relatives, who discharged the rites and duties of *Islamism.* Baffled in this, they changed their ground, and opened a fresh battery of grievance. *Why should you, so just and upright a prince, leave your crown to an impious and abandoned successor? Omar* replied, that *such a case might happen, or otherwise, and that the disposal of future contingencies should be left to* PROVIDENCE. They instantly rejoined, "*But Yezid, your brother, and declared successor, is notorious for all the bad qualities of the most flagitious prince!*" *Omar* was so struck, that he could not forbear shedding tears; and desired three days' time to consider of a proper answer to their observation. But the heads of the house of *Ommiyah,* apprehensive that he might change the order of succession, willed by *Soliman,* bribed a slave to poison him, and shortly after effected their wicked purpose. When the poison began to operate, his friends represented that he ought to use proper antidotes; but he declined, with perfect resignation to

the will of God, and full conviction of his own inevitable destiny, declaring that *he would not rub even the tip of his ear with a little oil, if that could cure him.* *Moslema,* his brave and faithful general, coming to visit him, could not forbear blaming *Fatima,* his own sister, and the Khalif's wife, for the foulness of his linen. She excused herself, by saying that *Omar had not another shirt to put on!* Such frugality and humility drew tears even from the veteran warrior. After his death, his study was opened, and nothing found there, but a close thick riding coat, and a swinging rope, with which he sometimes amused himself, after his spirits had been exhausted by long and fervent prayer.

In the 108th year of the Hegira, the *Saracens* penetrated into *France,* across the *Pyrenees,* from *Spain,* where they had established a western *Khalif,* under the title of *Emir al Mumenin,* "Governor of the Believers," which the Spanish writers corrupted into *Amiramomen,* or *Miramolin.* But they were opposed by *Charles Martel,* at *Tours,* and defeated with incredible slaughter; no less than 375,000 of them, with their general, *Abdalrahman,* having been killed in the action, with the loss of only 1500 Christians, if we may believe the *French* and *Spanish* writers. *Europe* seems to have been prohibited ground to the *Saracens.* They could make no farther settlements there; and were driven out of *Spain* in no long time.

The Khalifs of the house of *Ommiyah,* by the confession of one of that family, attained the throne, and maintained themselves thereon, by usurpation, and an incredible effusion of *Mussulman* blood. The last of that race was

MERWAN II.

In the third year of his reign, the 127th of the Hegira, A.D. 744, *dirhems* were struck at the mint of *Waset,* with inscriptions in the *Cufic* character, expressive of the unity of God, some of which were found on the coast of the *Baltic* in June, 1722. This prince was finally defeated and slain in a general engagement, by his rival, *Abul Abbas,* in the year of the Hegira 132, A.D. 749, who succeeded him, under the title of

ABUL ABBAS AL SAFFAH.

When this prince, the founder of a new race, ascended the

throne, the *Saracen* empire was of vast extent, as appears from the governors he appointed over the provinces of *Aderbegian*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*; *Mosul*, *Higaz*, and *Bûsra*; *Persia*, *Khorasan*, *Scindia*, and *India*; *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, exclusive of *Africa* and *Spain*. An astonishing accession of empire in little more than a century from the rise of the *Khalifate*.

AL MANSUR.

This prince succeeded his brother, *Al Saffah*, and had a most wonderful escape from assassination in the third year of his reign, which, from its uncommon circumstances, deserves to be noticed.

The *Rawandians*, an heretical sect, who held the transmigration of souls, and had strenuously promoted the interests of the house of *Al Abbas*, went in procession seven times round *Al Mansur's* palace, in the city *Al Hashemiyah*, where he resided, as if it were the *Caaba*; thus idolatrously offering him divine honours. Offended at this impiety, the Khalif ordered their chieftains to be imprisoned, which so provoked the rest, that they resolved to assassinate him, and actually besieged and surprized him in his palace. He defended himself with uncommon bravery, and was unexpectedly joined by *Maan Ebn Zaidat*, one of the *Ommiyan* party, who had been proscribed, and kept himself concealed, but now nobly and generously came forth to the rescue of the Khalif, and putting himself at the head of his attendants, charged the rebels so vigorously, that he routed them, with the loss of 6000 men killed on the spot. The generosity of *Maan* became proverbial. But the Khalif was so disgusted at the ill-treatment he had received in this city, that he resolved to build another for his residence, on the banks of the *Tigris*, near its confluence with the *Euphrates*, the famous city of *Bagdad*, of which he laid the foundations in the year of the Hegira 145, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 141, and finished it in the 149th year. The Khalif called his new metropolis, *Medinat*, or *Dar al Salem*, "the city, or sojourn of peace," because at the time it was finished, all the commotions in his empire were quelled, and almost every nation in *Asia* had either submitted to his dominion, or were tributary. *Herbelot*, p. 155.

Al Mansur left in his treasury, 600 millions of silver *dirhems*

and 24 millions of gold *dinars*, the spoils and tribute of the world * !

Here then, we find the remarkable termination of the *Saracen* conquests, for "*five months*," or 150 lunar years of the *Hegira*, according to the Apocalypse. Rev. ix. 5. Now, the symbolical "*locusts*" ceased to harass the world with their incessant depredations, and thenceforward became a settled and a polished nation; and their Khalifs, men of letters, and distinguished patrons of learning and the fine arts.

HARUN, OR AARON AL RASCHID.

This was one of the most celebrated princes of the house of *Abbas*. He and his favourite vizir *Giafar*, and chief chamberlain *Mesrour*, bear a distinguished part in the entertaining *Arabian tales* of the *thousand and one nights*, which record many genuine traits of his character. The following are collected from the historians.

Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, in a letter to the Khalif, not only refused to pay the usual subsidy, but required him to refund all he had received, threatening, that if he refused, the sword should decide the controversy. The Khalif had no sooner read the letter, than, inflamed with rage, he inscribes upon the back of it the following answer:

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

From Harun, prince of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, dog of the Romans: I have read thy letter, thou son of an unbelieving mother. What thou shalt behold, *and not what thou shalt* hear, *shall serve thee for an answer thereto.* Immediately he decamped that very day, ravaged the country as far as *Heraclea*, and forced *Nicephorus* to pay the subsidy. *Abulfeda*, p. 166.

His generosity bordered on extravagance. One day, having received a remittance of 30,000 pieces of gold from the revenues of one of the provinces, he went on horseback to view the treasure; and observing his courtiers cast a longing eye thereon, he

* *Al Mansur*, who was covetous to a great degree, once found these four Persic verses written on the wall of a Caravansera.

The kingdoms and riches of this world are not given, but only lent us;
Let none reckon them secure, nor pride himself thereon.
Whoever sets his heart on them, will be covered with confusion,
When he must resign them to Him from whom he received them.

disposed of no less than 24,000 pieces among his friends before he took his foot out of the stirrup to alight. *Abulfeda*, p. 189.

One day, a woman claiming redress for damages done by his troops to her house and lands, he told her in the language of the *Koran*, that "*when princes go to war, the people must suffer from their soldiers.*" *Yes*, said she, but the *Koran* also declares, that "*the habitations of those princes who authorize injustice, shall be made desolate.*" He instantly ordered her ample reparation.

He once took a fancy for a female slave belonging to his brother. *Ibrahim* was willing to gratify the Khalif, but he had sworn neither to sell nor to give her away. To remove this impediment, a celebrated lawyer of *Bagdad* was consulted, named *Joseph*, who put *Ibrahim* on a method of evading his oath, by selling only one half of the slave to the Khalif, and giving him the other half. This was immediately done, and the Khalif paid for her 30,000 dinars, which *Ibrahim* gave to *Joseph* for his ingenuity. But now a fresh obstacle arose. By the *Mussulman* law, no man can have any commerce with his brother's wife, or concubine, until she has been married again to a third person, and divorced by him. *Joseph*, however, suggested, that the Khalif might easily marry her to one of his slaves, who would repudiate her afterwards; which was immediately done. But the amorous slave did not chuse to part with his fair spouse, and would not, for any consideration, consent to a divorce. Here was a new and more embarrassing difficulty, for the Khalif, all despotic as he was, durst not compel him. But *Joseph* soon contrived a remedy. By the *Mahometan* law, no woman can be the wife of her own slave. He therefore desired the Khalif to make the lady a present of her new husband, which virtually dissolved the marriage. The Khalif, overjoyed to have the nuptial knot so readily untied, gave *Joseph* 10,000 dinars for his ingenuity, and the lady, who had received a considerable present from her royal lover, gave him 10,000 more. So the lawyer gained upon the whole 50,000 dinars, about 25,000*l.* by his casuistry.

How far *Harun* was entitled *Al Raschid*, "the just," with truth, may be questioned from this instance. *Richardson's* Dissertations, p. 225.

The greatest stain, however, upon his justice, was his cruel

and unworthy treatment of his own sister, and the noble family of the *Barmecides.*

His favourite vizir, *Giafar*, was the most eloquent, best informed, and accomplished person in the whole empire, and the Khalif delighted in his conversation. He also took much pleasure in the company of the charming princess *Abassa*, his sister. To enjoy without reserve the society of his two favourites at his repasts, which nothing but their marriage could sanction, according to the etiquette of oriental courts, he proposed, and *Giafar* rashly agreed to marry her, without availing himself of a husband's rights. But love and opportunity broke through such an unnatural restraint, and *Abassa* * proved with child. Enraged at this breach of compact, the merciless *Harun* ordered the head of the frail *Giafar* to be struck off, and brought to him. He shut up his innocent father and brother in prison till they died; he proscribed all the worthy *Barmecides* throughout the provinces, and confiscated their immense wealth, lest they should rise and revenge the deaths of *Giafar* and his family; and he ordered his hapless sister, and her new born twins, whom he viewed, *beautiful as a pair of pearls*, and even wept at the piteous sight, to be all buried alive in a pit, and the earth cast in upon them! According to *Abulfaragi*, p. 151. The *Nighiaristan* says that *Abassa* was only banished from the palace, and lived as an outcast for many years upon alms. *Herbelot.*

When he was going to extinguish a rebellion that had been raised in *Khorasan* by *Raphei*, he fell sick on the way of his last illness. The brother of the rebel chief, who had been taken, was brought to him in chains, when he was unable to utter more than a single word—*Kill him!* He was torn in pieces by

* In the *Divan Saba* are preserved some tender *Arabic* verses of *Abassa*, in which she first disclosed her passion to her amiable husband, *Giafar:*

> " *My love I had resolved to hide within my breast,*
> *But in spight of me, it escaped, and shewed itself.*
> *If you will not surrender to this summons,*
> *My modesty will expire with my secret;*
> *But if you shall cruelly reject it,*
> *You will save my life by your refusal.*
> *Happen what may, I shall not die unrevenged,*
> *For my death will discover who has been my assassin.*
>
> HERBELOT, ABASSA.

the executioner in his presence, and then the Khalif himself fainted away and expired.

And yet this superstitious prince performed a pilgrimage to *Mecca* on foot, and eight more in pomp. He daily made a hundred incurvations at his devotions, and gave a thousand dirhems to the poor. He preferred *sacrifice* before *mercy*, and gave the following inconsistent advice to his eldest son *Al Amin*, who complained of a person who had abused his mother *Zobeide*. "*Forgive him, my son, this is worthy of a great and magnanimous prince. Or, if you wish to take revenge, treat his mother in the same way.*"

From his liberalities, however, to the learned, no Khalif was more highly praised by the oriental poets and historians. Like *Augustus* * by the western.

DECLENSION OF THE SARACEN EMPIRE.

We may date this from the 214th year of the Hegira, A.D. 829, when the remote provinces of the west, in *Africa* and *Spain*, grew independent of the Khalif. *Ibrahim ebn Aglab*, had been sent as *Emir*, or governor thither, by *Harun al Raschid*, in the year of the Hegira 184. He conquered a large extent of territory, and assumed almost absolute power, which was enjoyed by his descendants about 112 years. In the 216th year *Al Mamun* suppressed two rebellions in *Egypt*.

In the 325th, many of the provinces revolted from the Khalif *Al Radi*, owing to the incapacity of the Khalifs and their visirs, and shook off the *Saracen* yoke, although this prince created a supreme *Emir*, under the title of *Emir Al Omra*, "*Emir of Emirs*," who was to have the sole management of the finances and of military affairs; but the evil was too far advanced to be redressed by such means, and the provinces of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Karmania*, *Mazanderan*, in the east †, were governed by their native princes, who retained only a spiritual allegiance to the *Khalif*, disclaiming his temporal dominion, and considering him as merely the chief *Iman*, or supreme pontiff

* *Augustus* was naturally cruel, until he had proscribed all his enemies: One day when sitting to enjoy the spectacle of a public execution, *Mecænas* his favourite, shocked at his behaviour, said, *Surge tandem tu carnifex*, "Rise, at last, thou butcher!"

† See a particular list of these provinces and their governors, *Modern Universal History*. Vol. II. p. 562. Octavo.

of the Mussulman religion, whose functions were limited to ecclesiastical concerns, such as preaching and praying in the Great Mosque at *Bagdad*, and deciding in spiritual causes.

Thus, this great and unwieldy empire, rapidly formed, as rapidly decayed. Consisting of heterogeneous and ill-cemented materials, it mouldered away and crumbled into dust; and during the remaining 331 years, the Khalifat retained only the shadow of sovereignty, beyond *Bagdad* and its dependencies, until its dissolution by the *Mogul* Tartars.

RISE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

The founder of this mighty empire was *Tamujin*, a Tartar prince, who had been vassal to *Ung Khan*, king of the eastern Tartars, a Christian, called *Prester John* by European travellers, and had served him with much fidelity in the wars. But *John*, growing jealous of his abilities, and instigated by the courtiers, intended to seize and imprison *Tamujin*. But he, having received intelligence of the *Khan's* design, threw off his allegiance, attacked *John*, defeated and killed him, after several engagements, and made slaves of his family, and asserted his independence in the year of the Hegira 599, A.D. 1202, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 280.

About this time, an itinerant prophet of the Mogul Tartars came and told him, that GOD *had given the empire of the world to Tamujin and his posterity*, and named him *Genghis Khan*, "king of kings." Whence he assumed that title in future, and required all the *Tartar* tribes to recognize his sovereignty. This they did, partly by persuasion, partly by compulsion. After this *Genghis Khan* extended his conquests eastwards towards *China*, and westwards to the *Caspian* sea, during a reign of twenty-five years. He died in the 624th year of the Hegira, and appointed to succeed him, *Oktai Khan*, the third and wisest of his sons, and his bequest was confirmed by the *Kuriltai*, or general council of his sons and Tartar princes, in the year 625, assembled from the different states of his vast empire. *Oktai* himself resisted the election for forty days, declaring that he had brothers and uncles older and worthier than himself, to fill so exalted a station; but he was at length prevailed on, and *Joktai*, his eldest brother, and *Utacin*, his uncle, taking each his hands, placed him upon the imperial throne.

A rare instance of moderation, equally honourable to all the parties.

Oktai Khan followed his father's example, and extended his conquests. In the 632d of the Hegira, the city of *Kong-chang-fu* in *China*, surrendered to his son *Kotovan;* and his general *Suputai*, with an army of 300,000 men, ravaged the countries to the north-east, north, and west of the *Caspian* sea. Next year they penetrated into *Assyria*, and overran the districts of *Arbela* and *Nineveh*. In the 635th year they made an incursion into *Irak*, and penetrated almost to the gates of *Bagdad*, but were routed with incredible slaughter, by the Khalif *Al Daher's* forces. But they returned before the end of the year, defeated his army, and returned laden with spoils.

In the 640th died the Khalif *Al Mostanser*. The following anecdote is recorded of him in *Tarik Al Abbas*. Visiting his treasury one day, he observed a cistern full of gold and silver, and exclaimed to an intimate friend who attended him, *Would to God I could live to spend all this money!* The other laughed and said, How different were the sentiments of your grandfather, the Khalif *Al Naser;* he formerly brought me to this same cistern, when it wanted twelve feet of being full, and when he saw the deficiency, exclaimed, *Would to God I could live to fill this!* This was the first Khalif who suffered his effigy to be impressed on his coins. A brass coin of his came into the possession of the celebrated antiquary *Swinton*, with the face on one side, and this legend, "*The Imam al Mostanser Billah, Commander of the Faithful;*" on the reverse, the date of the year, 630 odd, the last figure being defaced.

He was succeeded by his son *Al Mostasem*, the last of the Khalifs. He was devoted to his pleasures, wanted firmness and judgment, and utterly neglected the affairs of government. When he was advised either to submit to the *Tartars*, or to oppose them with an army in *Khorasan*, he meanly replied, "*Bagdat is sufficient for me: if I relinquish to the Tartars the other provinces, surely they will not envy me this city, nor attack me in my residence.*

In the year of the *Hegira*, 643, died *Oktai Khan*, whose eldest son *Kayuk Khan*, was unanimously elected next year to succeed him, in preference to his brothers, on account of his superior merit, by the most numerous and splendid *Kuriltai*, or general council of the *Mogul* states, that was ever convened,

who styled him *Kai Khan, Kaan,* or "*Great Khan.*" See the list, *Abulfaragi*, p. 320, and *Univ. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 636.

This prince died also, after a short reign of four years, and his eldest son *Batu* nominated his own brother, *Mangu Khan*, as the fittest to fill the throne; and his nomination was confirmed by the next general assembly, held in the 649th of the Hegira, why styled him also *Kaan.*

Mangu Khan had seven brothers, of whom the second *Hulaku* was a great warrior. In the year 651, he was sent with a powerful army to invade the western provinces. *Hulaku* first attacked the *Ismaelians*, or *Assassins* *, took their castles, and extirpated that wicked race, in the year 655. This year the

* THE ASSASSINS.

This was a very remarkable tribe in *Persian Irak*, founded by *Hassan Sabah*, in A.D. 1090. From his name, *Hassan* probably, they derived their name *Assassins.* He was usually called *Sheik al Jibel*, "the chief of the mountain," and had acquired such an astonishing ascendancy over his *fanatical* followers, that they would execute his orders implicitly, regardless of death.

When the *Sultan Malekshah Jelaleddin, Emir al Omra* to the Khalif of *Bagdad*, sent to require his submission, *Hassan* ordered one of his attendants to poignard himself; and another to leap from the battlements of the tower. He was immediately obeyed. Then turning to the embassador, he said, *Seventy thousand are thus devoted to my commands: Let this be my answer.*

Several princes and great men fell by these *Assassins*, who assumed any disguise, and penetrated into every place to execute the orders of their chieftain. They murdered the Khalif of Egypt, *Amer Billah*, the Khalif of Bagdad, *Mostarshed*, and the Visir, *Al Mulk*; Sultan *Saladin* narrowly escaped from three of them, who attacked and wounded him in his tent. Under the disguise of Christian monks, two of them, during the Crusades, stabbed the Marquis of *Montserrat*, in the streets of *Tyre*; and though immediately seized, and put to the rack, they died without making any confession. *Richard* I. king of England, who had been at variance with the *Marquis*, was suspected of having procured his death; but *the Sheik of the Mountain*, wrote a letter to *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, generously exculpating *Richard*, and avowing the assassination himself, because the Marquis had robbed and murdered one of his fraternity at *Tyre*, and refused to make reparation. "Such," concluded he, "were our motives for the death of the marquis: and we assure you, that *Richard*, king of England, was in no ways blameable on that score; he has been accused without justice and without reason. Be assured we will kill no man for reward, or for money, unless he first injure us."

These desperate villains laid almost every eastern potentate under contribution through fear. The *Knights Templars* and *Hospitallers* alone set the *Sheik* at defiance, and compelled him in turn to pay an annual tribute; well knowing that the assassination of one or more *Grand Masters* might only exasperate these formidable *republican* orders, but could not deprive them of a head. *Herbelot, History of the Crusades*, &c.

Like the *Barbary* pirates, these subsisted so long, not from their own strength, but rather from the jealousies and selfish views of the surrounding potentates. Even *Saladin* was induced, from private considerations, not only to pardon, but even to protect them. A few of them who escaped from *Hulaku*, settled in the province of *Mezanderan*, and were destroyed by *Tamerlane* afterwards. Richardson's Diss. p. 359.

grand mosque at *Medina* took fire, by accident, or by the carelessness of the people, and was nearly consumed. The blaze of the conflagration, seen, at night, to a great distance all around, struck the Arabs with dismay, as portending some signal calamity to their religion.

The next year of the Hegira, 656, the infatuated and covetous *Al Mostasem*, by the advice of his traitorous Visir, *Alkami*, disbanded his troops, amounting to 70,000 men, as if they were useless and expensive, since, as Khalif, he was reverenced by all the *Mussulman* powers, and the *Tartars* were employed in their northern conquests. The Visir next persuaded him to send off his best officers to distant places, and then dispatched an express to *Hulaku*, to inform him how easily he might take the Khalif and his capital. Quitting *Hamadan*, the Tartars unexpectedly broke into the *Babylonian Irak*, and invested the city, with a powerful army, while the inhabitants were in perfect security, so that *the oven was heated as usual every night and morning.* And so careless and inattentive was the Khalif, that it was some time before he could be made sensible that his city was besieged. The city was taken by assault, at the end of four days *, and the wretched Khalif cruelly put to death. By order of the Tartar general, he was sewed up in a leathern bag, and dragged through the streets of the city, till he expired, according to *Herbelot*. But *Abulfaragi* simply states, that *Hulaku* put him, his surviving son, and six eunuchs, to death by night, but not until he left *Bagdad*, at his first encampment, on the fourteenth of the ensuing month, *Saphar*, p. 339. This is much more credible; for surely the *Tartar* general could have no provocation to torture a weak and silly prince, who made no resistance; and such a barbarous procedure would have given great offence to all the *Mahometan* powers of the east, had the supreme head of their church been treated with such unmerited indignity.

This Khalif was extremely covetous, and added greatly to the immense riches left by his ancestors. His pride was so great, that he was difficult of access even to the most powerful *Mahometan* princes. When he appeared in the city he wore a veil,

* *Abulfaragi* says, that the siege began on the twenty-second, and the walls were taken the twenty-sixth of the month *Mubarram*, p. 338. As he was a contemporary writer, and his family were plundered by the Tartars not long before, as he relates, p. 315, his account is more credible than *Khondemir's*, that the siege lasted two months.

to attract respect, looking down on the people as unworthy to behold his face. And such was their eagerness and curiosity, that the streets through which he passed were crowded, and the windows and balconies hired out at an extravagant price to spectators. When first apprized of the *Mogul's* intention of invading *Irak*, his council wrote in the following haughty strain to the informer: "Who is *Hulaku*, and what is his power, that he should presume to make war upon the house of *Abbas?* If *Hulaku* were a friend to peace, he would never have entered and ravaged the Khalif's territories. Let him return to *Hamadan*, and we will intercede with the commander of the faithful to forgive the enormity of his crime." This being shewn to the *Mogul* general, he only laughed at their weakness and simplicity.

Such was the end of the Khalifat, and downfal of this house. Its sagacious founder, *Abul Abbas*, is said to have foretold this catastrophe.—"*By* GOD, *the Khalifat will continue in my family, until a conqueror shall come from Khorasan.*"

*BAGDAD TAKEN.

The *Tartars* took the city by assault, pillaged it for seven days, and slew a multitude of the inhabitants. The treasures they got were immense; for it was the richest city in the universe, if *Khondemir* may be credited.

Bagdad remained in the possession of the *Moguls* till the partition of that mighty empire. *Timur beg*, or *Tamerlane*, took it in the year of the Hegira 795, A.D. 1392; and afterwards, a *Turkish* prince, *Kara Joseph*, in 815. A.D. 1412. His descendants were driven out by *Uzun Hassan*, another *Turkish* chieftain, in 875. A.D. 1470; until *Shah Ismael*, king of *Persia*, of the *Sofi* race, took it 914. A.D. 1508. From that time it has proved a bone of contention between the *Turks* and *Persians*. Sultan *Soliman*, the magnificent, took it from the *Persians* in 941. A.D. 1534. It was soon retaken by *Shah Abbas;* then Sultan *Amurath* IV. retook it, in 1048. A.D. 1638. And since that time it has remained in the hands of the *Turks* till the present day. See *Niebuhr*, Tom. II. p. 252—266.

* See the description of *Ancient Bagdad, Modern Univ. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 277—280. Octavo, and of *Modern Bagdad, Niebuhr's Voyage in Arabia*, Tom. II. p. 239—250.

SECTION XIII.

RISE OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

THIS mighty *Mahometan* empire succeeded the *Saracen*, and exceeded it in power and duration. Like the *Roman* empire, it rose from small and weak beginnings, to great extent and dominion, and still it subsists, though verging fast to ruin.

When the *Mogul* Tartars, united under that great conqueror, *Genghiz Khan*, with irresistible force swept away the feebler principalities all around, *Solyman*, the head of a *Turkish* clan of the *Oguzian* tribe of Scythians, one of the meanest, (who had originally pitched their tents in the plains of *Mahan* and *Nessa*, upon the southern banks of the *Oxus*; the same spot from which had issued the founder of the *Parthian* empire) was driven westwards, from *Persia*, where he had settled, to *Artezerum*, or *Erzerum*, a city of *Armenia*, on the confines of *Cappadocia*, and was afterwards drowned, in crossing the *Euphrates*, A.D. 1237.

His son *Ertogrul*, or *Orthogrul*, engaged in the service of *Aladin*, Sultan of *Iconium*, the capital city of *Carmania*, and was rewarded with a settlement at *Saguta*, or *Surgut*, a small village and district, near Mount *Tmolus*, in the greater *Phrygia*; where he governed a clan of 400 families, under the protection of the Sultan, whom he assisted in his wars for fifty-two years. In A.D. 1281. He took the city of *Kutahi*, in *Cilicia*.

He was succeeded in A.D. 1289, by his eldest son *Thaman*, or *Athaman*, or *Osman*, afterwards called *Othoman*, or *Othman*, the founder of the *Ottoman* dynasty.

Othoman was distinguished for his valour, address, and activity; and gradually enlarged the boundary of his little state, by continual inroads into the *Christian* provinces, on the verge of the Greek empire; and with the *Turkish* peasants, or *freebooters*, took several castles on the confines of *Bithynia*, while he artfully and regularly sent a fifth part of the spoils, as a tribute to the *Sultan* of *Iconium*, whose vassal he was, which ensured him that prince's favour and protection; with the rest, he encreased his forces, each ensuing campaign, by the acces-

sion of fresh volunteers; and now fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged. At length, he took the celebrated city of *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, about A.D. 1298, and sent as usual a fifth of the spoils to the Sultan of *Iconium*, who pleased at this homage, and his success in the holy war, against the Christians, granted him the title of royalty, and had prayers offered up for the prosperity of Sultan *Othoman* in the mosques throughout his dominions.

The new Sultan, however, prudently declined the title till the death of his patron, when he assumed the royal functions in 1299, and coined money in his own name, A.D. 1300, whence *Knolles* dates the commencement of his reign.

This was precisely the same year that Pope *Boniface* VIII. instituted his jubilee at *Rome*, and had the *two swords* (the temporal and spiritual) carried in state before him.

TURKISH DYNASTY.

OTTOMAN SULTANS.

		Y.		B.C.
1.	*Othoman*, or *Othman*	28	....	1300
2.	*Orchan*	32	....	1328
3.	*Amurath*	28	....	1360
4.	*Bajazet*	13	....	1388
	Interregnum	14	....	1401
5.	*Mahomet*	7	....	1415
6.	*Amurath* II.	28	....	1422
7.	*Mahomet* II. *the Great*	31	....	1450
8.	*Bajazet* II.	31	....	1481
9.	*Selim*	8	....	1512
10.	*Solyman the Magnificent*	46	....	1520
11.	*Selim* II.	8	....	1566
12.	*Amurath* III.	21	....	1574
13.	*Mahomet* III.	8	....	1595
14.	*Achmet*	14	....	1603
15.	*Mustapha*	1	....	1617
16.	*Othman* II.	4	....	1618
	Mustapha again	1	....	1622
17.	*Amurath* IV. or *Morat*	26	....	1623
18.	*Mahomet* IV.	36	....	1649
19.	*Achmet* II.	8	....	1687
20.	*Mustapha* II.	8	....	1695
21.	*Achmet* III.	27	....	1703
22.	*Mahomet* V.	24	....	1730
23.	*Othman* III.	3	....	1754
24.	*Mustapha* III.		....	1757

&c.

The chronology and history of this period is collected chiefly from *Herbelot*, and from *Knolles'* History of the *Turks*, with some corrections and additions, from *Gibbon* and *Playfair*. *Knolles* was contemporary with Sultan *Achmet*, who began to reign A.D. 1603. He is unquestionably too prolix and verbose in his *speeches* and descriptions of *battles*, through a large folio of more than 1300 pages, for which he is censured by *Gibbon*; and also for not exhibiting "some tincture of *philosophy* or *criticism* to instruct or amuse an enlightened age," *Decline of the Roman Empire*, chap. 64, Vol. VIII. p. 336, note. But though his style and manner be somewhat antiquated, wanting the terseness and polish of that modern historian, he greatly excels him in exact references to time and place, so essential to historical clearness and precision; in a sober strain of genuine piety and masculine eloquence; and in profound political reflexions on the comparative state of *Christendom* and *Turkey*, and the judgments inflicted by the latter, for the irreligion and vices of the former. His materials are drawn from the most authentic documents, and are mostly the same as those employed by *Gibbon*, in the last and most entertaining period, perhaps, of his learned and elaborate work, though unhappily tinctured with the spirit of *Paganism* and *Islamism*.

OTHOMAN, OR OTHMAN.

This artful, ambitious, and enterprizing prince, pursuing steadily his original system of aggression and encroachment, enlarged his territories on one side, while the Sultans of *Iconium* curtailed the provinces of the *Grecian* or *Constantinopolitan* empire on the other. Meanwhile, the reigning emperors, *Michael Palæologus*, and his successors, were so engaged and harassed by domestic discords, and insurrections of their *European* subjects, that they had neither leisure nor ability to attend to the growing power of the Turkish states in *Asia Minor*, or *Anatolia*. Hence *Othman*, without molestation from the imperial forces, gradually reduced a great part of *Phrygia*, *Mysia* and *Bithynia*, defeating in several engagements the Christian princes, or governors; and at length, after a tedious blockade, reduced *Prusa*, the capital of *Bithynia*, in A.D. 1327 *, which he thenceforth made the royal residence.

* "From the conquest of *Prusa*," says *Gibbon*, "we may date the true era of the *Ottoman* empire."

He was equally skilled in the arts of peace as of war. And by the prudence, justice, and vigour of his administration, regarding the interests of all descriptions of his subjects, he induced great numbers from the neighbouring harassed and distracted provinces of the empire, to seek an asylum in his territories, which brought a powerful accession to his population. " Of a poor lordship," says *Knolles*, " he left a great kingdom, having subdued a great part of the *lesser Asia*, and is worthily accounted the first founder of the *Turks*' great kingdom and empire."

III

ORCHAN

Succeeded his father, and trod in his steps. The city of *Nice* having revolted on his father's death, sent for relief to the young emperor *Andronicus*, who came to raise the siege, but was defeated with great loss by *Orchan*, and returned with disgrace to his capital, leaving the city to shift for itself. Soon after, *Orchan* took it by the following artful stratagem. He sent a body of 800 horse, dressed in the *Grecian* uniform, to approach the town, on the road leading from *Constantinople*, who furiously charged a squadron of 300 *Turkish* horse, that were purposely foraging within sight of the city, and put them to a pretended flight; and then advanced triumphant to the gates, which were immediately opened with great joy to receive these false friends, who instantly secured them, plundered the town, and made the inhabitants captives. *Nice* has continued in the hands of the *Turks* ever since A.D. 1330.

Orchan then reduced the western regions of *Carasina*, including *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Troas*, and *Phrygia Minor*, belonging to the sultany of *Iconium*, and took *Nicomedia*, in A.D. 1339. He surprised the strong castle of *Abydos*, on the *Hellespont*, by the treachery of the governor's daughter, who fell in love with a young Turkish officer of his army, seeing him from the walls, and surrendered to him herself and the castle, at night.

His next step was across the *Hellespont*, into the *Thracian* Chersonesus, where his ambitious and intrepid son *Solyman*, with fourscore soldiers, surprised and took two castles on the coast, *Zemenie*, called by the Greeks *Coirido castron*, " Hog's castle," and *Madytus*, near it. These he strongly fortified and garrisoned, without any obstruction from the emperor's forces,

the silly Greeks only jesting on the capture of a "*hogstye*," punning on the name *.

Having now got footing on the *European* side of the *Hellespont*, this artful and enterprising Turkish general, in A.D. 1358, surprised the city of *Callipolis*, or *Gallipoli*, the key of the *Hellespont*, where also he firmly established himself, without molestation from the infatuated *Grecian* government, and extended his dominion in *Thrace*; and by the wisdom and moderation of his government, he prevailed on great numbers of the *Greeks* to cross the Hellespont, and settle in *Asia Minor*; while he transplanted multitudes of hardy and veteran *Turkish* soldiers into *Thrace*, to secure and extend his conquests; by a refined policy, thus strengthening his own resources, and weakening his enemies', in a duple proportion.

When *Solyman* had made and secured all these conquests, he was killed by a fall from his horse in hawking; and the old Sultan, his father, died shortly after, of sickness and grief.

AMURATH.

Orchan was succeeded by his second son. The first measure of *Amurath's* reign, was to crush a confederacy of the other *Mahometan* princes against him, excited by jealousy of his power and encroachments. After he had subdued them, he crossed the Hellespont with a powerful army to extend his conquests in *Thrace*, where he took some forts on the river *Hebrus*, and afterwards the towns of *Didymoticum*, and *Hadrianople*, in the year 1362, by different stratagems, according to the *Turkish* historians, and in breach of a treaty of peace, which he had made with the Christians of *Thrace*; which is not improbable. He made *Hadrianople*, in the midst of that part of *Thrace* called *Romania*, his chief *European* residence.

He now instituted the order of *Janizaries*, "new soldiers," formed of boys selected from among the *Christian* captives, under fifteen years of age, who were sent over to *Asia*, to be educated in the *Turkish* religion and language, and trained to

* According to the Greek historians, the emperor *Cantacuzene* invited over *Solyman* and ten thousand Turkish horse to his assistance in the civil wars of *Romania*, who did him some service, and more mischief by getting a footing in *Thrace*. *Cantacuzene* married his daughter *Theodora* to *Orchan*, an inauspicious alliance. In the *Genoese* war, *Orchan* joined against his father in law. *Gibbon*.

arms. These, at first, proved the flower of the *Turkish* infantry and bulwark of the empire; but afterwards, by their insubordination and mutinies, contributed equally to weaken the executive government. "*The finger of* THE HIGHEST, *oftentimes, turning even those helps, which were by man's wisdom provided for the establishing of kingdoms, unto their more speedy destruction*," according to the pious and profound observation of *Knolles*, p. 192. *Amurath* next invaded *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, defeated their forces, and took the strong cities of *Nyssa* and *Apollonia*, and imposed a tribute upon those countries.

In the midst of his *European* conquests, he was recalled to *Asia*, in the year 1387, by a formidable confederacy of the *Mahometan* princes, headed by his own son-in-law, *Aladin* II. Sultan of *Caramania*. He routed their army in a bloody battle, and then besieged *Aladin*, in his capital of *Iconium*, and when on the point of taking the city, at the intercession of his daughter, pardoned her husband, and restored his kingdom. This great victory, as *Knolles* judiciously observes, "was the true beginning of the Ottoman greatness in *Asia*; for the other *Mahometan* princes of the *Selzuccian* tribe were so discouraged, that they were glad to submit themselves, first, to *Amurath*, and next, to his son *Bajazet*; until *Tamerlane*, the great *Tartar* prince, some years after, abated the *Ottoman* pride, and restored the other oppressed *Mahometan* princes to their old possessions and kingdoms." P. 196.

Amurath now formed a triple affinity with the *Grecian* emperor, *Emanuel Palæologus*, whose eldest daughter he married himself, and two of his sons to her two sisters. Afterwards, he marched with a great army from *Asia* to invade *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, which had rebelled against him, and drawn into their confederacy the neighbouring states of *Walachia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Albania*, and even *Italy*, beside numbers of *Christian* volunteers, in this religious war against the *Turks*. But though they considerably outnumbered his forces, amounting, it is said, to five hundred thousand men, whereas he had scarcely half so many, after a hard-fought battle, in which *Lazarus*, the despot of *Servia*, was slain, he totally defeated the enemy. But while *Amurath*, with some of his officers, was viewing the field of battle, after the engagement, a *Christian* soldier, *Miles Cobelitz*, who had been sorely wounded, rose, staggering, from a heap of carcases, and came to the Sultan, as if he wished to kiss his feet,

and crave for mercy, but suddenly stabbed him in the belly with a short dagger, concealed under his soldier's coat, of which wound *Amurath* presently died; and the assassin was directly cut to pieces by the Turks, in the presence of his son *Bajazet.* His character is thus drawn by *Knolles*, p. 201.

"This *Amurath* was in his superstition more zealous than any other of the *Turkish* kings, a man of great valour, and in all his attempts fortunate. He made greater slaughter of his enemies than both his father and grandfather. His kingdom in *Asia,* he greatly enlarged, by the sword, marriage, and purchase; and using the discord and cowardice of the *Grecian* princes to his profit, subdued a great part of *Thracia,* called *Romania,* with the territories thereto adjoining; leaving to the emperor of *Constantinople* little or nothing more in *Thracia* than the imperial city of Constantinople, with the bare name of an emperor without an empire. He won a great part of *Servia, Bosnia,* and *Macedonia.* He was liberal, and withal severe; of his subjects both beloved and feared; a man of very few words, and one that could dissemble deeply. He was slain when he was 68 years old."

BAJAZET.

This prince succeeded his father A.H. 791, or A.D. 1388. He began his reign inauspiciously. Immediately after his father's death, he strangled his younger brother *Iacup* (or *Jacob)* surnamed *Zelebi,* "the noble," and thus introduced that wicked policy of *fratricide,* too frequently adopted by his successors, to rid themselves of rivals or competitors for the throne.

From his activity, he was called *Ilderim,* or "the lightning," "a *sublime* title, derived from the principle of *terror,*" as *Gibbon* remarks. In the first year of his reign, he invaded *Servia,* and took *Cratowa,* with its silver mines, (his principal object for undertaking the war,) and treacherously massacred the inhabitants after they had surrendered upon terms, and quitted the city; he then extended his conquests into the territories of *Sigismund,* king of *Hungary,* slighting his remonstrances.

Philadelphia was now the only city left in *Asia Minor,* still held by the *Christians,* in the midst of the *Mahometan* princes. *Bajazet* therefore besieged it, and at first gave orders not to injure the country, hoping, by this lenity, to induce the citizens

to surrender. But they valiantly defending their *religion* and *liberty*, he wasted and destroyed every thing. At length, after a long siege, in which they were not only deserted by the *Greeks*, but, according to some writers, attacked by them, in conjunction with the *Turks*, they capitulated, upon terms, to *Bajazet*. Thus fell the last of the Seven Churches! See Vol. III. p. 583, of this work.

Bajazet next invaded the territories of the Sultan of *Carmania*, and the other *Mahometan* princes of *Ionia*, *Caria* and *Pontus;* and then turned his arms westwards, against the *Walachians* and *Thessalidns*, and took *Thessalonica*, that early Christian Church. He then besieged *Constantinople* itself for a long time, by sea and land; when *Sigismund*, the young king of *Hungary*, came to the relief of the emperor *Emanuel Palæologus*, with a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who proudly boasted, *if the sky should fall, we could prop it with our spears; what need we fear the Turk!*" But this army was defeated with great slaughter at *Nicopolis*, and he escaped himself in a little boat, across the *Danube*, like another *Xerxes;* thus chastised for his presumption.

The emperor now humbly sued for peace, and the haughty conqueror, apprehensive that by refusing he might arm against him a new and more formidable crusade of the Christian powers, granted a ten years' truce, on payment of an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold, the assignment of one street in *Constantinople*, for the residence of a *Turkish* colony, which he transplanted thither from *Bithynia*, the establishment of a Turkish *Cadhi*, or judge, and the foundation of a royal mosque, for the free and full exercise of their laws and religion, in the metropolis of *Christendom*.

This truce, however, was soon violated by the restless ambition of *Bajazet*, who again blockaded *Constantinople;* and this city, pressed with the miseries of war and famine, must have fallen a prey to the Turkish despot, had he not been unexpectedly arrested by another, stronger than himself, who delayed the fall of *Constantinople* about fifty years.

TIMUR BEG, OR TAMERLANE.

Demir, or *Timur*, in the Turkish language, signifies "*iron*," and *Beg*, "a *lord*, or *prince*." From his lameness, he is usually

called *Timur Lenk*, or *Tamerlane*, by a corruption of the word *lenk*, signifying "*lame.*"

This mighty conqueror was the fourth in descent from the founder of the Mogul empire, *Genghiz Khan*, who was succeeded by his second son *Oktai*, and *Oktai* by *Zain Chan*, or *Og*, the father of *Tamerlane*. A different genealogy is given by *Herbelot*, from *Mirkhond*; and others reckon that he was a peasant, not allied to the royal line. But the testimony of *Abulghazi Khan*, to the nobleness of his birth, is clear and decisive; and even his enemy, *Arabshah*, owns, that he was connected with *Genghiz*, at least by the female line.

He was born in the year of the Hegira 736, or A.D. 1335, and died A.H. 807, or A.D. 1404, aged 71 lunar, or 69 calendar years. *Herbelot*, p. 878, 881.

This prince aspired to the dominion of the world, and, before his death, placed on his head twenty-seven crowns, which he had won in the course of thirty-five campaigns; from the first crown of *Zagatai* Tartars, which he put on in A.H. 771, or A.D. 1369, when he was acknowledged sovereign by the *Kuriltai*, or general diet of the Tartar tribes. To his patrimony of *Zagatai*, *Timur* first united the dependant provinces of *Xarisme* and *Kandahar*; and next reduced *Iran*, from the sources, to the mouths of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. He afterwards subdued *Kipzak*, or the Western Tartary, and sacked *Azoph*, at the mouth of the river *Tanais* or *Don*, and burnt *Astrachan*, and advanced to the northern latitude of *Moscow*, 56 degrees, where the rays of the setting and of the rising sun were scarcely separated by any interval; and his vanity was here gratified with the intermission of evening prayer by his *Mahometan* doctors.

He next turned his victorious arms towards *India*, or *Hindustan*. When he first proposed this invasion to his emirs, he was answered by a general murmur of discontent. *The rivers*, the *mountains*, the *deserts*, the *soldiers clad in armour*, and *the elephants, destroyers of men!* But his displeasure was more dreadful than those vain terrors, which were easily removed by his superior understanding and generalship. He followed the route of *Alexander*, as far as the river *Hyphasis*, where the Macedonian hero reluctantly halted and returned. *Timur* crossed the desart beyond it, defeated Sultan *Mahmoud*, and stormed his capital, *Delhi*, which he gave up to pillage and

massacre; and to shed the blood of the Gentoos, or Idolaters, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of *Delhi*, passed the *Ganges*, and fought several battles by land and water; the last, at the celebrated rock *Coupele*, or "statue of the cow," which discharges that mighty river, near *Loldang*, 1100 miles from *Calcutta*. *Rennel's* Memoir, p. 7, 59, 90, 91, 99.

From the banks of the *Ganges*, *Timur* was recalled to quell the disturbances that had arisen on the confines of *Georgia* and *Anatolia*, and check the rapid conquests and ambitious views of his great western rival, *Bajazet*. He finished therefore this *Indian* campaign in the second year, A.H. 801, or A.D. 1398; and after reposing for some months at his capital, *Samarcande*, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the Western *Asia*, with unabated vigour of mind and body, in his grand climacteric.

In A.H. 802, or A.D. 1399, he marched to *Bagdad*, drove out *Ahmed* and *Cara Josep*, who had opposed him, and fled to *Bajazet*, and re-established his son, *Miran Schah*, in that government.

In A.H. 803, A.D. 1400, he reduced the *Georgians*, in their fortresses of Mount *Caucasus;* and, on his descent from the hills, gave audience to the first ambassadors of *Bajazet*. Between two jealous and haughty monarchs, whose conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of *Erzerum*, at the *Euphrates*, grounds of quarrel were not wanting. Each could accuse his rival of threatening his vassals, and harbouring his rebels, or those fugitive princes, whose territories he had invaded, and their resemblance of character was a stronger ground of hostility than even their clashing interests. Of these two most ambitious potentates, *Timur* could brook no equal, *Bajazet* knew no superior. And the first epistle of the Mogul emperor to *Bajazet* was far from conciliatory. After appropriating to himself and his countrymen, the Tartars, the honourable appellation of *Turks*, and to *Bajazet*, and his nation, the less honourable, of *Turkmans*, he added: "Dost not thou know that the greatest part of *Asia* is subject to our arms and to our laws? that our invincible forces stretch from sea to sea? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled *Fortune* herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly?

Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of *Anatolia*; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of *Europe;* thy sword was blessed by the Apostle of God; and *thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the Infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Mussulman world.* Be wise in time; reflect, repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee under their feet!"

Bajazet, stung with such unusual contempt, retorted the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, as he called *Timur*, who never had triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the faults of his foes.——"What are the arrows of the flying *Tartar* against the scymetars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible *Janizaries?* I will guard the princes who have implored my protection *(Ahmed* and *Cara Josep.)* Seek them in my tents. The cities of *Arzingan* and *Erzerum* are mine, and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the Aman under the walls of *Tauris* and *Sultania.* If I forsake my arms, may *my wives* be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou darest not face me in the field, mayest thou again receive *thy wives*, after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger.

This last was the most heinous insult a Turk could offer or receive. Of course the quarrel was irreconcileable *.

In his first expedition, however, *Timur* was satisfied with the siege and destruction of *Sievas*, or *Sebaste*, a strong city on the borders of *Anatolia*, and, in his wrath, buried alive a garrison of four thousand *Armenians*, for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Mussulman, he seemed to respect the pious occupation of *Bajazet*, who was still engaged in the blockade of *Constantinople*, and turned aside to the conquest of *Syria* and *Egypt*, which employed him for the two ensuing campaigns; in

* *Knolles*, who panegyrises *Timur*, and blackens *Bajazet*, ascribes a very mild requisition to *Timur*, in behalf of the Greek emperor, and the refugee *Mahometan* princes, whose territories *Bajazet* had seized, which did not warrant so haughty and insulting an answer. But the authenticity of *Timur's* epistle is vouched by *Shereffeddin*, and the *Institutions of Tamerlane*, and by *Arab Shah*, who agree in the substance. *Gibbon*, p. 12, note.

which his progress was marked by desolation and carnage, in the destruction of *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and the erection of a pyramid of ninety thousand heads upon the ruins of *Bagdad!* to revenge the losses he had sustained in three campaigns.

During this diversion of the *Mogul* arms, *Bajazet* had time to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. One day he was going to put several of his generals and officers to death, in his ungovernable rage, for some slight offence; and when none of his councillors dared to intercede for them, but hung down their heads, an *Ethiopian* buffoon, who took great liberties with him, began to rail at the culprits, and recommended to put them, without mercy, to death. *Bajazet* asking why he was so violent against them? he answered, *Because they are good for nothing, neither they nor their soldiers. And now since Tamerlane is coming against us with a great army, let you only take the standard, and I the drum, and we shall frighten and drive away the enemy.* *Bajazet* perceiving the drift of the speech, mused a while; and then, unexpectedly, pardoned them all: apprehending that he should soon have full occasion for their assistance against so formidable a foe.

The same buffoon, afterwards, having been sent by *Bajazet* to the queen mother, to give her an account of his proceedings at *Constantinople*, and elsewhere; when to her repeated enquiries, *How the Sultan was?* and, *What he was doing?* he had answered her civilly twice, provoked the third time, when she asked the question, he burst forth into the following, *Bre capbre:* "*Old whore, thou hast brought forth a son like the devil, who, roaming up and down, doth nothing but destroy the world!*" Shocked at this outrage, the queen mother cried out, and the buffoon instantly fled, and appeared no more.

In the year A.H. 804, or A.D. 1401, *Timur* renewed his invasion of *Bajazet's* dominions, from *Tauris*, with a prodigious army of not less than 800,000 horse and foot, according to *Arab Shah;* when *Bajazet* undauntedly came to oppose him, with 400,000 horse and foot, according to *Timur's Institutions.* The numbers indeed, on both sides, are differently related; but never perhaps did two such numerous and efficient armies take the field against each other; nor ever was the superiority of numbers converted to more advantage than by the superior tactics of the Tartar. He marshalled his army in distinct squadrons of horse, supported by successive columns of foot, which composed

the great vanguard, and charged the enemy in eighteen or twenty attacks. If these all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, " the sultan himself then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience," according to *Timur's* metaphor, and led the main body in person; and the main body itself was supported on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by his sons and grandsons. In the battle of *Angora*, in *Galatia*, the superiority of the Tartar horse first broke the Turkish, in the wings, and pressed upon the centre of the enemy, where *Bajazet* led his brave and highly disciplined *Janizaries* and *European* troops; who were at length fatigued and overpowered by a constant succession of fresh attacks, and deserted in the battle by the troops of *Anatolia*, who revolted to their fugitive princes, and by the mercenary *Tartars* who served in the *Turkish* army, and were corrupted by the emissaries and letters of *Timur*.

The victory was complete: about 200,000 Turks were slain, and nearly as many Tartars. *Bajazet*, after his son *Mustapha* had fallen, and *Solyman* fled, was taken prisoner, with his third son *Musa*, by the khan of *Zagatai*, and brought to *Timur*; who at first received him courteously, and treated him kindly; but at last was provoked by his haughty and unbending spirit, to retaliate the treatment he intended for *Timur*, if he had proved victorious, and to confine him in an iron cage, and carry him about as a public spectacle, like a wild beast, till he died about nine months after, either of an apoplexy, at Antioch, in *Pisidia*, or by an act of desperation, by beating out his own brains against the bars of his cage.

The story of the *iron cage* is omitted in *Timur's Institutes*, written by himself, and by the *Persian* historians, *Sherefeddin Ali*, *Khondemir*, &c. whence it has been rejected, as a fiction, by *Voltaire* and other modern writers; but it is strongly attested by contemporary historians, both *Christian* and *Turkish*. 1. Marshall *Boucicault's* Memoirs relate " the *imprisonment* and *severe death* of *Bajazet*," only seven years after. 2. The Italian *Poggius*, in a splendid encomium on *Tamerlane*, published twenty-eight years after the victory of *Angora*, reports it from the eye-witnesses, " Ipse enim novi, qui fuere in ejus castris." ——*Regem vivum cepit, caveâque, in modum feræ inclusum, per omnem Asiam circumtulit*, egregium admirandumque spectaculum Fortunæ!—*De varietate Fortunæ*, published about

A.D. 1430. 3. Two Italian Chronicles, of the same, or earlier date, the *Chronicon Tarvisianum*, and *Annales Estenses*, both report the same. 4. *Arab Shah*, the contemporary of *Poggius*, who composed at *Damascus* a malignant history of *Tamerlane*, for which he collected materials in his travels through *Turkey* and *Tartary*, agrees with the Italian in the fact of the *iron cage*. 5. *George Phranza*, who was born a year before the battle of *Angora*, and was sent ambassador, by the emperor, to *Amurath* II. twenty-two years after the battle, mentions it positively, and he might have conversed with persons at the court, who had seen *Bajazet* in durance. 6. And, to crown all, the *Turkish Annals*, consulted or transcribed by *Leunclavius*, *Pocock*, and *Cantemir*, unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage. And certainly "*some credit* is due to *national historians*, who cannot stigmatize the *Tartar*, without uncovering the shame of *their king*, and *their country*;" as judiciously remarked by *Gibbon*, to whom we are indebted for the mass of authorities, infinitely outweighing the *silence* of *Timur* himself, and his flattering *Persian* historians.

Tamerlane restored to their dominions all the *Mahometan* princes, whom *Bajazet* had dispossessed. He permitted *Musa* to reign over the remnant of his father's dominions in Asia; and gave *Solyman* a red patent to hold the kingdom of *Romania*, which he already held by the sword: he exacted from the emperor of Constantinople, *(John*, or *Manuel)* the same tribute he had paid the Turks, and an oath of allegiance*, which was binding no longer than the Tartar remained in *Anatolia*; who, after he had thoroughly subdued *Georgia*, and appeased the troubles in *Persia*, returned slowly to *Samarcande*, after a campaign of four years and nine months, in A.H. 807, or A.D. 1404.

After a short repose of two months at his capital, where *Timur* displayed all his magnificence at the public spectacles, which he gave on the marriages of six of his grandsons, celebrated with all the pomp of the ancient Khalifs, he set out to invade *China*; for which he had made preparation during his last expedition, by sending forward colonies of his new subjects, in the western parts of *Asia*, to open the road, subdue the Pagan *Calmucks* and *Mungals*, and to found cities and maga-

* *Tamerlane's* visit of curiosity and courtesy to *Constantinople*, recorded from some writers, by *Knolles*, was probably a fiction. He had scarcely leisure for such, and at his advanced age, less inclination.

zines in the desert, and to procure a correct map of the unknown regions, from the source of the *Irtish*, to the wall of *China*. With a mighty army of two hundred thousand veteran troops of *Iran* and *Turan*, he set out on a six months' journey, even for a caravan, from *Samarcande* to *Pekin*; but after he had marched about three hundred miles from his capital, and crossed the river *Sihon* on the ice, he was arrested by the hand of death, in the neighbourhood of *Otrar*. *China* was saved; his army disbanded; and fourteen years after, the most powerful of his sons sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to *China*, with a present to the emperor, of the horse that *Timur* rode on the expedition. See *Thevenot's* account of the embassy.

Of all the sons of "*Japhet*," perhaps *Timur* most fully accomplished *Noah's* famous prophecy, of the "*enlargement* of that family, and their *dwelling* in the tents of *Shem*." From the *Irtish* and *Volga*, to the *Persian* Gulph, and from the *Ganges* to *Damascus* and the *Archipelago*, *Asia* was overrun by the Mogul emperor. His ambition was boundless; *Europe* trembled at his name, and *Egypt* and *Africa* dreaded another invasion. The honours of public prayer, and his image and superscription on the coin at *Grand Cairo*, and the rare present of a *giraffe*, or camelopard, and nine ostriches brought to *Samarcande*, evinced the submission and tribute of the *African* world. But his empire was fleeting and transitory, it rose and fell with himself. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests: he invaded *Hindustan*, *Turkestan*, *Kipzack*, or western *Tartary*, and *Russia*; *Armenia*, *Georgia*, *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces; for otherwise surely he would not have sacked and destroyed the flourishing cities of *Delhi*, *Ispahan*, *Carisme*, *Bagdad*, *Bousra*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, &c. where he often marked his abominable trophies by pyramids of human heads, and by utter desolation; and after he had broken down the fabric of their ancient governments, left them without magistrates or troops to all the evils of anarchy, which his invasion either aggravated or produced. Even in *Transoxiana* and *Persia*, which he laboured most to improve and adorn, as the inheritance of his family, the administration of justice was often neglected, and great disorders prevailed during the frequent expeditions and absence of the conqueror; while his children and grand-children were more ambitious to reign than to govern, and

oppressed their subjects, and destroyed each other. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by *Sharokh*, his youngest son, (the father of the celebrated royal astronomer, *Ulug Beg)*, and subsisted till *Abusaid*, Sultan of *Transoxiana* and *Khorasan*. He was slain by *Hassan*, or *Uzun Cassan*, who had usurped the throne of *Persia*, A.H. 872, or A.D. 1467. And the race of *Timur* would have been extinct, had not one of the family of *Miran Schah*, his third son, fled into *Hindustan*, and became the ancestor of *Shah Allum*, the last Mogul. See *Dow's* History of Hindustan, Vol. II.

Though *Timur* shed more human blood perhaps than any of the *scourges of mankind*, called *heroes*, he seems to have felt little or no compunction on that score. Witness his conversation with the *Cadhi* of *Aleppo*, during the barbarous sack of that city.

"You see me here a poor, lame, decrepit mortal! yet by my arms has THE ALMIGHTY been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of *Iran*, *Turan*, and *Hindustan*. *I am not a man of blood;* and God is my witness, that in all my wars, I have never been the aggressor, and that mine enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity!"

Timur's atrocious cruelties originated, perhaps, rather from policy, than from ill nature, and were designed to keep his ferocious subjects in awe, and to intimidate his enemies. Hence he punished no crime more severely than cowardice, and his soldiers had scarcely any alternative but to conquer or die; for flight was sure destruction. And after he had buried alive the garrison of *Sebaste*, *Prusa*, and the other cities of *Anatolia*, opened their gates to him. No general ever understood better the art of *provisioning* and *marshalling* immense masses of troops*. His *commissariat* was admirable, and his camp resembled a great capital, which was abundantly supplied with provisions, and necessaries, and merchandize, from all quarters of the world, because the most rigorous discipline prevailed throughout the whole, and the peasants and merchants were paid in ready money, and could come and go whenever and wherever they pleased, freely, and without molestation.

While he was encamped in *Georgia*, a woman complained to

* Perhaps *Buonaparte* has approached nearer to *Timur*, in these two most difficult and important branches of military tactics, than any other general of ancient or modern times.

him that one of his soldiers had forcibly taken, and drunk her milk. *Timur* immediately ordered his belly to be ripped up, and when he saw the milk in the man's stomach, he ordered the woman to be paid; declaring, that he would have put her to death had her accusation proved false. If a soldier robbed any one, even of an apple, he was sure to be executed on the spot. And it was his boast, that *Asia*, at his accession to the throne, was the prey of anarchy and rapine; whereas, under his severe and inflexible government, a child might carry a purse of gold from the east to the west, secure and unmolested.

Timur was indeed a *hero* of the first class, possessing transcendant abilities of body and mind; to an *iron* constitution, hardened by temperance and exercise, he united a capacious and cultivated understanding. He was a man of letters, fond of conversing with the learned, on topics of history and science *; and he composed *commentaries* of his own life, and *institutions* of his government, and employed secretaries to write *journals* of all the civil and military transactions of his reign; from which *Sherefeddin Ali* compiled a Persic history of *Timur Beg*, which has been translated into French, by *M. Petit de la Croix*, 4 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1722. *Gibbon* praises it for critical accuracy of geography and chronology, and of historical facts, though rather adulatory to his hero.

Timur, in several instances, liberally rewarded learned men: this, however, was but a feeble compensation for the havoc produced by his destructive and wide-wasting conquests, in which many valuable works, and many munificent patrons of learning, were swept away. The barbarous *Ottoman Sultans*, and *Persian Sophis* of the cruel house of *Sefi*, afterwards helped to complete that desolation, which the *Saracens* and *Moguls* began and continued, and to plunge that fairest quarter of the globe, the cradle of the arts and sciences, into its present gloomy state of *ignorance* and *despotism!*

MAHOMET.

This prince was the youngest of the sons of *Bajazet*. He had been appointed governor of *Amasia*, and great part of *Cap-*

* He was fond of the game of *Chess*, and could bear to be beat by a subject. The old game not being sufficiently elaborate for him, he enlarged it from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110, or 130 squares. But his new system expired with him.

padocia, not long before his father's captivity, when he was only fifteen years of age. With great gallantry he maintained his province against several of *Tamerlane's* generals, who came to take possession of it, until the Tartar's death.

When freed, by this event, from foreign enemies, he next turned his arms against his rival brothers. He first defeated *Isa*, and got possession of *Prusa*, the Turkish capital in *Asia*. *Isa* fled to his brother *Solyman*, who was in peaceable possession of *Adrianople*, and the Turkish dominions in *Europe*. *Solyman* sent *Isa* with a powerful army to attack *Mahomet*, but without success. He was routed in battle, and fled into *Carmania*, where he lived and died in obscurity.

To repair this disaster, *Solyman* himself crossed the Hellespont, to invade *Mahomet's* dominions. He took the castle of *Prusa*, by forging a letter from *Mahomet*, desiring the governor to surrender; and afterwards he defeated *Mahomet* in battle. *Mahomet*, therefore, to create a diversion, and find employment for *Solyman* at home, sent over his brother *Musa*, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Angora*, and afterwards liberated by *Tamerlane*, and was now inactive with *Mahomet*, to invade *Solyman's* dominions in *Europe*. In this enterprize, *Musa* was assisted by the prince of *Walachia*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and was acknowledged king by the imperial city of *Adrianople*. This success necessarily recalled *Solyman*, who, by the emperor *Emanuel's* assistance, crossing over the *Bosporus*, with his army, marched to attack *Musa*, and at first gained an advantage; but *Musa* rallying, came upon his brother in the midst of his carousals, who could not be persuaded of his coming, but abused and insulted his officers; cutting off the beard of *Eurenoses*, one of his father's oldest and best captains, as the reward of his intelligence; which so provoked this veteran, that he instantly deserted with his detachment to *Musa*, and was followed by several other captains, detesting the intemperance and indiscretion of *Solyman*. And this prince, repenting too late of his dissolute folly, fled by night towards *Constantinople*, but was betrayed by his guide, and brought to *Musa*, who instantly ordered him to be strangled, A.D. 1405, after he had reigned six years and five months at *Adrianople*. And from this year, *Knolles* dates the accession of *Mahomet*, in which he recovered *Prusa*, and the rest of his *Asiatic* dominions.

Musa was no sooner established at *Adrianople*, than he displaced the officers that had been appointed by *Solyman*, and appointed his own creatures in their room. He aslo alienated the minds of the nobility, by his tyrannical government, and offended the *Christian* princes of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and even the emperor *Emanuel*, by demanding payment of their former tributes.

Taking advantage of his brother's misconduct, *Mahomet*, by the emperor's assistance, crossed the *Bosporus*, and advanced to meet his brother, whom he at first defeated, in a bloody battle, at *Intzug;* but chasing the enemy too far, he was overpowered by his *Janizaries*, and forced to fly to *Constantinople*, and return to his own dominions in *Asia*. Again, in A.D. 1411, he renewed the war, crossed the *Bosporus*, and marched to besiege his brother in *Adrianople;* and *Musa*, being deserted by his allies, fell into the hands of *Balta Ogli*, one of *Mahomet's* captains, after a fierce engagement, who reproached him for his cruelty to his brother, and strangled him, in like manner, with a bow-string, probably by the connivance or order of *Mahomet* *, A.D. 1415; from which year the *Turkish* historians date the sovereignty of *Mahomet*.

The following Latin epigram, and translation of *Knolles*, on the death of *Musa*, deserve to be recorded.

Quid properas, insane, tuum pessundare fratrem?
Nam sceleris tanti præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater
Mox referet; nimis hæc in tua fata ruis!

"Why hastest thou, mad fool, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of such villainy shall to thyself redound;
For look, what mischief thou hast wrought shall turn to thee again;
Why dost thou therefore, foolish man, so hasten on thy pain?"

While *Mahomet* was thus contending with his brother in *Europe*, the Sultan of *Carmania* invaded his territories in *Asia*, took *Prusa*, the capital, and burnt it a second time, after it had been rebuilt. Next year, A.D. 1416, therefore, *Mahomet* returned, invaded *Carmania*, took several towns, defeated and took prisoners the sultan and his son, near *Iconium*, and reduced them to vassalage.

* "This event," says *Gibbon*, "suggested the *pious* allusion, that the law of *Moses* and *Jesus* (of *Isa* and *Mousa*) had been abrogated by the greater *Mahomet*."——The *profane* allusion, equally revolting to *Christians* and *Jews*, and gratifying to *Mahometans*, is perhaps his own.

After this success, *Mahomet* crossed back from *Asia*, imposed a tribute on the prince of *Walachia*, and repressed several insurrections. He built a great mosque and magnificent palace at *Adrianople*, which he made the seat of his government, and firmly established himself in Europe, without molestation from the great Christian powers of the west, who lost the fairest opportunity of driving the Turks out of Europe at least, during the civil wars of *Mahomet* with his brothers, by only occupying the straits of the *Hellespont*, or *Gallipoli*, with a confederate fleet. But the schism between the *Greek* and *Romish* Churches, which bred great acrimony between both, the factions and wars of *France* and *England*, and the commotions in *Italy* and *Germany*, prevented their salutary union against the common enemy of the Christian Faith. They enjoyed the precarious respite, without a thought of futurity, while *Mahomet* was consolidating the union of *Romania* and *Anatolia*, his *European* and *Asiatic* territories, so often rent asunder by the ambition of the Turkish princes, or of pretenders, and may therefore justly be accounted the second founder, or restorer of the *Turkish* empire, by his valour, policy, and perseverance. To secure the throne for his son *Amurath*, he put out the eyes of his nephew *Orchan*, the son of *Solyman*, but allowed him a princely revenue and establishment at *Prusa*.

In his last sickness, he desired his two visirs, *Bajazet* and *Ibrahim* *, to conceal his death, till his son's arrival from *Asia*; which they did, for forty days, by the contrivance of bringing out the dead Sultan to the Janizaries, with a boy concealed under his robe, who lifted his hand to stroke his beard, according to his usual fashion, but as if too weak to speak.

AMURATH II.

The first years of his reign were employed in quelling insurrections raised by the two *Mustaphas*, the one an impostor, who called himself the son of *Bajazet*, the other, his own brother. In the last civil war, he hired *Adorno*, the Genoese governor, with seven stout gallies to transport him from *Asia* to *Europe*,

* *Ibrahim* was highly rewarded by *Amurath* for his virtues and his services. His descendants are the sole *nobles* in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the Sultan. Cantemir, p. 76.

who landed him in the sight of *Mustapha*, near *Gallipoli*; whence he marched with two thousand Italian mercenaries, to the conquest of *Adrianople*, and destruction of his rival. So shamefully did these *Latins* betray the common cause! and justly were they rewarded: in A.D. 1432, he took the famous city of *Thessalonica*, and reduced *Bœotia*, *Phocis*, *Athens*, *Ætolia*, and *Epirus*. He afterwards invaded *Hungary*, and besieged *Belgrade*, on the *Danube*, the key of that kingdom, but was forced to raise the siege, and retreat with great loss, chiefly by the skill and valour of that great general, *Huniades*, who fought several bloody battles with the Turks, and overthrew them; especially at the famous battle of *Wascape*, in *Transylvania*, while he served under *Uladislaus*, king of *Hungary* and *Poland*.

George Castriot, prince of *Epirus*, or *Albania*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, by the Turks, or "Prince *Alexander*," revolted from *Amurath*, in whose court he had been trained and educated, and for the rest of his life proved the greatest annoyance to the Turks, harassing them by a desultory warfare, in co-operation with *Huniades*. So that they were the chief bulwarks, raised up by Providence, to prop the declining Christian cause, and check the overwhelming power of the *Ottoman*, by a series of victories the most brilliant, but not decisive; which are circumstantially told, with much animation, by *Knolles*.

Two dreadful overthrows from *Huniades*, in *Hungary*, and *Scanderbeg*, in *Epirus*, compelled the haughty *Amurath* to conclude a peace for ten years, with king *Uladislaus*, upon the terms of restoring *Servia* to the despot, relinquishing *Moldavia* and *Bulgaria*, promising not to molest the *Hungarian* territories during that term, and to pay 40,000 ducats for the ransom of *Carambey*, his bassa, taken prisoner. This was the most honourable peace hitherto made by any Christian prince with the Turks; and it was ratified by the most solemn oaths on both sides; the Christian plenipotentiaries swearing on the *Holy Evangelists*, and the Turkish, on the *Koran*, in A.D. 1444.

This peace enabled *Amurath* to turn his arms against the Sultan of *Carmania*, whose capital, *Iconium*, he besieged, and compelled him to sue for peace, which was granted, on his wife's entreaty, who was *Amurath's* sister, and on condition of his paying double tribute.

Wearied with continual wars and troubles, *Amurath* resigned

his kingdom to his son *Mahomet*, then a youth of fifteen years old, and appointed *Cali Bassa*, and *Khosroes*, a learned *Mussulman* Doctor, to be his chief councellors and directors. He then retired himself to *Magnesia*, where he led a monastic life with some devout dervishes.

But several of the *Christian* powers were dissatisfied with the late peace, especially *John Palæologus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, and Pope *Eugenius*, whose legate, Cardinal *Julian*, solicited *Uladislaus* to take advantage of the abdication of *Amurath*, form a general confederacy of the Christian powers, and break that hasty peace, so prejudicial to the general cause of Christianity. And the legate, accordingly, gave formal absolution for the breach of their oaths, to king *Uladislaus*, the despot of *Servia*, and *Huniades*, waywode of Transylvania, the principal parties concerned in making the treaty.

Roused from his cell, by their sudden and unprovoked invasion of his dominions, old *Amurath* resumed the reins of government at the solicitation of his people, and even of the young sultan himself, to oppose this formidable confederacy of the Christian powers. He raised a powerful army of sixty thousand men, crossed the *Bosporus*, and marched to attack the enemy at *Varna*, a city of *Bulgaria*, situate near the *Euxine* sea. *Amurath* in the center, opposed *Uladislaus;* and the Beglerbegs, or generals of *Anatolia* and *Romania*, opposed the despot of *Servia*, and *Huniades* in the right and left wings. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; in this crisis, *Amurath* was sore pressed by the *Walachian* and *Transylvanian* horse, and when he saw the crucifix displayed on their standards, he drew forth from his bosom the copy of the treaty, and holding it with uplifted hands and eyes to heaven, he suddenly invoked *Christ:*

Behold, thou crucified Christ, the treaty which thy Christians have made in thy name, and broken, without provocation! If thou be a God, avenge thy wrongs and mine, punish thy perjured people!

His prayer was heard. The impenetrable phalanx of his *Janizaries* bore down all opposition in the center, the perjured *Uladislaus* was slain by their spears, and a Turkish soldier proclaimed, *Hungarians, behold the head of your king!* Ten thousand Christians fell in this disastrous battle; among them, the legate *Julian*, the promoter of the perjury; and *Huniades* him-

self, returning too late, from a rash and intemperate pursuit of the wings, was overpowered, and with great difficulty escaped. The loss of the Turks, however, was great, and *Amurath* regretted a victory so dearly purchased. This bloody battle was fought on the tenth of November, A.D. 1444.

After this fatal breach of faith, victory frequently deserted the heretofore invincible *Huniades*. He was rather a valiant partizan, than a consummate general, and his military life is chequered with a series of romantic exploits and escapes, as the *Chevalier Blanc*, or "*White Knight of Walachia*," under which title he is celebrated by *Philip de Comines*. In the great battle of *Cossava*, A.D. 1448, he sustained another signal defeat, after a resistance of three days, borne down by repeated assaults of fresh *Turkish* squadrons, following the irresistible tactics of *Tamerlane*.

Amurath, to his cost, engaged in a desultory warfare with *Scanderbeg*, who set up the standard of revolt. By his prowess, vigilance, activity and stratagems, he frequently defeated the Turkish bassas sent against him, and at length *Amurath* himself, at the siege of *Croya*, the capital of *Epirus*, A.D. 1450, who died a few months after of grief and vexation, rather than of age and sickness, leaving as his dying advice to his son *Mahomet*, *Never to despise an enemy, be he ever so weak.*

Amurath was a religious, just, and valiant prince, a good king, and a great general. He was more observant of his promise than any of the Turkish emperors, and in his good faith toward the garrison of *Sfetigrade*, he furnished a lesson and example to his son *Mahomet*, who too frequently adopted the Popish casuistry of *not keeping faith with heretics;* and his first care, when he subdued any country, was to build mosques and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year, he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the family of the Prophet, and two thousand five hundred to the religious at *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jerusalem*. But he was peevish and choleric, either from natural moroseness, or soured by repeated defeats from those thunderbolts of war, *Huniades* and *Scanderbeg*. The most striking feature of his character is the double abdication of the throne. For after the battle of *Varna*, he returned to his monastery at *Magnesia*, until reluctantly called again to the helm by his whole divan, to appease, by his authority, the mutiny, and prevent the rebellion of the *Janizaries*, who disdained the inexpe-

rience of the young Sultan, and plundered the city of *Adrianople*. *Amurath*, after trial both of empire and of retirement, in the full liberty of choice, preferred the latter; a rare instance of moderation in a crowned head.

MAHOMET II. THE GREAT.

This young prince at his accession, in his one and twentieth year, followed the barbarous policy of his predecessors in putting two of his brothers to death; one of them an infant of only eighteen months.

He early attempted to make peace with *Scanderbeg*, on moderate conditions, provided he would only pay the former tribute which *Amurath* had demanded, and wrote him several flattering letters; but the Prince of *Epirus* rejected every overture, with scorn, and conducted a long desultory warfare against *Mahomet's* generals, and against his more dangerous arts of corruption by which the Sultan drew off some of his ablest officers to betray and oppose him. The gallantry indeed, and the resources of the *Epirot*, by which he repeatedly foiled the arms and the arts of *Mahomet*, were astonishing; and a most amusing account of his campaigns and stratagems for three and twenty years, against *Amurath* and his more powerful son, is given by *Knolles*. But the wisdom of his measures, and the final success of his arms, may well be questioned. The unequal contest, in which he was deserted and left alone by the *Pope*, the King of *Naples*, and the *Venetians*, who ought to have protected this barrier of *Epirus* against the Turks, only harassed and exhausted his native country; and he sunk, at last, under the colossal power of the *Porte*, as appears from his letter, soliciting a refuge in the ecclesiastical state, from Pope *Pius* II and his dying, at last, a fugitive at *Lissus*, in the *Venetian* territory; as we learn from *Spondanus*, A.D. 1461—1467, and from the testimony of *Phranza*, a refugee in the neighbouring island of *Corfu*, after the capture of *Constantinople* This judicious remark we owe to *Gibbon*.

From the commencement of his reign, *Mahomet* began to make preparations for the siege of *Constantinople*. He first retrenched many superfluous expences of his court, and introduced a more rigid economy; he displaced and punished several public peculators, and he curbed the insolence, and improved the discipline of the *Janizaries;* and by his unrelenting severity

and cruelty, he made himself alike terrible to his friends and his enemies.

His first aggression was to build a strong fortress on the *European* side of the *Bosporus*, about five miles from *Constantinople*, directly opposite to the castle which his grandfather had built on the *Asiatic* side. This gave him the command of the Streight, and enabled him to controul the commerce and intercept the provisions of the city; and when the emperor *Constantine* VIII. sent to remonstrate against the work, he at first coloured it with the pretext, that he only fulfilled a pious vow made by his father at the battle of *Varna*, to erect a fortress on the western shore.—But he soon pulled off the mask. "Return to your master," said he to the ambassadors, "Tell him, that the present Sultan differs widely from his predecessors; *his resolutions* surpass *their wishes;* and *his performance, their resolutions. Return in safety now: the next who dares to come with remonstrances, shall be flayed alive!*"

When his fortification was completed, he began to levy a tribute on the vessels of every nation that passed the streight. A *Venetian* ship refusing obedience to the new lords of the *Bosporus*, was sunk with a shot from their cannon, the master was impaled, and the crew beheaded; and the historian *Ducas* beheld their bodies exposed to the wild beasts!

Next spring, when his immense preparations of every kind were in readiness, he invested *Constantinople* on the 6th of April, A.D. 1453, with a formidable army of 300,000 men, Europeans and Asiatics; including many soldiers of fortune, who were allured to his standard, by the hope of plunder, from *Germany*, *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*. The *Turkish* armament, and their prodigious artillery, first employed in this siege, carrying stone bullets, some of a hundred pounds weight, and one, even of six hundred pounds *, are aptly described in the Apocalypse, by the innumerable *lion-headed horsemen*, vomiting *fire, smoke*, and *brimstone* from their mouths, (or *gunpowder*) to destroy "the third part of men," in *Europe;* "with *serpents'* tails," to propagate their *heresy*. Rev. ix. 16—19.

* A *Turkish* cannon, still more enormous, guards the entrance of the *Dardanelles* at present. If we believe Baron *de Tott*, with 330 pounds of gunpowder, it discharged a stone bullet of *eleven hundred pounds* weight, which at the distance of 600 yards, shivered into three fragments, traversed the streight, leaving the water in a foam, rose again, and rebounded from the opposite hill!! Vol. III. p. 85—89.

The emperor in his last message to *Mahomet* expressed the resignation and fortitude of a Christian soldier.

" Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission can secure peace, pursue your *impious warfare.* My trust is in GOD alone: if it should please him to soften your heart, I should rejoice in the happy change. If he delivers the city into your hand, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall decide between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people."

To oppose this mighty armament, the emperor had only a garrison of six thousand *Greeks,* and three thousand *Venetians* and *Genoese,* and a few galleys and ships of war! He was left alone to maintain the unequal contest, by the listlessness and apathy of the powers of *Christendom;* the western states of *France, Spain,* and *England,* were involved in their endless wars and domestic quarrels; the Pope, *Nicholas* V. was provoked by the falsehood and the obstinacy with which the *union of the Greek and Latin Churches* was often fallaciously agreed to, by the Greek emperors, in their distress, or broken in their respite*; and when he was roused by their last acquiescence, to employ the resources of *Italy, Constantinople* had fallen, before the squadrons of *Genoa* and *Venice* could sail from their harbours! Even in his own capital, the intreaties and tears of the emperor could not prevail on the *Byzantine* nobility and the rich citizens to contribute their aid† and their money to the defence of the walls, and to the payment of the garrison, and supply of provisions, and repairs of the fortifications. They folded their arms, as if resistance was hopeless, they shut their purses, and hid their treasures, to preserve them for the enemy,

* The project of a *reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches,* was connected with that of a *crusade* for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidel Turks, in the fourteenth general Council of *Lyons,* A.D. 1274. It was approved by the Council of *Susa,* in *Armenia,* A.D. 1307, and by the seventeenth general Council of *Basil,* A.D. 1431, and by the eighteenth, of *Florence,* A.D. 1439. It was rejected by the Council of *Constantinople,* A.D. 1450; but subscribed to by the emperor *Constantine,* and the most obsequious of the clergy and laity, about six months before the destruction of the city. And the two nations joined in prayer and communion in the great church of St. *Sophia,* December 12, 1452. But it only kindled the torch of discord. The *Latins* were detested as *heretics* and *infidels,* and the Great Duke was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in *Constantinople* the turban of *Mahomet* than the *Pope's* tiara, or a *Cardinal's* hat! ——He had his wish.

† Only 4970 citizens enrolled their names for the defence of the city, out of the population of 100,000 souls! The list was taken by *Phranza,* the emperor's secretary.

and the two factions, for, and against the *union with the Church of Rome*, were hotly disputing the point; one party attributing their calamities to their *uniting*, the other to their *not uniting;* when the *Turks* broke in, and settled the controversy by destroying or enslaving both *.

Mahomet having sustained a more obstinate resistance from the besieged than he expected, and a great defeat of his fleet, from a few *imperial* and *Genoese* men of war, not more than five, who came with provisions for the supply of the city, in which, several of his ships, and twelve thousand of his men were destroyed; and dreading that these were only the forerunners of a more powerful squadron for the relief of the city, resolved at length to storm *Constantinople*, and the 29th of May was fixed on, from his favourite science of astrology, for the fatal day. To animate his troops, he promised them double pay, and he swore by the most solemn oath, by the immortal God, by the four hundred prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his father's soul, by his children, and by his sword, that he would give them the spoils of the city for three days.

At day-break, therefore, on the 29th of May, *Mahomet* began the general assault, on all sides of the city, with 250,000 Turks, beside 10,000 of his life guards, the sailors and the marines, both by land and sea. The strength and the ammunition of the garrison were exhausted by incessant attacks. A Turkish Janizary, of huge stature, *Hassan*, first scaled the walls, and the valiant Greeks were driven from them, or buried under overwhelming multitudes; the emperor, after performing all the duties of a general and a soldier, fell amidst the tumult, by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. About 2000 Christians were slain in the first irruption, and about 60,000 were sold, exchanged, or dispersed, by the captors, through the provinces of the Turkish empire, and the houses and churches, and public buildings and libraries, were all rifled and pillaged by the rapacious soldiery. Among the prisoners was the historian *Phranza*, the first chamberlain and principal secretary of the emperor, whose family was involved in the common lot of slavery, and his children fell victims to

* It is impossible not be forcibly struck with the present state of parties in a *British Parliament*, disputing for and against *Catholic emancipation*, while the great western Turk, *Ali Buonaparte*, is plotting their common slavery and destruction, by his arts and his arms. (1812.)

the lust of *Mahomet* himself, as he pathetically laments, after he had recovered his freedom *.

Among these hapless victims was a fair Greek, *Irene*, of incomparable beauty and exquisite accomplishments, who captivated the ferocious conqueror himself, with no slight nor transient passion. During a twelvemonth, or more, *Mars* slept in *Venus's* lap. *Mahomet* spent his time in her bewitching society, and neglected the most urgent and important concerns of the state. At length, his first minister and prime favourite, *Mustapha Bassa*, who had been educated with him from his childhood, ventured, at the hazard of his life, to expostulate with his despotic master, upon the probable consequences of such infatuation.

"*What avails the conquest of Constantinople, if you are enslaved yourself? Shake off those golden fetters in which the wily Greek has bound you so fast.——Subdue yourself, and resort again to arms. Your soldiers, if unemployed abroad, will create you trouble at home. Idleness engenders insolence. They say, already, that unless you lead them forth to war, for the glory and enlargement of the Ottoman empire, they will depose you, and set up one of your sons in your stead.*"

Mahomet felt the justice and the force of this honest and friendly remonstrance, without interruption or anger, and gloomily said, *To-morrow, before the sun shall set, my people shall know whether I am able to bridle my affections or not. Order the divan to be assembled at that time, to await my determination.*

That night the tyrant spent, as usual, with his mistress. Next day, he dined with her, and, in the evening, ordered his unsuspecting victim to dress and adorn herself with the utmost splendour and magnificence, graciously presented her with the richest jewels to heighten her charms, and then led her by the hand, like a *Sultana*, to the divan, assembled on the occasion. Then looking round upon the members, he said, *Which of you would easily forego so rare a paragon of beauty, if possessed of such? Speak, and declare your sentiments freely, and without disguise. I give you full permission, on the word of a prince.*

Dazzled by her charms, the whole divan were unanimous in

* Speaking of his son *Amurath*, slain by *Mahomet*, because he preferred death to infamy, he says, "*Ameras*, sua manu jugulavit——volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. Me miserum et infelicem!" Lib. iii. c. 20, 21.

her praise. They all said, that she was worthy of his fondest attachment, and that no man could blame it. He then replied, *Ye shall now see, that no earthly object shall seduce my senses, nor blind my understanding, from supporting the glory and the conquests of my noble Ottoman ancestors.* And then suddenly seizing *Irene* by her hair with one hand, he drew his scymetar with the other, and struck off her head at a blow, to the great terror and amazement of the spectators; and concluded, *Judge now from this, whether your emperor is able to bridle his affections or not* *.

To employ his turbulent troops, and more turbulent self, *Mahomet* resumed his suspended military operations with fresh vigour. The two surviving brothers of the emperor *Constantine*, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the despots of *Peloponnesus*, or the *Morea*, quarrelling with each other, the weaker called in *Mahomet* to his aid, who rid him of the cares of government altogether, by deposing him, and taking from him his daughter as a concubine, about A.D. 1460, when the whole *Morea* was reduced under Turkish subjection.

The state and spirit of *Christendom*, at this woeful period, was admirably described by an able statesman and orator, *Æneas Sylvius*, secretary to the emperor:—"It is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The *Pope* and the *Emperor* may shine as lofty titles, or as splendid images; but *they* are unable to command, and *none* are willing to obey: Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the *English* with the *French*, *Genoa* with *Arragon*, the *Germans* with the natives of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*? If a small number enlisted in the Holy War, they must be

* *Gibbon* questions the truth of this tragic tale, but without adducing any *historic* evidence for its rejection. It is vouched by the judicious and well informed *Busbequius*, and recorded by *Knolles*, and others. A transaction of such public notoriety could scarcely have been invented, and it is perfectly consonant to the brutality and ambition of *Mahomet*, which last absorbed every other passion.

overthrown by the Infidels: if many, by their own weight and confusion."

Yet this same *Æneas*, afterwards, when raised to the papacy, under the name of *Pius* II., vainly and inconsistently strove to rekindle a *crusade* against the Turks. In the council of *Mantua*, he excited some sparks of a false, or feeble enthusiasm; but when he appeared at *Ancona*, to embark in person, with the crusaders, he found there assembled only a few Greek pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband, with indulgencies and alms.

Mahomet sustained some interruption in his designs against the western powers, by his contest with *Hassan*, or *Usun Cassames*, who had subdued *Persia*, and required *Mahomet* not to invade or molest his ally, the emperor of *Trebizonde*, which *Mahomet* haughtily refused, telling him not to dictate to a greater than himself. This roused *Hassan*, who routed *Amurath* the great Bassa, and slew thirty thousand Turks in battle, and afterwards encountered *Mahomet* himself, who defeated the *Persians*, indeed, though with greater loss, in A.D. 1474. Whereupon, these two *Mahometan* princes, to the great disappointment and detriment of the Christian powers, suddenly concluded a treaty of peace with each other.

Mahomet now left at liberty, renewed his attacks on the Christians. He first invaded the *Venetian* territories, in just return for their remissness and neglect to support the gallant *Scanderbeg*, whose death they had abundant cause to regret. He besieged for a long time the strong city of *Scodra*, or *Scutari*, the key of their dominions in *Dalmatia*, which, from its advantageous situation, excited the admiration of *Mahomet* himself, *What a fair and stately place hath the eagle chosen to build her nest in, and hatch her young!* and at length, after a most obstinate resistance, the *Venetians*, wearied out with the war, agreed to surrender it to the *Turks*, in A.D. 1478.

His next step was across the *Adriatic*, to *Apulia*, where *Achmet Bassa*, his most successful captain, took the strong city of *Otranto*, which was weakly garrisoned, and more weakly defended. The capture of this key of Italy, and the sack of the city, spread a general consternation, and Pope *Sixtus* IV. was so alarmed, that he was preparing to forsake *Rome* and fly beyond the *Alps*. Critically, at this juncture, when *Achmet* was resolved to follow up this blow, and all *Italy* stood trembling

and aghast, he was suddenly recalled by his master to *Asia*, in order to oppose a confederacy of the sultan of *Caramania*, the king of *Persia*, and sultan of *Egypt*, who had defeated *Bajazet*, the eldest son of *Mahomet*, with great loss; and when the Turkish sultan had levied a great army with much expedition, and was marching to attack the confederates, he was cut off, on his journey, near *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, by a complaint in his bowels, not without suspicion of poison, in the fifty first year of his age, and thirty-first of his reign, A.D. 1481.

The sudden death of this most artful, most powerful, and most persevering conqueror, in the full vigour of life, and full tide of victory, was most seasonable and providential for the preservation of the *liberties* and *religion* of the west of Europe. Had he not "heard a *rumour*" of war in the east, and recalled his victorious and veteran troops from *Otranto*, "to *his own land*, where *he fell*," *Italy* must (humanly speaking) have been reduced in that campaign, and the standard of *Mahomet* have been displayed at *Rome*; and, probably, afterwards, at *Vienna*, *Paris*, *Madrid*, and *London*, in succession, under this modern *Sennacherib*, rivalling his predecessor in power, blasphemy, and hostility against the name of CHRIST. The tender and sickly plant of THE REFORMATION, then budding, would have been speedily trampled under foot, and the *Romish* and *Reformed* Churches would have been alike converted into *mosques*, and our forefathers have groaned under the miserable thraldom of *Mahometan* superstition and despotism, like the wretched remains of the *Greek* Churches in Europe and Asia. *But praised be* THE LORD *who did not give us over a prey unto the teeth* of these *lions* with *serpents' stings* in their tails! *Who hath delivered us from such great jeopardy; and we trust will still deliver us*, of the most favoured isles, in this *last woe* now inflicting upon *Christendom!* See the note, Vol. III. p. 642, of this work.

Under the successors of *Mahomet the Great*, the limits of the Turkish empire were considerably enlarged, from the *Adriatic* sea, eastward, in *Dalmatia*, *Hungary*, &c *Armenia*, *Persia*, *Syria*, &c. in *Egypt* and the southern coast of the *Mediterranean* sea. It rose to its height, during the reign of *Solyman* the *Magnificent;* and since that time has been gradually declining. The continuance of this *plague*, in full vigour to harass and *slay* the *European* world, was predicted in the Apocalypse to be "*an*

hour, a day, a month, and a year," Rev. ix. 15, which by the most probable interpretation, denotes a period of 391 years and 15 days (more than double the duration of the *Saracen plague* of 150 years) commencing with the capture of the city of *Kutahi* in *Cilicia*, by *Ertogrul*, A.D. 1281, and ending with their last conquest of *Caminiec*, in *Poland*, by *Mahomet* IV. A.D. 1672. See Vol. III. p. 616, 617, of this work.

CAUSES OF THE RISE AND DECLENSION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

These causes are ably traced by *Knolles*, in the *preface* to his history, and in the *appendix*, or *brief discourse of the greatness of the Turkish empire*, from which we shall select the following.

1. The *abilities* and *long reigns* of the ten first sultans, from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1566, giving $26\frac{3}{5}$ years a-piece. All these sultans were men of great talents and great ambition, and in general, remarkably temperate in their diet; and they early trained their *sons* to business and to war, by giving them the administration of provinces and command of armies, with able councellors and generals to advise and direct them.

2. The admirable *constitution* and *discipline* of their armies, which as *standing armies* kept up alike in peace and war, were generally an overmatch for the *militia*, or occasional levies of the *Christian* powers in the west, and the *Mahometan* in the east.

The institution of the *Timariots* and *Azamoglans*, were the two main pillars of their *military government*.

The *Timariots* were *veteran* soldiers, who for their services were rewarded with grants of lands, like the *Beneficiarii* of the *Roman* emperors, which they held under the crown, by *feudal* tenure, they and their heirs, on condition that they should furnish a horseman to serve in the sultan's wars, well armed, at their own cost. The number of these feudal grants increased with their dominions. The twelfth emperor, *Amurath* III. created 40,000 new *Timariots* in his *Persian* conquests alone, and they amounted in all, to 719,000 fighting men; of which 257,000 resided in *Europe*, and 462,000 in *Asia* and *Africa*. These, scattered through the empire, kept every part of it in

awe, being let fly, like falcons on their prey, against any disturbers of the public peace.

Besides the *Timariot* horse, who served without pay, and were called forth occasionally, they had a standing body of cavalry in pay, the *Spahis*, &c. who were remarkable for their discipline and attachment; and out of whom, the great officers of the state were chosen, and raised according to their merit and their services, the *Sanzacs*, *visiers*, *bassas*, and *beglerbegs*. The *sultans* employed also great bodies of light horse, called *Acanzii*, whom they hired from the *Tartars* in the east and the *Walachians* and *Moldavians* in the west, until the latter revolted with the *Transylvanians*.

From the *Azamoglans*, or children of Christians, who were collected every third year, as a tribute, about nine years old, and instructed in the Turkish language and religion, they culled out the most promising boys for strength, activity, and courage, to compose the *Janizaries*, and *Spahis*, or emperor's life guard, like the *Prætorian* guards, among the *Romans*, who were early trained to labour, fatigue, and military exercises, and to great sobriety and moderation in their diet, and strict discipline, and obedience to their officers; and were subject only to their *Aga*, or chief commanding officer. The *Janizaries* were usually selected from the *European* Christians, and formed a body, from ten to twelve thousand men, of the best infantry in the world.

3. Their formidable *artillery* and *fire arms*. *Mahomet* the Great, by these principally, took *Constantinople*. He gave the highest encouragement to the most skilful *Christian* engineers, who were starving at home; and the siege of that city, and the decisive operation of transporting eighty galliots, for twelve miles over land, into the inner harbour of *Constantinople*, in order to batter the walls on that side, with his powerful artillery, was chiefly planned and conducted by their ingenuity.

4. Their numerous *shipping*. The great woods of *Epirus* and *Cilicia*, and the greater of *Nicomedia* and *Trapezonde*, furnished them with timber in abundance. And they employed great numbers of Christian carpenters and shipwrights. When the Turkish fleet was well nigh destroyed in the great sea fight at *Lepanto*, October 7, 1571, the next spring, sultan *Selim* II. repaired, or rebuilt a fleet of two hundred gallies and more, able to cope with the confederate Christian fleet, more nume-

rous than theirs, though the ships were not so large, who faced them at *Cerigo*, though they declined an engagement.

5. The *despotic* sway of the sultans. This gave them a prodigious advantage over their enemies, singly or conjointly. They could apply with secrecy and dispatch, their mighty resources; having only a privy council of the *Vizir Bassas*, which seldom exceeded four, the two *beglerbegs* * of *Romania* and *Anatolia*, being the chief; whereas their enemies, if single, were too weak to contend, if confederated, too divided in their councils, and too slow in their operations. Besides the sultans generally took the field themselves, and witnessed the diligence or tardiness of the *Bassas*, and were alike able and willing to reward the one and punish the other, by summary justice. Their officers, therefore, whose life and honours and fortunes depended on their master's nod, were sure to exert themselves; when the *meanest soldier* might aspire to the greatest honours and preferments of the court and of the camp, as the rewards of his valour or desert; and the *highest Bassa*, or *Aga*, dread disgrace, confiscation of goods, torture or death, for his cowardice, incapacity, or disloyalty.

6. Their contempt of oaths or treaties, with *Christian* powers, any longer than they were bound by their own interest to keep them; such treaties serving as *snares* for their destined victims, and confederates, each in turn; none knowing who would be devoured next.

7. The jealousies and dissentions of the Christian powers, who never could be brought to act together with unanimity and cordiality, and zeal against the common enemy. Insomuch that, as *Knolles* judiciously observes, "*the History of the* TURKS *is nothing else but the true record of the woeful ruins of the greater part of the Christian commonwealth.*" It furnishes indeed the exact prototype of the coalition of the chief *European* powers, against the revolutionary government of *France*, which is so truly *Turkish* throughout in principles and constitution.

The causes of its *declension* and *decay* are also ably set forth by *Knolles*.

"Far be it from me to think," says he, "any enemy of JESUS CHRIST, let his arm be ever so strong, able to withstand his

* *Beglerbegs* signifies "*Loras of Lords.*"

power, or *to devour entirely* HIS *little flock, rage he ever so furiously.*" The sources of his weakness spring even out of the sources of his strength, and from the unwieldiness of his colossal empire.

1. The *Timariot* horse, his greatest strength, are so scattered and dispersed all over the face of the empire, that they cannot easily be collected together upon emergencies. Nor, if they could, would it be safe: for in their absence, the oppressed inhabitants of the several provinces, both *Christians* and *Mahometans*, who are ruled with a rod of iron, would not fail to take that opportunity to revolt. Hence not more than a third of the whole number has ever been levied. And these, serving without pay, and furnished only with their own scanty stores of provisions, they cannot keep the field for any length of time; and still less, the *Acanzii*, or light horse, subsisting chiefly on plunder; and on failure of that, both prone to mutiny, and to disband themselves.

2. The *Janizary* guards, the flower of the infantry, not being *Turkish* citizens, have no natural attachment to their sultans nor their country. They can never forget entirely their Christian origin, nor that cruel state policy which tore them from all the ties of kindred. Hence, from the time of their original formation, when held under the strictest discipline, they were mutinous, and formidable to their founders; they frequently deposed the sultans, or controuled them in the choice of their successors; especially when the sultans grew effeminate, and the discipline of the *Janizaries* relaxed, by the largesses of the sultans at their accession, to this turbulent corps, and the luxuries of the capital. So that the sultans, enslaved themselves, by their slaves, have often attempted, but never dared to dissolve the *Janizaries*, though equally odious to the Turks, for their rapacity and insolence.

3. The frequent *rebellions* of the *great Bassas* in the provinces, who whether they acted well or ill, in office, were sure to incur the envy or jealousy, the avarice or anger, of the monarch and his courtiers; and when ordered to court, were often saluted with the bow-string, or with the confiscation of their wealth.

4. The decline of *population, agriculture*, and *manufactures*, in a country where private property is not only insecure, but mischievous to the owner, who, from the sultan to the peasant,

is liable to be pillaged, and, if he complains, bastinadoed, or beheaded, to boot.

5. The unwieldiness of the empire, now paralyzed in every limb, shews strong symptoms of approaching dissolution, under the *sixth vial* of wrath. But the precise time is known only to Him, in whose unfathomable counsels all these great revolutions of states and empires are from eternity shut up, until they shall be revealed at those proper *times* and *seasons*, which THE FATHER *hath reserved in his own power* or jurisdiction, to support the *patience* and *faith* of the *saints*, and to humble the pride and presumption of short sighted mortals, and for his own glory.

To HIM, who sitteth on the throne of the universe, and to THE LAMB, be ascribed *the blessing*, and *the honour*, and *the glory*, and *the dominion*, for evermore. Amen.

SECTION XIV.

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

LA CHRONOLOGIE DES EGYPTIENS *est ce qu'il y a de plus difficile, et de plus epineux, dans l'Histoire Ancienne.* *Larcher.*

THE ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT *is a labyrinth, from which it is impossible for us, at this day, to extricate ourselves.* *Howard.*

IF we survey the whole range of *ancient Chronology*, there is not, unquestionably, a department so abstruse and intricate as the *Egyptian*, at which we are now arrived. It is, indeed, a *labyrinth*, in which the first scholars and antiquaries have lost and bewildered themselves and their readers, from the days of *Kircher, Scaliger, Usher, Marsham, Newton, Jackson, Vignoles, Jablonski, Bryant, Larcher, Howard,* &c., down to the present day. Its mysteries are not inferior, perhaps, to those of the *Apocalypse*; both running into vast and unknown periods of time; the one before, the other since, the creation of the world.

Great as are the *acknowledged difficulties* of the subject, from the scantiness and imperfection of the original materials, they

have been considerably aggravated by the ignorance, mistakes, or wilful corruptions of national historians, wishing to enhance the *antiquity* of the *Egyptian nation*, as paramount to that of others; and of some modern antiquaries, misrepresenting it as far exceeding the *Mosaic* account of the settlement of the earth, by the families of *Noah's* sons.

But if the *original documents*, still subsisting, and fortunately preserved by the old historians and chronologers, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, *Africanus*, *Syncellus*, &c., be more carefully inspected, and more critically compared, and adjusted by the correcter standard of SACRED CHRONOLOGY, we trust, that many of the difficulties hitherto considered as insuperable, will vanish with *the smoke* that occasioned them, before the *light* of cautious and skilful CRITICISM, whose province it is rather to illustrate what is obscure, and to trace the *surprizing* and *pleasing* harmony and symmetry that will be found to subsist between SACRED and PROFANE HISTORY.

Of these documents, we shall premise some explanatory account.

I. THE OLD EGYPTIAN CHRONICLE.

This was framed from ancient records, and, indeed, with great ingenuity, considered as an *astronomical* cycle, after the conquest of Egypt, by the Persians, B.C. 350, which it includes, and was in high estimation with *Manetho*, who made use of it in his *Egyptian Antiquities*. The Chronicle itself is unhappily lost, but a fragment of it is preserved by *Syncellus*, in his *Chronographia*, p. 51, and given from thence, by *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 95.

"There is an *old Chronicle*," says *Syncellus*, "current among the Egyptians, which I think misled *Manetho*, containing 30 dynasties, during 113 generations, for the immense number of 36,525 years. These dynasties consisted of three classes; the first *Aurites*, the second *Mesraites*, and the third *Egyptians*.

"The time of *Vulcan* [first of the *Aurites*] is not stated, because he shines night and day. *Helius* [*the sun*], the son of *Vulcan*, reigned 30,000 years. Then *Saturn*, and the rest of the *twelve gods*, reigned 3984 years. Then the *demi gods*, who were *eight*, 217 years.

"After them, fifteen generations of the *Cynic* Cycle [or *Mesraites*] are said to have reigned 443 years.

"Next succeeded the sixteenth dynasty [of *Egyptians*,] namely, *Tanites*, [or *Thinites*,] eight generations in 190 years; the seventeenth dynasty of *Memphites*, four generations in 103 years; the eighteenth of *Memphites*, fourteen generations in 348 years; the nineteenth of *Diospolites*, five generations in 194 years; the twentieth dynasty of *Diospolites*, eight generations in 228 years; the twenty-first of *Tanites*, six generations in 121 years; the twenty-second of *Tanites*, three generations in 48 years; the twenty-third of *Diospolites*, two generations in 19 years; the twenty-fourth of *Saites*; three generations in 44 years; the twenty-sixth of *Memphites*, seven generations in 177 years; the twenty-seventh of *Persians*, five generations in 124 years; [the twenty-eighth omitted, but supplied by *Manetho*, of *Saites*, one generation in 6 years;] the twenty-ninth [five generations of *Tanites*, here omitted, but supplied from *Eusebius*] in 39 years; the thirtieth dynasty of *Tanites*, one generation in 18 years.

"The sum of these thirty dynasties is 36,525 years, indicating the celebrated period of the revolution of the Zodiac, among the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*; (or the time of the return of the *vernal* equinoctial point, from the first degree of the sign *Aries*, to the same place again,) as set forth in the *Genesis of Hermes*, and in the *Cyrannic* books."

This curious fragment forms the basis of the *Technical Chronology* of the *Egyptians*, from the beginning of their computations of time, to the end of their kingdom; it is therefore highly valuable: but it is very obscure, from its conciseness, and still more, from its imperfect state. I shall endeavour, in the following table, to restore its integrity in the *dynasties* and *generations*, and to correct some numeral errors that have crept into the *reigns*, by careful comparison with itself, and with the other documents.

I Class. Aurites, or Gods.

DYN.		Gen.	Y.	B.C.
	Vulcan [the supreme God]			
[I]	*Helius* [the Sun]	[1]	30,000	36875
[II—XIII]	Twelve Gods, *Saturn*, &c.	[12]	3,984	6875
[XIV]	Eight Demigods	[8]	217	2891

DYN.		Gen.		Y.	B.C.
	II Class. Mesraites, or Heroes.				
[XV]	*Cynic* Cycle	15	441	443	2674
	III. Class. Egyptians, or Men.				
XVI.	*Tanites*, or *Thinites*	8	(190)	253	2231
XVII.	*Memphites*..... (4)	6	(103)	218	1978
XVIII.	*Memphites*	14	....	348	1760
XIX.	*Diospolites*	5	....	194	1412
XX.	*Diospolites*	8	....	228	1218
XXI.	*Tanites*	6	....	121	990
XXII.	*Tanites*	3	....	48	869
XXIII.	*Diospolites*	2	....	19	821
XXIV.	*Saites*	3	....	44	802
XXV.	*Ethiopians*	3	....	44	758
XXVI.	*Memphites*	7	....	177	714
XXVII.	*Persians*	5	....	124	537
[XXVIII.	*Saites*	1	....	6]	413
XXIX.	[*Tanites*	5]	....	39	407
XXX.	*Tanites*	1	....	18	368
	Persian conquest of *Egypt*	113		36,525	350

In this table, the first 14 dynasties, and 21 generations of the first class, and the 15th dynasty of the second class, omitted in the fragment, are restored; as being the complements of the last 15 dynasties, of the third class; and of the 92 generations of the second and third classes, noticed in the Chronicle, to the whole number of 30 dynasties, and 113 generations. The corrections of the numbers of generations and years, in the XVI., XVII., XXVIII., and XXIX. dynasties, are collected from *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*; so as to complete the whole *astronomical* cycle of 36,525 years; framed by the multiplication of two factors, 1461 by 25; the former denoting the great *Sothiacal* or *canicular* period; the latter, the *lunar* cycle, by which the *Egyptians* adjusted the motions of the sun and moon. For the explanation of these several cycles, see Vol. I. p. 39—42, of this work.

The chronology is adjusted from the conclusion of the Chronicle, B.C. 350, when *Egypt* was finally subdued by *Ochus*, king of *Persia*; whence, counting upwards the dates of the several reigns, we get the highest, B.C. 36, 175, for the era of the beginning of time, or creation of the earth, according to the *Egyptian* hypothesis.

The title of the first class, *Aurites*, is evidently derived from the Hebrew *Aur*, signifying "*light*," and was borrowed from the primitive theology of the *Chaldeans*. See p. 9 of this Vol. The first of these "Gods of Light," *Hephaistos*, or *Vulcan*, the *Mithras* of the *Chaldeans*, was THE SUPREME, shining "day and night," in light inaccessible, or invisible to mortals. See p. 37, note. He was styled in the inscription on the entrance of the Temple at *Heliopolis*, Ἡφαιστος ὁ των θεων πατηρ, "*Hephaistos, the father of the Gods;*" as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Lib. XXII. c. 15. To him, as THE ETERNAL, no period is rightly assigned in the *Chronicle*.

Of the visible Gods, his offspring, the *Sun*, is the most glorious; the first object of the *Zabian* Idolatry, styled also *aur*, or "*light*," Job xxxi. 26. See Vol. II. p. 95, of this work. His reign is reckoned 30,000 years, reaching from the creation of this globe, to the creation of *man;* according to the ancient *Asiatic Mythology*. See this Volume, p. 30, note.

The first of the human race, *Saturn*, corresponded to *Adam;* he and his successors composing the twelve *primary Gods*, namely, 1. *Saturn*, 2. *Jove* *, or *Jupiter*, 3. *Osiris* and *Isis*, 4. *Typhon*, 5. *Horus*, 6. *Mars*, 7. *Hermes* or *Anubis*, 8. *Hercules*, 9. *Apollo*, 10. *Amun*, 11. *Tithoes*, 12. *Sosus;* representing the Antediluvian patriarchs, who reigned during the *golden age* of *Hesiod*, (see Vol. I. p. 243, of this work,) which began, according to the Chronicle, B.C. 6875, higher than the *Indian* and *Babylonian* eras of the Creation, but not so high as the *Alphonsine*. See Vol. I. p. 211. *Pliny* reckoned that the eleventh, *Tithoes*, lived 3600 years before his own time, or about B.C. 3550, which corresponds well enough with the Chronicle, and proves that he was an *Antediluvian*, contemporary with the seventh or eighth Babylonian king of *Berosus*, and with *Noah*. See this Volume, p. 8, and Vol. II. p. 1.

The eight *Demi-gods* of the fourteenth dynasty, and second class, represent *Noah* and his family, "the eight souls saved in the ark," under whose *patriarchal* regimen the *Silver Age* was governed, till the separation of the three great families. The date of the deluge in the Chronicle, B.C. 2891, differs not much from the *Samaritan* date. See Vol. I. p. 215.

The *Mesraites*, of the second class, were evidently *Mesraim*

* This list is given by *Syncellus*, with a judicious correction of the place of *Jove*, by *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 134.

and his descendants, who settled in *Egypt*, and reigned there after the dispersion, during the *Cynic*, or *Heroic* Age; the date of their settlement, B.C. 2674, is rather too high. The son of *Misraim*, or *Misor*, was *Taaut*, or *Thoth*, the second *Hermes*, according to *Sanchoniatho*.

The third class of *Egyptians*, or ordinary kings, beginning with *Menes*, their first king, (as we learn from the parallel dynasties of *Manetho*, recorded by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, and from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*,) began, according to the Chronicle, B.C. 2231, rather too low.

This will, I trust, be found a more intelligible and rational explanation of the *Old Chronicle*, than has been hitherto proposed by *Marsham*, *Jackson*, &c.

II. EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

Manetho was a learned *Egyptian* priest, who, by desire of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, wrote the *Egyptian Antiquities*, from ancient records, and from written pillars, about B.C. 258. He is described by *Ælian*, σοφιας εις ακρον ελαλακοτα ανδρα, "A person arrived at *the summit of wisdom*." Hist. Animal. Lib. 10, c. 16. Unfortunately his work is lost; and we have the more reason to regret the loss, not only from the valuable extract preserved by *Josephus*, of the *Shepherd Dynasty*, but also from the unwarrantable corruptions of his genuine dynasties, by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, mistaking or perverting his drift; which was, to furnish a commentary on the third or last part of the *Old Chronicle*, and some corrections of the last fifteen dynasties; whereas, *Africanus* and *Eusebius* introduced fifteen surreptitious dynasties more, between the genuine XVI and XVII, or first and second dynasties of the third class. This interpolation has hitherto produced inextricable confusion and embarrassment in the Egyptian Chronology, and ill repute to *Manetho*, who has been unjustly charged by *Syncellus* and others with the sins of his corrupters.

Expunging the surreptitious, which *Marsham*, *Jackson*, &c. have laboured in vain to reconcile, by representing them as collateral, or synchronizing with the genuine dynasties; upon the unfounded hypothesis of a distinction without a difference, between *Theban* kings of Upper Egypt, and *Saite*, or *Tanite*, of

Lower Egypt; we shall select the genuine dynasties from the table furnished by the *Universal History*, Vol. i. p. 228, folio.

		AFRICANUS.			EUSEBIUS.		
		K.	Y.	B.C.	K.	Y.	B.C.
XVI.	*Tanites*, or Thinites..	8	253	2218 ..	8	252	2218
XVII.	*Phœnician* Shepherds	6	284	1965 ..	6	250	1966
XVIII.	*Diospolites* *	16	263	1681 ..	16	348	1716
XIX.	*Diospolites*.....	6	209	1418 ..	5	194	1368
XX.	*Diospolites*.....	12	135	1209 ..	12	178	1174
XXI.	*Tanites*	7	130	1074 ..	7	130	996
XXII.	*Bubastites*	9	120	944 ..	3	49	866
XXIII.	*Tanites*	4	89	824 ..	4	44	817
XXIV.	*Saites*.....	1	6	735 ..	1	44	773
XXV.	*Ethiopians*...	3	40	729 ..	3	44	729
XXVI.	*Saites*.....	9	150 6 *m.*	689 ..	9	168	685
XXVII.	*Persians*	8	124 4 *m.*	538 ..	8	120 4 *m.*	517
XXVIII.	*Saites*	[1]	6	414 ..	1	6	397
XXIX.	*Mendesians*	4	20 4 *m.*	408 ..	5	21 5 *m.*	391
XXX.	*Sebennytes*	3	38	388 ..	3	20	370
	Persian conquest	97	1868	350	91	1868	350

These two lists of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* differ from each other, and from the *old Chronicle*, in the number of reigns, 97 and 91; and in their respective lengths; but they remarkably agree in the amounts of the years, 1868, and consequently in their beginnings, B.C. 2218, only 13 years less than the *old Chronicle*, B.C. 2231.

III. CHRONICLE OF ERATOSTHENES.

This learned chronologer, librarian to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, at *Alexandria*, composed a list of 91 *Theban*, or *Egyptian* kings; agreeing in number, but differing in their *Coptic* names from those of the *Old Chronicle* and *Eusebius;* of which, a fragment of 38 reigns is preserved by *Syncellus*. Its affinity to the list of *Eusebius*, so far as it goes, is demonstrated by the identity of the names of the two first kings in both, "*Menes* and *Athoth*." *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 258, has given a corrected list of the fragment, with learned notes, from *Jablonski*, *Vignoles*, &c.

* By order of *Ptolemy Philopator*, the city of *Thebes* was called the great *Diospolis*, or "City of *Jove*." In this list, *Diospolites*, or *Thebans*, *Saites*, *Tanites*, &c. were kings of *all Egypt*, upper and lower.

THEBAN KINGS.

		Y.	B.C.
XVI.	1. *Menes*	62	2220
	2. *Athoth*	59	2158
	3. Athoth II. ..	32	2099
	4. Diabies	19	2067
	5. Pemphos	18	2048
	6. Tægar	79	2030
	7. Stæchius	6	1951
	8. Gosormies ..	30	1945
XVII.	9. Mares	26	1915
	10. Anoiphis	20	1889
	11. Sirius	18	1869
	12. Cnubus	22	1851
	13. Rauosis.....	13	1829
	14. Biuris	10	1816
XVIII.	15. Saophis	29	1806
	16. Sen Saophis..	27	1777
	17. Moscheris...	31	1750
	18. Musthis	33	1719
	19. Pammus	35	1686
	20. Apapus	100	1651
	21. Achescus....	1	1551
	22. Q. *Nitocris* ..	6	1550
	23. Myrtæus	22	1544
	24. Thyosimares.	12	1522
	25. Thinillus	8	1510
	26. Semphracrates	18	1502
	27. Chuther	7	1484
	28. Meures	12	1477
	29. Chomæphtha	11	1466
	30. Ancunius....	60	1454
XIX.	31. Penteathyris.	42	1394
	32. Staremenes..	23	1352
	33. Sistosichermes	55	1329
	34. *Mœris*	43	1274
	35. Siphoas.	5	1231
XX.	36. ——.....	14	1226
	37. *Phruron*, or *Nilus*	5	1212
	38. Amurthæus..	63	1207
	&c.		
		1076	1144

The chronology is determined from an incidental remark of *Dicæarchus*, that from the time of *Nilus*, the 37th king, to the era of the Olympiads, was 436 years. His reign therefore began 436 + B.C. 776 = B.C. 1212. From which epoch, by counting upwards and downwards, the dates of the several reigns are determined. This gives the accession of *Menes*, the first, B.C. 2220, only two years more than *Eusebius* and *Africanus;* and is therefore an additional voucher for the foregoing emendation of their dynasties, by rejecting the fifteen surreptitious dynasties; thus shewing, that their genuine dynasties began at the same time nearly, with the list of *Eratosthenes*, whose "*Theban* kings" were evidently the same as their *Egyptian* kings. For all *Egypt* was originally called *Thebes*, from the name of its oldest city, as we learn from *Herodotus*, B. II. § 15.

This list of *Eratosthenes* is more valuable than those of *Eusebius* and *Africanus;* because some of the names of its kings are found in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus:* such as Q. *Nitocris*, *Mœris*, and *Nilus*, which may help to adjust the chronology of their lists, by comparison with the corresponding *Coptic* or *Egyptian* names, in the others: each of their kings having two

or three names, or titles, as well as the *Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes*, and *Persians*.

The next and fullest document, collected from all the preceding, and furnishing some important corrections of the *Old Chronicle*, which it was principally designed to illustrate, was

IV. CATALOGUE OF EGYPTIAN KINGS BY SYNCELLUS.

DYN.			
XV.	1. *Mestraim*	35	2613
	2. *Curudes*	63	2578
	3. Aristarchus .	34	2515
	4. Spanius	36	2481
	5. ——— 6. ———	72	2445
	7. Serapis	23	2373
	8. Sesonchosis..	49	2350
	9. Amenemes ..	29	2301
	10. Amasis.....	2	2272
	11. Acephtheres	13	2270
	12. Achoreas	9	2257
	13. Amyses	4	2248
	14. Chamosis....	12	2244
	15. Amesises	65	2232
XVI.	16. [*Menes*]	14	2167
	17. Use	50	2153
	18. Rhamesses ..	29	2103
	19. Rhamessemenes	15	2074
	20. Thysimarus..	31	2059
	21. Rhamesseseos	23	2028
	22. Rhamessemeno	19	2005
	23. Rhamessebaites	39	1986
	24. Rhamesses ..	29	1947
	25. *Concharis* [or *Timaios*]	6	1918
XVII.	26. *Silites*	19	1912
	27. *Baion*	44	1893
	28. *Apachnas*....	36	1849
	29. *Apophes*	61	1813
	30. *Sethos*	50	1752
	31. Certus	29	1702
	32. *Asoth*	24	1673
XVIII.	33. *Amosis* or *Tethmosis*	22	1649
	34. Chebron	13	1627
	35. Amephes	15	1614
	36. Amenses	1	1599
	37. *Misphragmuthosis*	16	1598
	38. Misphres	23	1582
	39. Tuthmesis ..	39	1559
	40. Amenophthis	34	1520
	41. Horus	48	1486
	42. Acencheres ..	25	1438
	43. Athoris	29	1413
	44. Cenchares	26	1384
	45. Acheres, 8 or	30	1358
	46. Armais.....	9	1328
	47. Rhamesses ..	68	1319
	48. *Amenophis*, or *Mœris*	8	1251
XIX.	49. Thuoris	17	1243
XX.	50. Nechepsos ..	19	1226
	51. Psammuthis .	13	1207
	52. ————	4	1194
	53. [*Certus*] *Cetus*, or *Proteus*	20	1190
	54. *Rhampses*, or *Pheron*	45	1170
	55. Amenses	26	1125
	56. Ochyras	14	1099
	57. Amedes	27	1085
	58. Thuoris	50	1058
	59. Athethis	28	1008
	60. Cencenes....	39	980
XXI.	61. Vennephes ..	42	941
	62. *Susakin*, or *Susak*, or *Sesak*	34	899
	63. Psuenus.....	25	865
	64. Amenophis ..	9	840
	65. Nephecheres .	6	831
	66. Saites.....	15	825

DYN.			
	67. Psinaches ...	9	810
XXIII.	68. Petribastes ..	44	801
	69. Ososthon....	9	757
	70. Psaminus....	10	748
	71. Concharis ...	21	738
	72. Ososthon....	15	717
	73. Tacelophes...	13	702
XXIV.	74. *Bocchoris*....	44	689
XXV.	75. *Sabacon*, or *So*	12	645
	76. Sebecon.....	12	633
XXVI.	77. Taraces	20	620
	78. Amaes	38	601
	79. Stephinathes .	27	563
	80. Nacepsus....	13	536
	81. Nechaab I. ..	8	523
XXVII.	82. *Psammeticus* .	14	515
	83. Necaab II. or *Nekus*, or *Necho* ...	9	501
	84. Psammuthis..	17	492
	85. Vaphres, *Apries*, or *Hophra*..	34	475
	86. *Amasis*.....	50	441
XXVIII.	87. *Amyrtæus*....	6	391
XXIX.	88. Nepherites ..	6	385
	89. Achoris	13	379
	90. Psammuthis..	2	366
	91. Menas	4	364
	92. *Nectanebus* ..	8	360
XXX.	93. Teos.....	2	352
	Conquest of *Egypt*	2263	350

This table is taken from the *Universal History*, Vol. I. p. 232, folio, with some necessary additions and corrections.

1. The several dynasties of the *Old Chronicle* are annexed, to mark the general correspondence throughout, in its 92 last reigns.

2. The chasm of the sixteenth reign is here filled up with *Menes*, the first king of the third class. In these dynasties, the number of reigns is occasionally varied, to correspond better with the tenor of the history in the other documents. Thus, the XVIIth, or *Memphite* dynasty, instead of six reigns, as in the Old Chronicle, includes seven, as determined by the genuine *Shepherd Dynasty* of *Manetho*, preserved by *Josephus;* and from the names of the Shepherd kings in *Manetho*, here preserved, *Silites*, *Baion*, &c. it appears, that the 25th king, *Concharis*, is the *Timaios*, or *Thamuz*, of *Manetho*, dethroned by the *Arabian* shepherds; who invaded Egypt in his days. The 53d king, *Certus*, is plainly an error for *Cetus*, or *Cetes*, as he is called by *Diodorus;* and *Proteus*, by *Herodotus*, who reigned during the *Trojan* war; and whose successor, *Rhampses*, is called *Pheron*, by *Herodotus*. The 62d king, *Susakim*, is unquestionably the *Susak*, or *Sesak*, of Scripture, who invaded *Rehoboam*. The 75th, *Sabacon*, is the *So* of Scripture, the *Ethiopian*, who reigned in *Egypt*. And the 83d, *Nekaab* II, the *Nekus* of *Herodotus*, or the *Pharaoh Necho* of Scripture.

3. From the chronology annexed, as in the foregoing tables,

to the years of the reigns, (which are carefully retained from *Syncellus)* some curious coincidences of *Sacred* and *Egyptian Chronology* are detected. 1. It gives the corrected accession of *Mestraim*, or settlement of *Misraim's* family in *Egypt*, B.C. 2613, which only differs a single year from the established date, B.C. 2614, in the present system of Chronology. See Vol. II. p. 44, of this work. This shews the superior accuracy of the Chronicle of *Syncellus* *, above the *Old Chronicle*, which dated it sixty years earlier, B.C. 2674, as we have seen. 2. It gives the accession of the 33d king, *Amosis*, or *Tethmosis*, B.C. 1649, which differs only a year from the established date of the *Exode* of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, B.C. 1648. Such coincidences of *Sacred* and *Profane* Chronology, derived from totally different and independent sources, furnish the strongest presumption, that the general system proposed in this work is solidly founded. From the comparison of the foregoing parallel Chronicles, it further appears, that whatever variations may subsist among the Chronographers, respecting the numbers and lengths of reigns in the *detail*, yet they remarkably agree in entire *periods*, handed down from their predecessors, which approach very near each other, in their beginnings and lengths, as we have seen. Hence it follows, that particular dates, in the detail of reigns, will not seldom require correction. Thus, the accession of *Susak*, in the Catalogue of *Syncellus*, B.C. 899, is too low: for he invaded *Rehoboam*, and plundered the temple of *Jerusalem*, B.C. 986. However, we can approximate very nearly to the true date, by the rule of *double false position.*

1. From the accession of *Tethmosis*, the 33d king, B.C. 1649, to the accession of *Susak*, the 62d, B.C. 899, is an interval of 28 reigns in 750 years, or nearly 27 years a-piece, at an average. This is too high. Again, from the accession of *Susak*, B.C. 899, to the end, B.C. 350, we have an interval of 31 reigns in 549 years; above 17 years a-piece. This is too low. But if we divide the whole interval, $750+549=1299$ years, by the whole number of reigns, $28+31=59$, we get the correct average of reigns 22 years, conformable to the Theory. See Vol. I. p. 82, of this work.

* Not understanding the drift of *Syncellus*, *Jackson* has censured his catalogue; and represented him as having "grossly misunderstood and misrepresented the Dynasties of *Manetho;* and puzzled, more than explained them." Vol. II. p. 144, 153. The censure recoils on himself.

2. If now we multiply the upper series of reigns, 28 by 22, and substract the product, 616 years, from the true upper date, B.C. 1649, the remainder, B.C. 1033, gives an amended date of the accession of *Susak*. And again, if we multiply the lower series of reigns, 31 by 22, and add the product, 682 years, to the true lowest date, B.C. 350, we get another amended date, B.C. 1032, concurring with the former. We may rest assured therefore, that *Susak* began to reign on, or about, B.C. 1032, or 133 years earlier than the Catalogue. The invasion of *Judea* therefore, B.C. 986, happened in the forty-sixth year of his reign; but, as the *Cephrenes* of *Herodotus*, he reigned 56 years: thus correcting another error in *Syncellus*, of 34 years only.

Thus do these several documents, even in their acknowledged errors, furnish sources of emendation, when cautiously and skilfully compared together.

V. HERODOTUS.

This inquisitive traveller, and intelligent historian, received from the *Egyptian* priests, extravagant and enormous accounts of their remote antiquity, differing considerably from these authentic documents.

Reversing the order of the primary and secondary Gods, in the *Old Chronicle*, they represented the eight Demigods, as first in point of time; and *Pan*, as the oldest of the eight, (corresponding to *Vulcan.)* They represented *Hercules*, one of the twelve Gods, as born above 17,000 years before *Amasis:* and *Bacchus*, of the third order of heroes, as not less than 15,000 years before *Amasis*, (whose accession took place about B.C. 569.)

Herodotus evidently disbelieved these reports; and exposed their absurdity, by contrasting them with the Greek *Theogony*, which, though derived from *Egypt*, differed widely; for that the Greeks reckoned *Pan* the youngest of all the Gods, the son of *Penelope* (by *Mercury* *) not older than 800 years back, from the time of *Herodotus*, or shortly before the siege of *Troy*; and *Hercules*, the son of *Alcmena*, they reckoned not more than 900

* *Lucian*, in his Dialogues of the Gods, has introduced a humourous one between the goat-footed *Pan* and his father *Mercury*, who was rather ashamed to acknowledge such a son.

years back; and *Bacchus*, the son of *Semele*, the daughter of *Cadmus*, not more than 1600 years back; all, in direct opposition to the *Egyptian* accounts, though the Greeks derived the names of their Gods from *Egypt*. Hence he evidently insinuates, that the *Egyptian* accounts were fabricated since. But he writes with great caution and reserve on this delicate and dangerous subject. "The discourses of the *Egyptian* priests, touching *Theology*, I am not very willing to publish, *supposing that all men think alike concerning them:* and if I shall say any thing about *Religion*, it shall be no more than I am forced to do, by the tenor of my subject. I shall only relate the *names* of their Gods." And again: "I desire the *Gods* and *Heroes* to take in good part, what I have said concerning these matters." Compare B. II. § 3, 43, 45, 52, 145.

The *Egyptian* priests likewise corrupted the Chronology of the *Egyptian* kings. They reckoned from *Menes* the first, in succession to the *heroes*, 330 kings to *Mœris*, and from *Mœris* to *Sethos*, priest of *Vulcan*, or 341 kings from *Menes* to *Sethos*, in a period of 11,340 years, counting their reigns equivalent to mean generations, of three to a century. And they reckoned an equal number of high priests in that period, whose wooden statues they shewed *Herodotus*, ranged in a spacious temple. Compare B. II. § 100, 142, 143.

Herodotus evidently disbelieved their report; for he noticed only a single reign from *Menes* to *Mœris*, namely, Queen *Nitocris:* "passing over all the rest in silence, *because none of them performed any thing memorable.*" B. II. § 100, 101. He has indeed noticed eleven reigns between *Mœris* and *Sethos*, as remarkable; but he plainly intimates, that there were more in reality, from the considerable interval between both. "*Mœris* had not been 900 years dead, when he received this information." B. II. § 13. But *Herodotus* visited *Egypt* about B.C. 448 *. *Mœris* therefore died not earlier than B.C. 1348, and the accession of *Sethos* was about B.C. 713; some time before *Sennacherib's* invasion, in his reign, which is noticed by *Herodotus*, B. II. § 141; the true date of which, B.C. 711, he could

* *Herodotus* visited *Egypt* in the interval between the death of *Cimon*, Olymp. 82, 4, or B.C. 449, and the recital of part of his History at a public assembly in *Athens*, with great applause, Olymp. 83, 3, or B.C. 446, as we learn from *Eusebius*, Chronicon. We are warranted therefore to date his visit to *Egypt*, in the beginning of his travels, B.C. 448.

scarcely have been ignorant of, from his knowledge of *Assyrian* affairs. This would leave an interval of more than 500 years, between the death of *Mœris* and accession of *Sethos*, which would occupy fifteen reigns at least, supposing reigns equivalent to mean generations, and more, according to the correct standard. He has, indeed, expressed his sentiments on the *Egyptian* reports, in the following terms: "These things are related by the *Egyptians*, and if any one think them *credible*, he is at liberty: *as for me, I am obliged to write what I have heard.*" B. II. § 123. And near the end of his history, he enters the following general protest: "I am obliged to relate what is told, but *I am not obliged to believe every thing indiscriminately; which I desire may be understood in the whole course of this History.*" B. VII. § 152.

The censure therefore of *Diodorus Siculus*, is unfounded, that "*Herodotus* wilfully preferred extravagant tales and fictions to truth; wishing rather to amuse than instruct his readers." This vindication is due to the venerable *Father of History*.

VI. DIODORUS SICULUS.

In the interval of time elapsed between *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, of near 400 years, the *Egyptian* priests greatly enlarged their fabulous Chronology. This will most clearly appear from the following comparison of their respective Chronicles.

HERODOTUS.	DIODORUS.	Y.
1. *Menes*	*Menas*, or *Mnevis*.	
	Many ages.	
	Gnephachthus.	
	52 reigns for 1400 years.	
329 reigns	*Busiris*.	
	7 reigns.	
	Busiris II.	
	Osymanduas.	
	7 reigns.	
(Nitocris)	*Uchoreus*.	
	12 reigns.	
2. *Mœris*	*Mœris*, or *Myris*.	
	6 reigns.	
3. *Sesostris*	*Sesoosis*, or *Sesostris*	33

HERODOTUS.	Y.	DIODORUS	Y.
4. *Pheron*		*Sesoosis* II.	
		Many ages.	
		Ammosis.	
		Actisanes, the Ethiopian.	
		Mendes, or *Marus.*	
		Interregnum.	
		5 reigns..	
5. *Proteus*		*Cetes,* or *Proteus.*	
6. *Rhampsinitus*		*Remphis.*	
		6 reigns.	
		Nilus.	
7. *Cheops*.....	50	*Chemmis,* or *Chembes*.....	50
8. *Cephrenes*	56	*Cephres*	56
9. *Mycerinus*		*Mycerinus,* or *Cherinus.*	
10. *Ayschis*		*Bocchoris*	
11. *Anysis*			
12. *Sabaco*..	50	*Sabach,* or *Sabaco.*	
Anysis again.		Interregnum	2
13. *Sethos*			
14. 12 Kings		12 kings.....	15
Psammeticus	50	*Psammeticus.*	
15. *Nekus*		4 reigns.	
16. *Psammis*			
17. *Apries*.....	25	*Apries*.....	22
18. *Amasis*.....	44	*Amasis*...	55

The forgeries of the *Egyptian* priests are obvious in the later Chronicle: to *Diodorus* they foisted in many reigns, after *Mœris,* between kings whom they had represented to *Herodotus* as contiguous. But *Diodorus* was not imposed upon, any more than *Herodotus.* He reckoned the amount of the reigns of the genuine kings, not much more than 4700 years. This is still too high; more than double the true amount; though less than half the computation of the Egyptian priests to *Herodotus.*

From all these early materials and original documents, carefully and critically compared, and occasionally adjusted by *Sacred Chronology* and *Indian* antiquities, I shall endeavour to frame a consistent fabric, and connected series of *Egyptian Dynasties;* which, like the *pyramids* *, may rest upon a solid base and permanent foundation; and correct the visionary and

* Exegi monumentum *ære* perennius,
Regalique situ *Pyramidum* altius, &c. *Hor.*

erroneous Canons of *Egyptian Chronology*, obtruded on the world by *Larcher*, as the genuine system of *Herodotus* *.

LARCHER'S EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The learned and ingenious, but fanciful and sceptical *Larcher*, in the second edition of his excellent *French* translation, and elaborate notes on *Herodotus*, has published the following formal recantations of his scepticism, in the first edition.

"The *credibility* and the *authenticity* of SCRIPTURE, rest upon the most solid basis. It is an immoveable *rock*, against which the waves of *Infidelity* break themselves in vain." [Matt. vii. 24, 25.] Vol. II. p. 564.

"In fine, thoroughly convinced of all the truths taught by the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, I have retrenched, or reformed, *all the notes* that might injure it. From some of these, consequences have been drawn, which I disapprove, and which are far from my thoughts; others indeed, I must frankly avow, for the acquittal of my conscience, contain matters, which, I find, upon maturer examination, and profounder researches, either *too slightly founded*, or *absolutely false*.

"THE TRUTH cannot fail to gain by this *avowal*. To her alone, have I consecrated all my lucubrations. I am anxious to return to her, from the time that I thought I had discovered her better. May this homage, which I now render her, with the most heartfelt sincerity, procure me *absolution* from all the *errors* I might have incurred, and which I have sought to propagate!" Pref. p. xxxviii.

This open and candid confession and retractation of his former errors, is highly honourable to *Larcher*; and from a scholar of his celebrity, cannot fail to serve the cause of TRUTH and of SCRIPTURE, which are one and the same. It is therefore the more to be regretted, that he did not revise and correct his Scheme of *Egyptian Chronology*, according to *Herodotus*; which is not less at variance with that venerable Father of History, than with Holy Writ; and remains unaltered, with all its errors and imperfections, in the second, and in other respects improved edition of his work, 8vo. 1802. The first edition was published in 1786, 7 tomes, 8vo.

This Scheme is delivered and explained in a long and elaborate *Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus*, which occupies the greater part of the sixth volume, and therefore comes recommended, by specious and imposing authority, to the reader. The following will, I hope, be found a correct, and a clearer outline of his Scheme, Vol. VI. chap. i. § 10—13.

I PERIOD.

B.C.

The *Theocracy* established in *Egypt*.
The *High Priests* of the 8 *most ancient Gods*, govern the country.
N.B. We are ignorant when the reigns of both commenced.

II PERIOD.

The *High Priests* of the 12 *following Gods* possess themselves of the government, and begin to reign, [17000 *years before Amasis*.] 17570

The *High Priests* of the *Gods of the third order* succeed them. First, the High Priest of *Osiris*, [15000 years before *Amasis*.] 15570

The *High Priests* of *Orus* dispossess them.

III PERIOD.

		Y.	B.C.
Menes, the first king	Eratosth.	62 ..	12356
329 kings.....	[10870] ..		12294
Mœris.....	Vecchietti	68 ..	1424

I. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

PRIMARY GODS, 2256 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
Saturn, or *Adam*	2256 ..	5411
12 Generations, *ending* with the deluge.....	..	3155

		Y.	
Sesostris.....		44 ..	1356
Pheron		18 ..	1312
Proteus		50 ..	1294
Paris and *Helen* arrive in *Egypt* 20 years before B.C. 1270, *Larcher's* misdate of the destruction of *Troy*		..	1290
Rhampsinitus	Manetho	66 ..	1244
Cheops	Herodotu	50 ..	1178
Cephrenus	Herodot.	56 ..	1128
Mycerinus		20 ..	1072
Asychis		40 ..	1052
Anysis		1 ..	1012
An *Ethiopian* prince [*Bocchoris*]		50 ..	1011
Anysis again, quitting the Isle of *Elbo*..		7 ..	961
A chasm of 191 years	(241)	191 ..	954
Sabaco, the Ethiopian	Herodot.	50 ..	763
Sethos, priest of *Vulcan*		40 ..	713
——— defeats the *Assyrians*.....		..	712
Interregnum	Diodor.	2 ..	673
12 joint kings	Diodor.	15 ..	671
Psammeticus alone	Herodot.	39 ..	656
Nekos	Herodot.	16 ..	617
Psammis	Herodot.	6 ..	601
Aprics	Herodot.	25 ..	595
Amasis	Herodot.	44 ..	570
Psammenitus	Herodot.....	6 m.	530
Cambyses conquers *Egypt*.....			525
Amyrtæus retreats to the Isle of *Elbo*, 503 years after *Anysis* issued from thence			458

Larcher prefaces this *Scheme*, with the following proviso, to his readers.

"The *Chronology* of *Herodotus* would appear to me clothed with the *character of truth*; and I should be tempted to admit it, if the authority of the SACRED BOOKS would have permitted me. If, in the sequel, I advance any proposition which may seem contrary to this avowal, I beg the reader to believe, that I only do so in regard to the author's system, and that I sincerely disavow all the consequences that may be drawn from thence.

"The *Egyptian Annals* would become *probable*, if we supposed *the world to be eternal*; or else, that it began at a *period much more remote* than that assigned in SCRIPTURE: but they cease to be so, when we admit this same Scripture. Ah! who can hesitate between a work *divinely inspired*, and annals which cannot have the same degree of *credibility?*"

This is an insidious recommendation of his own scheme, as "*probable* in itself," and "clothed with the character of *truth*," did not the *eternity*, or *vast antiquity* of the

II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

Demigods and Heroes, 743 years.

	Y.	B.C.
1. *Noah* and *his sons*	542	.. 3155
2. *Misraim* and his successors	201	.. 2613
End of the *Heroic* age	743	.. 2412

world, which it inculcates, militate against the *Mosaical* account of the creation; whose *inspiration* indeed he speciously admits in *name*, but denies in *fact* *.

But his Scheme is "clothed with the character of *falsehood*," throughout: for 1. It misrepresents *Herodotus;* and 2. Is *erroneous* in itself.

1. His first and second periods, and third, before *Mœris*, are not warranted by *Herodotus;* who evidently discredited the exaggerations of the *Egyptian* priests, respecting the enormous reigns of the *primary* and *secondary Gods* and *Heroes*, as contrasted with the shorter and less revolting *Grecian* Theology. And where did he find the priests of *Osiris*, dispossessed by the priests of *Orus?* Not in *Herodotus*, surely. This sober historian all along distinguishes the *kings* from the *priests*, until the solitary instance of *Sethos*, priest of *Vulcan*, in whom the regal authority was united, but ceased again after his death. Indeed, *Larcher's* whole scheme of governing *High Priests*, seems to have been fabricated to throw an odium on the sacred order, as *ambitious* and *rebellious*, from the earliest times. The case of the *Jewish Theocracy*, and *Samuel the Judge*, on which he grounds it, 1 Sam. viii. 1—7, is utterly irrelevant.

2. The fundamental date of *Amyrtæus'* flight to the fens, B.C. 458, on which his Chronology is built, should be lowered to B.C. 407, which is the date furnished by *Diodorus Siculus*.

3. The assumed interval of 503 years, between *Amyrtæus* and *Anysis*, is founded upon an arbitrary substitution of 500, instead of 300, the true correction of the false number 700, in the text of *Herodotus*, B. II. § 140, as proved here in the text. This is the fundamental error of *Larcher's* system, raising it in general 200 years higher than the truth.

4. The chasm of 241 years, which he notices, is unskilfully stated, too long, and misplaced: as including 50 years of *Sabaco*, by his own account, it should be reduced to 191 years; but this is too long: it was only 151 years, as proved here, in the text. And it followed *Mycerinus*, rather than *Anysis*. He reverses the order of *Herodotus*, in placing the restoration of *Anysis*, before *Sabaco's* reign. And he misrepresents *Anysis* as first expelled by an *Ethiopian* prince, (*Bocchoris*, or *Asychis*, whom he omits to name), whereas *Herodotus* expressly represents him as expelled by *Sabaco*.

5. From this accumulation of errors in excess, all his dates from *Amyrtæus* upwards, to *Mœris*, are too high; and from *Mœris* to *Menes*, extravagant. Contradicting not only *Herodotus*, rightly understood, but all the other ancient *Egyptian* documents, which he produces, but has equally misrepresented.

The only correct dates in his whole System, are the accession of *Sethos*, B.C. 713, as determined by *Sennacherib's* invasion, and the invasion of *Cambyses*, B.C. 525.

In

* Like the *Epicurean Atheists* of old.——Deos, *nomine* ponunt, *re* tollunt. As described by *Cicero*.

III. EGYPTIANS.

FIRST DYNASTY, 253 YEARS.

	Y.		B.C.
Menes and his successors, &c. *ending* with *Timaus*, or *Concharis*	253	..	2412 2159

SECOND DYNASTY, SHEPHERD KINGS, 260 YEARS.

1. *Salatis, Silites,* or *Nirmaryada*	19	.	2159
2. *Baion, Byon,* or *Babya*	44	..	2140
3. *Apachnes, Pachnan,* or *Rucma*	37 7 m.	..	2096
First pyramid begun about		..	2095
Abraham visits *Egypt* about		..	2077
4. *Apophes*	61	..	2059
5. *Janias, or Sethos*	50 1 m.	..	1998
6. *Assis,* or *Aseth*	49 2 m.	..	1948
Expulsion of the *Shepherds*	260	..	1899

THIRD DYNASTY, NATIVE KINGS, 251 YEARS.

Alisphragmuthosis, &c	27	..	1899
Joseph appointed Governor, or Regent	9	..	1872
Jacob's family settle in *Goshen*	215	..	1863
Death of *Joseph*		..	1792
Queen *Nitocris*		..	1742
Exode of the *Israelites*	251	..	1648

FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 YEARS.

1. *Amosis, Tethmosis,* or *Thummosis*	25 4 m.	..	1648
2. *Chebron*	13	..	1623
3. *Amenophis* I.	20 7 m.	..	1610
4. *Amesses*	21 9 m.	..	1589
5. *Mephres*	12 9 m.	..	1567
6. *Misphragmuthosis*	25 10 m.	..	1554

In *Larcher's* system of *Egyptian Chronology*, "all is false and hollow;" *false*, in principles and construction; *hollow*, in professions of regard for *Herodotus*, whom he misrepresents; and of veneration for SCRIPTURE, which, *Judas* like, he betrays with a kiss; labouring with a shew of learning, to make the worse appear the better reason. Indeed, to adopt and pursue his own evangelical imagery, it is built upon *the sand*, and can neither withstand the *wind* nor the *rain* of sacred and skilful criticism, beating against it, till it falls, with great ruin, into merited contempt, henceforward; destined to rise no more. (Matt. vii. 26, 27.) Like the Pyramids of *Mœris*, it will soon disappear in the lake of *Lethe*, or oblivion. Such is the just reward of talents perverted and misapplied! They may blaze for a moment, but are quickly extinguished.

	Y.		B.C.
7. *Thmosis*, or *Tethmosis*	9	8 m.	1528
8. *Amenophis* II.	30	5 m.	1518
9. *Orus*, or *Horus*	36	5 m.	1488
10. *Acenchris*	12	1 m.	1452
11. *Rathosis*	9	..	1440
12. *Acencheres* I.	12	5 m.	1431
13. *Acencheres* II.	20	3 m.	1418
14. *Armais*, or *Harmais*	4	1 m.	1398
15. *Ramesses*	1	4 m.	1394
16. *Harmesses*	66	2 m.	1393
17. *Amenophis* III. or *Mœris*	19	6 m.	1327
Death of *Mœris*	340	7 m.	1308

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS.

1. *Sethos*, *Sethosis*, *Sesostris*, or *Osymandes*	33	..	1308
2. *Rampses*, or *Pheron*	61	..	1275
3. *Cetes*, or *Proteus*, or *Ramesses*	50	..	1214
Paris and *Helen* driven to *Egypt*		..	1194
Menelaus comes to *Egypt*		..	1183
4. *Amenophis* IV.	40	..	1164
Fictitious expulsion of the *Israelites*		..	1130
5. *Rampsinites*	42	..	1124
6. *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*	50	..	1082
7. *Cephrines*, *Cephres*, or *Sesak*	56	..	1032
——— invades *Rehoboam*		..	986
8. *Mycerinus*, or *Cherinus*	10	..	976
His death	342	..	966

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS.

A chasm	151	..	966
1. *Bocchoris*, or *Asychis*	44	..	815
2. *Anysis*,	2	..	771
3. *Sabacon* or *Soa*, or *So*	50	..	769
Anysis again	6	..	719
4. *Sebecon*, or *Sethos*	40	..	713
Sennacherib invades *Egypt*		..	711
End of the period	293	..	673

SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS.

12 Contemporary Kings	15	..	673
2. *Psammiticus*	39	..	658
3. *Nekus*, or *Pharaoh Necho*	16	..	619
—— kills *Josiah*, and takes *Cadytis* or *Jerusalem*		..	608

	Y.		B.C.
4. *Psammis*	6		603
5. *Apries*, or *Pharaoh Hophrà*	28	..	597.
Nebuchadnezzar ravages *Egypt*		..	570
6. *Amasis*	44	..	569
Solon's visit about		..	554
Cyrus conquers *Egypt*		..	535
7. *Psammenitus*, I. Revolt of *Egypt*	6 m.	..	525
	148		

EIGHTH DYNASTY, PERSIAN KINGS, 112 YEARS.

1. *Cambyses* reduces *Egypt* I. *Persian* Administration	38	..	525
2. *Darius Hystaspes*, II. Revolt of *Egypt*	3	..	487
3. *Xerxes* reduces *Egypt* II. *Persian* Administration	24	..	484
4. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, III. Revolt of *Egypt*	4	..	460
——— reduces *Egypt* III. *Persian* Administration	43	..	456
Herodotus visits *Egypt*		..	448
5. *Darius Nothus*, IV. Revolt of *Egypt*	112	..	413

NINTH DYNASTY, EGYPTIAN KINGS, 81 YEARS.

1. *Amyrtæus*	6	..	413
2. *Pausiris*	6	..	407
3. *Psammeticus*, II.	6	..	401
4. *Nephereus*	6	..	395
5. *Acoris*	14	..	389
6. *Nectanebis*	12	..	375
7. *Tachus*, or *Tæos*	2	..	363
8. *Nectanebus*	11	..	361
Ochus reduces *Egypt* IV. *Persian* Administration	18	..	350
Alexander conquers *Egypt*	81	..	332

TENTH DYNASTY, MACEDO-GRECIANS, 302 YEARS.

This last dynasty is given in *Ptolomy's* Canon, ending with the death of *Cleopatra*, and conquest of *Egypt* by the *Romans*. See Vol. I. p. 164, of this work.

In adjusting the Chronology of the *first period*, I have reduced the excessive period of 3984 years, in the *Old Chronicle*,

to the correct period of 2256 years, from the creation to the deluge. And this correction is warranted by the *Oriental* historians. The *Tharik al Thabari* notices a race of *Præadamite Demons*, among whom they ranked *Jan ben Jan*, the supposed builder of the *pyramids of Egypt*. After them, it notices an *Antediluvian* dynasty of seventeen *Egyptian* kings, beginning with *Kraus*, the sixth from *Adam;* under the last of whom, *Firaoun*, came on the universal deluge, in the year 2156 *, after the creation of man. This was occasioned by the wickedness of the world in general, and of *Firaoun* in particular; after he had written to king *Darmasel*, in whose dominions the prophet *Noah* dwelt, to *put him to death*, and *to burn the ark he was building*. But this conspiracy was defeated by the *Egyptian* High Priest, who favoured *Noah*, and married his own daughter to one of his sons, and was saved himself, with *Noah*, in the ark. See Univers. Hist. Vol. I. p. 278—280, folio.

On the other hand, in the *second period*, I have encreased the Patriarchal administration of the Eight Demigods, *Noah* and his sons, from 217 to 542 years, till the separation of those primitive families. By this compensation of errors in excess and defect, the amount of the reigns of the *Gods* and *Demigods* approaches nearer to the true amount, than either singly.

In the *third period*, I have raised the date of the first king, *Menes*, from *Syncellus*, B.C. 2167, *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, B.C. 2218; *Eratosthenes*, B.C. 2220, and the *Old Chronicle*, B.C. 2231, to B.C. 2412; upon the higher authority of *Josephus*, who had access to the original dynasties of *Manetho*, and states, 1. that "*Menes* was *many years* before *Abraham*," (who was born B.C. 2153,) and 2. that "he reigned *more than* 1300 years before *Solomon*," (who began B.C. 1030,) Ant. 8, 6, 2, p. 358, Hudson; and also, upon the probable duration of *Misraim's* dynasty in the Old Chronicle, for 201 years; which, deducted from its correct beginning, B.C. 2613, according to *Syncellus*, gives its end, B.C. 2412.

The duration of the *first dynasty*, 253 years, is the medium of the accounts of *Eusebius*, 252 years, *Africanus* 253 years, and *Syncellus* 255 years, and is therefore probably correct, and gives the end of the first dynasty, B.C. 2159.

The duration of the *second dynasty*, 260 years, is taken from

* This number 2156, only differing a century, is evidently an erratum, for the correct number, 2256.

the genuine account of *Manetho*, furnished by *Josephus* contra *Apion*. i. § 14, which sufficiently exposes the corruptions of *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, and leads us to regret the loss of *Manetho's* works.

The duration of the *third dynasty* is collected from *Manetho* and Scripture. The time of Queen *Nitocris*, noticed by *Herodotus*, is determined from *Eratosthenes*, corrected by the true time of *Menes*.

The *fourth dynasty* is given from the genuine fragment of *Manetho*, preserved by *Josephus* contra *Apion*. i. § 15.

The *fifth dynasty* is collected from *Manetho*, *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*.

In the *sixth dynasty*, from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, a chasm is detected of 151 years, from its commencement B.C. 966, as deduced from the *fifth*, and the commencement of the reign of *Bocchoris*, B.C. 815, as reckoned upwards through the intermediate reigns, from the known reign of *Sethos*, the last, B.C. 713. The ten reigns may be supplied from the Catalogue of *Syncellus*, beginning with the 64th, *Amenophis*, and ending with the 74th, *Bocchoris*.

The adjustment of the intermediate reigns, here given from careful comparison of the history in *Herodotus*, is confirmed by an important correction of his present text, B. II. § 140; in which, it is said, that "the Isle of *Elbo*, where *Anysis* concealed himself in the fens, during the domination of the Ethiopian, *Sabacon* or *Soa*, remained for *more than* 700 *years* from that time, undiscovered by the succeeding princes, till *Amyrtæus*, who fled to the fens, on the defeat of the *Egyptians* by the *Persians*." This defeat, we know, was about B.C. 456, and counting upwards 700 years, it would greatly antedate the time of *Anysis*, B.C. 1156. Instead of 700 years therefore, which is palpably erroneous, *Perizonius* suggested a correction of 500; which was introduced by *Borheck* into his edition of *Herodotus*, and copied by *Reizius*, and the *Oxford* edition of 1809, and adopted by *Larcher*, and *Beloe*, in their Notes on *Herodotus*. But this number also is too high for the Chronology. The learned *Bouhier*, and *Wesseling*, in his Notes on *Herodotus*, have judiciously restored the true number, 300, and pointed out the source of the error, in the likeness of the numerals, ΠΗ H H, 700, and H H H, 300, for H, singly, denotes 100, but inclosed in a Greek *Pi*, ΠΗ, 500. See Vol. I. p. 9, of this work. And

this critically corresponds with the Chronology; for, subtracting the flight of *Amyrtæus* to the fens, B.C. 456, from the former flight of *Anysis*, B.C. 769, the difference 313 years, well accords with the expression of *Herodotus*, "*more than* 300 years," and vouches both the correctness of the Chronology, and the truth of the emendation. Something more is required of *Editors* and *Commentators* of the *Classics*, than a mere knowledge of dead languages!

The *seventh dynasty* is taken chiefly from the authentic information of *Herodotus*, and also the *eighth*.

The *ninth dynasty* is collected chiefly from *Diodorus Siculus*.

MISRAIM.

Egypt was first inhabited by the family of *Misraim*, the second son of *Ham*, Gen. x. 6; whence it is usually styled, ארץ מצרים, "The land of *Misraim*," Gen. xiii. 10, &c. and once, in the singular number, יארי מצור, "the canals of *Misor*," Isa. xix. 6, whence the *Misor* of *Sanchoniatho*, and *Mesr*, the modern Arabic name of *Egypt*. The plural *Misraim*, *Misrim*, or *Misrites*, was rather the name of the family, or people, as *Abel Misraim*, "the mourning of the *Misrites*," or *Egyptians*, Gen. l. 11.

This family first settled in Upper Egypt, where they built the famous city of *Thebes*. See Vol. I. p. 377, 378, of this work. Thence, in process of time, they gradually spread into the Lower Egypt, or *Delta*, as its land became formed by the alluvions of the *Nile*.

MENES.

The *Patriarchal* regimen introduced with the family of *Misor*, subsisted till *Menes*, who, either by compulsion, or persuasion, first introduced regal government. He seems to have been a wise prince. To check the overflowings of the *Nile*, he turned its course into a more direct channel, and built the city of *Memphis* upon the former bed of the river. Until the time of *Herodotus*, the original enbankment of the new channel formed by *Menes* was kept up and carefully repaired, even by the *Persian* government. He was also a religious prince: he founded the magnificent temple of *Hephaistos*, or *Vulcan*, in the same city, dedicated to the SUPREME BEING; and he was the father

of his people. By the advice of his prime minister, *Thoth*, or *Hermes*, he divided the whole country of *Egypt* into three lots: these were appropriated to the *crown*, the *priesthood*, and the *soldiery*, who each farmed out to the people their respective shares. And this order of things subsisted till the *Shepherd* invasion and conquest, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, B. I. ch. 6. See also Vol. II. p. 140, of this work.

THE SHEPHERD DYNASTY.

Manetho has given the following account of this foreign dynasty, in a fragment fortunately preserved by *Josephus*, contra *Apion*. i. § 14.

"We had formerly a king named *Timaus*, [or *Thammuz*]. In his reign, God, upon what account I know not, was offended with us; and unexpectedly, men from *the east* [*Arabia*] of obscure origin, boldly invaded the kingdom, and subdued it without a contest. Having mastered the former rulers, they then barbarously burnt the cities, demolished the temples of the Gods, and treated all the inhabitants most hostilely: massacring some of the men, and reducing the wives and children of others to slavery.

"They next appointed one of their leaders king, whose name was *Salatis*. He resided in *Memphis*, and imposed a tribute on the Upper and Lower *Egypt*, and put garrisons in the most important places. But chiefly he secured the eastern parts of the country, foreseeing that the *Assyrians*, who were then most powerful, would be tempted to invade the kingdom likewise. Finding therefore in the *Saite* nome, a city situated most conveniently on the north side of the *Bubastic* channel [of the *Nile*] which was called *Avaris*, [or *Abaris* *, "the pass"] in an ancient theological book, he rebuilt, and fortified it most strongly, and garrisoned it with two hundred and forty thousand soldiers. Hither he used to come in summer, to furnish them with corn and pay, and he carefully disciplined them, for a terror to foreigners. He died after he had reigned 19 years.

"The next, called *Bœon*, reigned 44 years; and after him *Apachnas*, 36 years and 3 months; then *Apophis*, 61 years; and *Janias*, 50 years and 1 month; and after them, *Assis*, 49 years

* This was afterwards called *Pelusium*. See Vol. I. p. 375.

and 2 months. These six were their first kings, who were continually at war with the *Egyptians*, and wished of all things to eradicate them."

"Their whole nation was called ΥΚΣΩΣ, *Uksos*, that is '*Royal Shepherds*;' for ΥΚ, in the sacred tongue, signifies '*king*;' but ΣΩΣ, in the vulgar dialect, '*shepherd*' or '*shepherds* *.' Some say they were *Arabs*."

In another copy, says *Josephus*, I find that the term ΥΚ, when aspirated, signifies "*captives*" in the *Egyptian* language; whence ΥΚΣΩΣ, *Huksos*, "*captive shepherds*," a title applied to the *Israelites* afterwards, in the sacred books of the *Egyptians*, from their *pastoral* life, [Gen. xlvi. 32.] and from *Joseph*, their ancestor, styling himself a *captive* [Gen. xl. 15; xli. 12.] whom *Manetho* represented as descended from the Royal Shepherds.

"At length, the native *Egyptian* princes rebelled against these tyrants, and after a tedious warfare, drove them out of the rest of *Egypt*, and shut them up in *Avaris*, where they had collected all their cattle and plunder, and besieged them with an army of 480,000 men. But despairing of success, the *Egyptians* concluded a treaty with them, and they were suffered to depart unmolested from *Egypt*, with all their households, amounting to 240,000 souls, and their cattle. Accordingly, they crossed the desert, but being afraid to return home, on account of the *Assyrian* power, which then held *Asia* in subjection, they settled in the country of *Judea*, and there built *Jerusalem*."

In this curious fragment of *Manetho*, truth and falsehood are blended together. The conquest of *Egypt* by the *Arabian* shepherds, and their subsequent expulsion, in the reign of *Assis*, the sixth king of the *Shepherd* dynasty, are true; but they were not the ancestors of the *Israelites*, or "*captive shepherds*," nor did they settle in *Judea*, after their expulsion, but westward, along the coast of the *Mediterranean*, where they destroyed or subdued the natives, the "*Avim*," or "*Avites*," after "they came from *Caphtor*," or the Lower *Egypt*, Deut. ii. 23. And in allusion to their expulsion from thence, they are styled "the *Philistines*, the remnant of the country of *Caphtor*," Jer. xlvii. 4, preserving, in the name of their country, the remembrance of their origin; for *Palestine*, in the Sanscrit, or

* The Isthmus of *Suez*, in its name, records the pass by which these "*shepherds*" invaded Egypt, for *Suez* is evidently the Egyptian Σως, or Σωες.

ancient Syriac, signifies *Pali-sthan*, "*shepherd land*," as we learn from

THE HINDU RECORDS.

The sacred books of the *Hindus*, according to Captain *Wilford*, in his elaborate treatise on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 46, &c. notice two remarkable migrations from the east, in remote times; first of the *Yadavas*, or "sacred race," and afterwards of the *Pali*, *Palli*, or "shepherds."

The *Yadavas* seem to have been the first settlers of the earth, the three primitive families of *Noah's* sons, "of whom the whole earth was overspread." Gen. ix. 19. Of whom, *Misraim's* family settled in *Egypt*, about B.C. 2613, as we have seen.

The *Pali*, *Palli*, or "shepherds," were a powerful tribe, who in ancient times governed the whole country from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Ganges*, and are called *Palibothri*, by *Pliny*, and *Paliputras*, in the sacred books of the Hindus. These, were an active, enterprizing, roving race *, who spread themselves, by conquest, colonization or commerce, widely throughout *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*.

Crossing over from the coasts of the *Persian* Gulph, they colonized the sea coasts of *Arabia* and *Africa*; in the latter, their country was called *Barbaria* by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from *Berber*, "a shepherd," according to *Bruce*, Vol. II. p. 21, who describes them as a distinct race from the natives, with long hair, and dark complexions, living in tents, and shifting their cattle from place to place, for the convenience of pasturage. They seem to be the eastern *Ethiopians*, as distinguished from

* These seem to be the same as the *Pelasgi*, or early colonists of *Peloponnesus*, *Attica*, *Samothrace*, *Greece* and *Italy*, noticed by *Herodotus*; and distinguished from the original settlers, by their language and religious rites. They were an *Asiatic* race, and among the auxiliaries of the *Trojans*, coming from *Larissa*. Iliad. ii. 347; x. 429.

Virgil also notices the *Pelasgi* among the early colonists of *Latium* and *Etruria*; and of *Lydian*, or *Asiatic* descent. Æneid. 8, 479—602.

> *Sylvano*, fanum est *Veteres* sacrasse *Pelasgos*,
> Arvorum pecorisque Deo, lucumque diemque;
> Qui primi finès aliquando, habuere *Latinos*.
> ——————— *Lydia* quondam
> Gens, bello præclara, jugis insedit *Etruscis*.

Here, *Sylvanus*, is the same as *Pales*. Georg. 3, 1.

the western, by *Homer*, Iliad. i. 423; Odyss. i. 22; and by *Herodotus*, in his catalogue of the army of *Xerxes*, B. VII.

Herodotus describes the inhabitants of *Palestine Syria* as having migrated, according to their own account, from the *Red Sea* to the sea coast of the *Mediterranean*, and applying themselves to navigation and commerce. B. I. § 1, 5; VII. § 89.

How extensively they spread themselves in *Asia* and *Europe*, appears from the cities and places retaining their names. Thus *Palestine* or *Palesthan* was found on the banks of the *Tigris*, and most probably was their original settlement; the town of *Paliputra* stood on the *Hellespont;* the river *Strymon* in *Thrace* was surnamed *Palæstinus;* the *Palestinæ arenæ*, and *Philistinæ fossiones* were found in *Epirus;* the *Pelestini*, and the town *Philistia*, on the river *Po* in *Italy;* and the God, or Goddess of *Shepherds*, among the Latins, was called *Pales*,

> Te quoque, magna *Pales*, et te memorande canemus,
> *Pastor* ab Amphryso*. VIRG. GEORG. iii. 1.

A curious account of the conquest of *Egypt* by this *shepherd* tribe, is preserved in the sacred books of the Hindus, from whence the following extract is furnished by *Wilford*. Asiatic Research. Vol. III. p. 225.

" An ancient king, called *Chatura* * *yana*, (from his knowledge of the *four Vedas,)* passed a hundred years in a cavern of *Chrishna giri*, the black mountain, on the banks of the *Cali* † or Nile, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion. At length VISHNU appeared to him, and promised him his wish of male issue, that he should have a son called *Tamo-vatsa*. This prince, when he succeeded his father, was warlike and ambitious, but wise and devout. He prayed to VISHNU to enlarge his empire; and the God granted his request. Hearing that *Misra sthan*, (the land of *Egypt)* was governed by a powerful but unjust prince, called *Nirmaryada*, he, with a chosen army, invaded that country, *without any declaration of war*, and began to administer justice among the people, to give them a specimen of a good king; and when *Nirmaryada* sent to expostulate, he

* From the Sancrit *Chatura*, was evidently derived the Latin *Quatuor*. Indeed the analogy between the *Sancrit* and *Latin*, seems to be stronger than between the Sancrit and any other of the European languages. See note on the *Arsinian Mysteries*, p. 163 of this volume.

† From *Cali*, "black," came the Greek, κελας, or κελαινος, whence κελαινεφης Ζευς, "*black-clouded Jove*," which is the exact rendering of *Io-sihor*, or *O-sir-is*, "black or dark Jove," in *Hebrew* and *Egyptian*. See my *Dissertations*.

treated his expostulation with disdain. This brought on a bloody battle of three days, in which the Egyptian king was killed. The conqueror, who fought like another *Parasa Rama*, then took possession of the kingdom of *Misra*, and governed with perfect equity. *Bahya Vatsa*, his son, devoted himself to religion, and resigned his crown to his son *Rucma Vatsa*, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country, that from his just revenues he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great, that he raised three mountains, called *Rucm-adri*, *Rajat-adri*, and *Retu-adri*, or the mountain of *gold*, of *silver*, and of *gems*."

In this legend we trace the distorted features of the *Egyptian* account.

By an interchange of characters, *Tamo* is the *Timaus* of *Manetho*, a quiet and peaceable prince, who was invaded, without provocation, by this *Nirmaryada;* or "*Nimrodite*," of Cushite race, called *Salatis* by *Manetho*, and *Silites* by Syncellus."

His son, *Bahya*, is plainly the *Baion* of *Manetho*.

The third king was surnamed *Rucma*, from his immense wealth, which he collected by oppressing the *Egyptians*, though "he tenderly loved his own people," the *Shepherds;* and wishing either to extirpate the natives, or to break down their spirits, by hard and incessant labour, he employed them in constructing those stupendous monuments of ancient ostentation and tyranny, the *Pyramids*, which are evidently the factitious "*mountains*" meant in the *Hindu* records, originally cased with yellow, white or spotted marbles, brought from the quarries of *Arabia*, though built of the *Libyan* stone on the spot. See the foregoing article of the *Pyramids* *, Vol. I. p. 379.

* To the proofs there assigned from the *Asiatic Researches*, that the *Pyramids* were *Water Temples*, consecrated to the divinity of the *Nile*, we may here add the judicious observations of that well-informed traveller, *Shaw*.

"*Pliny* asserts that they were built for *ostentation*, and to keep an *idle* people in employment; [Exod. v. 17.] Others, (which is the most received opinion) that they were to be the *sepulchres* of the Egyptian kings. But if *Cheops*, *Suphis*, or whoever else was the founder of the great Pyramid, intended it only for his sepulchre, what occasion was there for such a narrow sloping *entrance* into it? or for *the wall*, as it is called, at the bottom of the *gallery?* or for the *lower chamber*, with a large *nitch* or hole in the eastern wall of it? or for the long narrow *cavities* in the walls or sides of the large *upper room*, which likewise is incrusted all over with the finest *granite* marble? or for the two *ante chambers*, and the lofty *gallery*, with *benches* on each side, that introduce us into it?

"As the whole of the *Egyptian theology* was clothed in *mysterious* emblems and

From this *Hindu* record, we seem fully warranted to ascribe the building of the first and greatest pyramid to *Apachnes*, the third of the Shepherd kings, and of the rest, to his successors. And this is confirmed by the tradition of the native *Egyptians*, to *Herodotus*, that "they were built by one *Philitis*, a shepherd, who kept his cattle in these parts, and whose memory was held in such abhorrence, that the inhabitants would not even repeat their names *." B. II. § 128. Here, the *Egyptian* tradition has fortunately retained the original title of the "Shepherds," in *Philitis*, so nearly allied to the *Philistines;* both derived from the Sanscrit, *Pali*, "Shepherd."

The whole time employed in building the first pyramid, according to *Herodotus*, was thirty-two years and a half, which ranges within the reign of *Apachnes* of 37 years, 7 months, according to *Manetho*. We may therefore date the commencement early in his reign, about B.C. 2095.

The three great pyramids, according to *Pliny*, were built in the space of *seventy-eight* years and *four* months; if therefore the first was built by the third king, *Apachnes*, the others must have been built by his successors, *Apophes* the Fourth, and *Janias* the Fifth, whose reigns were long enough for that purpose. At length, the *Egyptians*, wearied out with such long continued tyranny and insupportable labours, rebelled, and after a tedious and bloody warfare, expelled the *Shepherds*, under the sixth king, *Assis*, after they had enslaved Egypt 260 years.

The commencement and end of this dynasty is critically determined by that great chronologer, *Josephus*, from the *Grecian* Chronicles, in the following important passage:

"It is evident," says he, "that if the time be computed from

figures, it seems reasonable to suppose, that all these turnings, apartments and secrets in architecture, were intended for some nobler purpose; and that THE DEITY, which was typified on the outward form of this pile, was to be worshipped within. No places could certainly have been more ingeniously contrived for these *adyta*, or secret chambers, which had so great a share in the *Egyptian mysteries* and *initiations*."

A variety of miscellaneous information, respecting the pyramids, from the most approved English and French travellers, is given in the notes of *Beloe's* Translation of *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 447—450; Vol. II. p. 41—48, and 131, 132. Second edit.

* "Part of the punishment annexed in *France* to *high treason*, and other enormous offences, was the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons."

But *Beloe*, to whom we owe this note, was mistaken in the next; supposing that "the *Shepherds* alluded to were probably the *Israelites*."

the aforesaid [260] years, the *Shepherds*, so called, and our [supposed] ancestors, emigrated from *Egypt*, and settled in this country [of *Palestine*] 393 years before *Danaus* came to *Argos*. —*Manetho* then, has, from the *Egyptian* records, attested two points of the greatest moment to us; first, *our arrival in Egypt from another quarter*, (and next, *our departure* from thence *,) in times so ancient, as nearly to precede the *Trojan* times a *thousand years*." Contr. Apion. I. § 16.

First, the *Shepherd* invasion of *Egypt* was nearly 1000 years before the *Trojan* times, or destruction of *Troy*, B.C. 1183, about B.C. 2183: which rightly exceeds, by 24 years, the date here assigned, B.C. 2159.

Next, the *departure* of the Shepherds, or their expulsion from *Egypt*, was 393 years before *Danaus* came to *Argos*: But, by the *Parian* Chronicle, " *Danaus* and his daughters sailed from *Egypt* to *Lindus* in *Rhodes*," B.C. 1511; where they made some stay, for " they built a temple there, and sacrificed †," before they removed to *Argos*; supposing they remained there 5 years, they came to *Argos* about B.C. 1506; to which, adding 393 years, we get B.C. 1899, the precise date of the expulsion of the Shepherds.

From the invasion of the *Shepherd kings* to the expulsion of the *Shepherd captives*, or *Israelites*, (their supposed descendants) *Manetho* reckoned 511 years; Joseph. Contr. Apion. Lib. I. § 14; which is the correct amount of the *second* and *third* dynasties: for 260 + 251 = 511 years, and ascertains the time of 36 years, from the expulsion of the Shepherds till the settlement of *Jacob's* family in *Goshen*.

The visit of *Abraham* to *Egypt*, and the regency and death of *Joseph*, and settlement of *Jacob's* family in *Goshen*, for 215 years, are noticed from the second volume of *Sacred Chronology*.

QUEEN NITOCRIS ‡.

Herodotus relates a singular stratagem of this queen to re-

* This *parenthetical* clause, which has been overlooked by all the editors and commentators of *Josephus*, has hitherto miserably perplexed the subject; as if *Josephus* meant that "the *departure*" was near 1000 years before the destruction of *Troy*. He clearly meant " the *arrival*."

†. See the *Parian Chronicle*, Vol. I. p. 113, of this work.

‡ *Herodotus* remarks, that this also was the name of an *Assyrian* queen, intimating the analogy between both dialects. It was derived from *Neith*, the Goddess of *Wisdom*.

venge the murder of her brother and predecessor. She invited a number of the *Egyptians* to an entertainment, in a large subterraneous apartment, which she had built; and by a private canal, let in the waters of the river upon the company, and drowned them all; and afterwards destroyed herself. B. II. § 100.

MŒRIS, OR MYRIS.

This seems to have been one of the best and wisest of the Egyptian kings. The formation of the lake *Mœris*, (now called *Kairoun*) was ascribed to him; designed to receive the redundant waters of the *Nile*, and to discharge them by sluices, for the irrigation of the lands, when the river failed. But the lake was too great in its circumference, three thousand six hundred stadia, according to *Herodotus*, and from thirty to fifty miles long, and from six to ten miles wide, according to the varying accounts of modern travellers, *Pococke*, *Browne*, &c. and in its deepest part, two hundred cubits, or a hundred yards; to have been excavated by human labour. "And nothing indeed," says *Browne*, "can present an appearance so unlike the works of men. On the N.E. and S. is a rocky ridge, in every appearance, primæval." *Mœris* therefore only opened a communication between the river and this vast natural bason, which runs parallel thereto from North to South, about ten miles distant, and made a canal, eighty stadia in length, and three plethra, or a hundred yards in breadth, according to *Diodorus*. Even this was a stupendous work, and far more glorious than either the *Pyramids* or the *Labyrinth*, if we consider its various and important uses for agriculture, commerce, fishery, &c. At present this canal is called *Bahr Jusuf*, or "Joseph's river," and is vulgarly ascribed to the Patriarch *Joseph* while regent of Egypt; but was most probably repaired and denominated from the famous Sultan *Joseph Sahadin*, who made that wonder of *Cairo*, called "*Joseph's* well *," attributed also to the patriarch, but re-

* This well is cut down through the natural rock, which is of a soft texture. It is divided into two distinct parts, (for which *Abdollatiph* properly uses the *dual* number;) there being a landing place, at the depth of 150 feet; to which, the water is first drawn up by a wheel, from the well itself, which lies 120 feet lower; and is afterwards raised from thence to the surface, by the operation of another wheel at the top, from a depth on the whole of 270 feet. Two sets of oxen are employed to turn the upper and lower

stored to the right owner by the Arab physician, *Abdollatiph*, who visited *Egypt* in his reign. See Vol. I. p. 387, of this work.

Mœris is said to have built two great pyramids in the midst of this lake, "*a hundred orgyæ*," or six hundred feet high, the half of which was covered by the water. These are noticed both by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus;* of whom, the former curious traveller appears to have seen them, for he mentions their height, "and on the top of each, *there is a stone colossus, sitting upon a throne.*" They are not mentioned, however, by *Strabo*, that well-informed geographer; and are not to be seen at present. How such pyramids, equal in size, and, probably, solidity, to the *Pyramids* of *Geeza*, could have disappeared, since *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, is wonderful. There is not perhaps a fact, in which *testimony* and *observation* are more at variance. The veracity of *Herodotus*, as to what he saw, is unimpeachable. Compare B. II. § 147—150.

The piety of *Mœris* was equal to his wisdom. He built the northern portico of the Temple of *Vulcan*, at *Memphis*, more stately and magnificent than any of the rest; which is noticed both by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. "These," as the former observes, "are indeed lasting monuments of his fame."

The reign of 19 years and 6 months, attributed to *Mœris* by *Manetho*, is unquestionably too short for the various and stupendous works which he executed. His predecessor's reign of 66 years would be little enough. They may therefore well be transposed, which will not affect the length of the period: a point which the ancient chronologers were more careful to retain, than either the number or length of separate reigns.

wheels. The descent to the first landing place, is by a winding staircase, about six feet wide, and very easy, the steps being about six inches high, and five feet broad, leading to a large and spacious chamber, cut out of the rock, in which the lower set of oxen are employed to raise the water from the well to that level. The descent from thence, to the well itself, is by another winding staircase, narrower and steeper than the former, without any parapet, (as in the upper staircase,) to prevent your falling into the well, which is constantly supplied with a brackish water, fit only for common uses, as being lower than the bed of the river, and filtering through a saline soil. It is distributed, however, in pipes through the castle.

See the fuller description of this well in *Abdollatiph's* History of Egypt, p. 89, translated by Professor *White* from Arabic into Latin, Oxford, 1800, 4to. and *Thompson's* Travels, Vol. II. p. 129.

SESOSTRIS.

In adjusting the reign of *Sesostris*, I have followed *Diodorus*, who rates it 33 years, in preference to *Africanus*, 51 years; *Eusebius*, 55 years; and *Manetho's* fragment in *Josephus*, reckoning it 59 years after the expulsion of his brother *Harmais*, or *Danaus*; because 33 years is sufficient for his exploits; and because the longer terms would depress the reign of *Proteus*, the second in descent from him, below the *Trojan* war, during which he flourished; according to *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Syncellus*.

There is no date, perhaps, in the whole range of Profane Chronology more disputed than that of the age or accession of *Sesostris*. Various epochs have been assigned by *Eusebius*, *Usher*, *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Jackson*, *Larcher*, and *Playfair*; the extremes differing near 600 years! See Vol. I. p. 216, of this work.

By a strange anachronism, *Eusebius* supposed that *Sesostris* was the immediate successor of that king of Egypt who was drowned in the Red Sea, at the exode of the *Israelites*; and that he began his famous expedition to the east, while the *Israelites* were wandering in the deserts of *Arabia!* And *Eusebius* was followed by *Usher* and *Playfair*; all, consequently, dating his age considerably too high.

On the other hand, *Marsham* followed by *Newton*, confounding *Sesostris* with the *Sesak* or *Shisak* of Scripture, have rated him considerably too low. See Vol. I. p. 232—234—258.

The intermediate dates of *Jackson* and *Larcher* are still too high, for the following reasons.

1. According to *Herodotus*, *Sesostris* was succeeded by *Pheron*, and Pheron by *Proteus*, in whose reign Troy was taken; and according to *Manetho*, *Sesothis* was succeeded by *Rampses*, and Rampses by *Ramesses*, in whose reign *Troy* was taken, according to *Pliny*. Therefore *Sesothis* and *Sesostris* were the same; and his accession could not have been much earlier than 1283, or a century before the destruction of Troy; reckoning three reigns equivalent to three mean generations. This agrees sufficiently with the proposed date, B.C. 1305, but not with *Jackson's*, B.C. 1338, and still less, with *Larcher's*, B.C. 1356.

2. *Herodotus* states, B. IV. § 5—7, that *Targitaus* founded the *Scythian* kingdom about a *thousand* years *at most* before the

invasion of *Darius Hystaspes*, B.C. 508, or not earlier than B.C. 1508. But *Tanaus*, the sixth king in succession from Targitaus, encountered *Sesostris*, and checked, or defeated him at the river *Phasis*, as we learn from *Justin*, who calls *Sesostris*, *Vexoris*, Lib. I. 1. Reckoning these six reigns equivalent to mean generations, or 200 years, the accession of *Sesostris* could not be earlier than B.C. 1308, but rather later, as here stated.

3. *Herodotus* also relates, B. II. § 103, 104, that *Sesostris* founded the kingdom of *Colchis*, near *Pontus*, and left a colony there of such of his soldiers as were weary of their expeditions. And *Apollonius Rhodius*, B. IV. 272, says, that the posterity of the Egyptian Viceroy subsisted at *Æa*, the capital of *Colchis*, for many generations. This Viceroy was the father of *Æetes*, who was the father of *Medea*, the mistress of *Jason*, in the *Argonautic* expedition, B.C. 1225. This is perfectly consistent with the return of *Sesostris* from his expedition, 74 years before, in B.C. 1299, as here stated.

These coincidences also of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Chronology are curious, and tend to confirm the rectification of both in this work.

Having thus ascertained the time of *Sesostris* *, we shall proceed to his actions.

* A respectable and ingenious friend, the Right Hon. W. C. *Plunket*, representative of the University of *Dublin*, in the Imperial Parliament, has favoured me with the following curious and valuable confirmation of the foregoing scheme of *Egyptian Chronology*, from the testimony of *Tacitus*.——"You will find in the sixth of the Annals of *Tacitus*, (chap. xxviii.) a strong confirmation of your opinion in opposition to *Newton's*, that *Sesostris* was not *Sesac*. Speaking of the *Phœnix*, and the various opinions of the periods of its return, and evidently alluding to those who supposed the intervals 500 years, he says, 'The report is, that the bird first appeared in the time of *Sesostris*; then in the reign of *Amasis*; then in that of the third of the *Ptolemies (Euergetes)*; and now in the time of *Tiberius*, (A.D. 34.) But, says he, the interval from *Ptolemy* to *Tiberius* is less than 250 years, and therefore many suppose this not to have been the *Arabian Phœnix*.'

"Now in this passage, *Tacitus* evidently supposes the former periods to be consistent with the supposed intervals of 500 years; which would give 1000 between *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Sesostris*. I therefore would throw *Sesostris* back full 250 years beyond the time of *Sesac*. This argument loses something of its force, from the circumstance of the interval between *Amasis* and either *Ptolemy* (after) or *Sesostris* (before) not agreeing with the 500 years; although that between *Ptolemy* and *Sesostris* does with the 1000. Is it too bold a conjecture to suppose, that *Tacitus* might have confounded *Amasis* with *Anysis*? which would reconcile all.

"By the by, is it not extraordinary, that *Tacitus*, who affects so much contempt for all vulgar stories, should speak with certainty of the *appearance* of this bird in *Egypt*; and only doubtingly, about the truth of the vulgar stories of it? He appears to have

By a wise and enlarged policy, *Mœris*, the father of *Sesostris*, took up all the children throughout Egypt born on the same day

been quite ignorant also, that the period of 1461 years, which he mentions, is that of the *Egyptian Canicular year*, and that this entire story of the *Phœnix* was a *hieroglyphic*, in which the Egyptians wrapped up the revolution of the first day of their *Thoth*, [or commencement of the year] till it came [round] again to its first place? Indeed *Tacitus*, with all his philosophy and unsparing condemnation and censure of others, seems to have been very indulgent to his own. Attend particularly to his discussions on *Judicial Astrology*, in the same book of the Annals.

"Excuse this long (and probably to you not very new) discussion," &c.

II. This curious and valuable communication, from its conciseness, requires illustration and explanation.

1. The periods noticed by *Tacitus* may be thus *chronologically* adjusted, according to the foregoing scheme.

	B.C.	*Differ.*	*Differ.*		
1. *Sesostris*	1308	Y.			
2. *Amasis*	569	739			
3. *Ptolemy Euergetes*	247	322	Y. 1061.	*Anysis*	B.C. 771
	A.D.				
4. *Tiberius* (20th)	34	281			

From the accession of *Sesostris* to the accession of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, was 1061 years; which *Tacitus*, in round numbers, reckons 1000 years, including three appearances of the *Phœnix*, of 500 years interval, between the first and second; and as much between the second and the third. But the accession of *Amasis* divides the whole interval, unequally, allotting 700 years before him, and only 300 years after him. To remedy this, the learned *Perizonius*, in his *Egypt. Origines*, p. 265, sagaciously substituted *Anysis*, whose reign began B.C. 771, in the place of *Amasis*, which it nearly resembles. "This gives" 537 years before *Anysis*, and 524 after him, or 500 in round numbers; "and reconciles all." The intervals between the accession of *Ptolemy Euergetes* and the 20th of *Tiberius*, when the *Phœnix* was reported to have been seen last, is indeed 281 years, which does not correspond with *Tacitus*, reckoning only 250 years; but if we count the interval from the death of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, B.C. 223, rather than from his accession, it will be reduced to 256 years, which nearly corresponds with *Tacitus*. Such is the curious and important confirmation of the present scheme of *Egyptian Chronology*, furnished by this judicious and well-informed historian.

2. The entire story of the *Phœnix* was indeed an *Egyptian hieroglyphic*, expressing the *Canicular* period of 1461 years. The same was veiled under a curious ænigma, or *astronomical* riddle, by the *Heliopolitan* priests to *Herodotus*. See Vol. I. p. 39 of this work. *Tacitus*, accordingly, describes the *Phœnix* as "a singular bird, consecrated to the *sun*, distinguished by its appearance, and variegated plumage, from all others." It was "said to be seen *(aliquando)* at *some time*, in *Egypt*," because the *Canicular* Cycle was invented there; and first, "in the reign of *Sesostris*;" because this cycle began July 20, B.C. 1322, as shewn Vol. I. p. 40, only about fourteen years before the reign of *Sesostris*, and therefore in his days; and it might have been registered among other *astronomical* observations, inscribed on the famous *Zodiac* of *Osymandes*, which was another title of that illustrious prince.

3. The early *Christians*, adopting the fable of the *Phœnix*, elegantly transferred it to be an emblem of CHRIST's *resurrection*. This will satisfactorily account for the prevailing report of the last appearance of the *Phœnix*, in the 20th of *Tiberius*, A.D. 34, when,

with his son, to be educated with him, and trained alike in the same rigid discipline of the public schools, that they might compose a band of *companions*, attached to his person, and qualified to fill the first civil and military departments of the state, as we learn from *Diodorus*.

During his father's life time, he reduced the *Arabians*, eastwards, and *Libyans*, westwards: and encouraged by these early successes, he formed the design of conquering the world, by conciliating the affections of his subjects, and availing himself of the services of the *companions*, trained to military service, and amounting to seventeen hundred.

His first expedition after he came to the crown, was against the *Ethiopians*, or *Abyssinians*, southwards, whom he compelled to pay tribute. He then reduced the islands of the *Red Sea*, or *Persian Gulf*, with his fleet, and is said to have marched an army by land, as far as *India* *, eastwards, and penetrated even beyond the *Ganges*, according to *Diodorus*. He then turned his arms northwards, subdued the *Assyrians* and *Medes* of Upper Asia, and crossing over into Europe, ravaged the *Scythians* and *Thracians*, until he received a check at the river *Tanais*, and was in danger of losing his army from the difficulty of the passes, and the want of provisions; and so he returned home at length, in the ninth year of the expedition, B.C. 1299,

according to the opinion of some chronologers, CHRIST was crucified, and rose again from the dead. See *Spanheim's Chronologia Sacra.*

4. The story of the *Phœnix* is thus related by *Clemens Romanus*, the friend of St. *Paul*:—

"Let us consider that extraordinary *sign* (σημειον), which happens in the Eastern regions, namely, in *Arabia*. There is a bird called the *Phœnix*, which is *only begotten* (μονογενες), and lives *five hundred* years. When the time of its dissolution, by death, is at hand, it makes for itself a nest of *frankincense, myrrh*, and other spices, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it enters, and dies. From the corrupted flesh a worm issues, which is nourished by the moisture of the dead animal, and becomes fledged. Then, when grown to full strength, it takes up the nest, in which lie the bones of its parent, and carries them away from *Arabia* to *Egypt*, unto *Heliopolis*, (the *city of the sun*), and there, in open day, flying to the *altar of the sun*, places them upon it; and having so done, then departs. The priests therefore, computing the return of the times, discovered that it usually comes at the completion of the five hundredth year." See *Cotelerius, Patres Apostol.* Vol. I. p. 128, 161, 162.

The close analogy between the accounts of *Clemens Romanus* and *Tacitus*, is obvious. The latter evidently borrowed from the former, who wrote before him, and at *Rome*.

* *Herodotus* and *Manetho* take no notice of this *Indian* expedition, neither did *Alexander* the Great. See p. 231 of this volume. It was probably invented after their times by the Egyptian priests, who reported it to *Diodorus*.

bringing immense spoils and innumerable captives to *Egypt;* after he had erected pillars, in the conquered countries, as trophies of his victories, on which were inscribed

"*Sesosis, king of kings and lord of lords, subdued this country by his arms.*"

Several of these pillars were seen by *Herodotus*, and afterwards by *Strabo*, in *Palestine Syria, Arabia* and *Ethiopia;* and most probably, the pillar, which *Joseph* said was remaining in the land of *Siriad*, in his time, and which he ascribed to the Antediluvian *Seth*, Ant. i. 2, 3, was one of those erected in *Abyssinia* by *Sethos, Sethosis*, or *Sesostris*, which are evidently Greek descendants from the Hebrew, or Egyptian, *Seth*.

His brother *Harmais*, whom he had left behind, as regent, or viceroy in *Egypt*, during his former expedition, conspired to destroy *Sesostris* and all his family, at his return, at a banquet which he had provided for him, in *Daphne*, near *Pelusium*, by setting fire to the house. He lost two of his sons in the flames, but escaped himself, with four more; and as *Herodotus* relates, "punished his brother," or, we may presume, executed him, as he richly deserved. B. II. 107, 108.

This detects a gross chronological error of *Manetho*, in the fragment preserved by *Josephus*, namely, "That *Sethosis* was called *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Harmais*, *Danaus;* and that *Sethosis* banished his brother *Danaus*, who settled in *Argos* with his daughters. Contr. Apion. i. § 15, 16—26, ii. 2. But,

1. According to *Tatian*, the chronologer, *Danaus* fled from *Egypt*, ten generations, or 333 years, before the destruction of Troy, B.C. 1183, or about B.C. 1516.

2. The *Parian Chronicle* dates the arrival of *Danaus* and his daughters, first at *Lindus*, in *Rhodes*, after their flight from *Egypt*, B.C. 1511.

From these *Grecian* authorities, therefore, it plainly appears, that *Danaus* lived two hundred years and more, before *Sesostris* reigned. And this error, perhaps, passed over in silence by *Josephus*, contributed more than any thing else to raise the antiquity of *Sesostris* so far above its proper level with *Eusebius*, *Usher*, and *Playfair*.

As a monument of his piety for this deliverance, *Sesostris* seems to have rebuilt the temple of *Vulcan*, at *Memphis*, the immense stones of which are noticed by *Herodotus;* he also placed in front of it six colossal statues, two of them thirty

cubits high, representing himself and his queen; and the other four, twenty cubits, representing his four sons. B. II. § 108—110.

He also built another famous sepulchral temple at *Thebes*, the most sumptuous and magnificent in all Egypt, described, from ancient writers, by *Diodorus*. At the entrance, were three statues of the king, his mother and daughter, of immense size, his own in a sitting posture, and the largest in all Egypt, whose foot alone was seven cubits in length *, with the following inscription:

I am Osymandes, king of kings: if any one desire to know what a prince I am, and where I lie, let him excel my exploits.

Upon the walls were represented the king's battles against the *Bactrians*, and other nations; and his four sons, commanding four detachments of his immense army of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse; the captives also, led in triumph, without privities and hands, to denote their unmanly cowardice; and the king's sacrifices and triumphs after the war, and several emblematical sculptures, representing the figures of the thirty Egyptian *Judges*, and that of the Chief Justice, with a little image of *Truth* hanging from his neck, with his eyes shut, and many books about him, to signify his impartiality and information; the king himself offering to THE GOD (VULCAN) gold and silver, as the first-fruits of his spoils; his revenues amounting, as recorded, to thirty-two millions of *minæ* in weight, &c. and the tomb itself was crowned with a golden circle, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference, with so many divisions thereon, corresponding to the days of the year; and upon each division was marked the heliacal risings and settings of the stars, and the prognostics of the *Astrologers*.

This magnificent *Zodiac*, or *Almanack* †, they said, was car-

* From the proportion of the foot to the whole statue, of nearly a sixth part, this colossal figure, if standing, would have been about 42 cubits high, and therefore much greater than his statue at *Memphis*, which was only 30 cubits.

† ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ZODIACS.

We may here introduce and examine the accounts of the ancient Egyptian sculptures, discovered amidst the ruins of the temples of *Dendera*, or *Tentyra*, and *Esne*, or *Henne*, in Upper Egypt, by the French *Scavans*, who accompanied *Buonaparte* in his atrocious invasion of that country, A.D. 1800; and said to be *Zodiacs*, constructed before the *Mosaic* account of the creation of the world.

In the former, the summer solstice is reported to be placed in the constellation *Leo*, two signs or 60 degrees eastward of its present position; whence, according to the rate

ried away by *Cambyses*, when he conquered Egypt. The several particulars, indeed, of this description, accurately correspond to *Sesostris*, and to no other king, either before or after; as ingeniously remarked by *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 396—402. To whose other titles, therefore, this of *Osymandes* is to be added.

The captives he employed on his various public works, on which were inscribed, "*None of the natives were put to labour here;*" thus tacitly reprobating the ostentatious *pyramids* of his predecessors, the *Shepherd Kings*, who so cruelly harassed the *Egyptians*. He built temples in every city, raised embankments to the river, dug numerous canals for the supply of water, the conveyance of corn and provisions, the convenience of trade and commerce, and the security of the country against foreign invasion, by rendering it more impassable for chariots and cavalry. And he built a wall across the desert from *Pelusium* to *Heliopolis*, of 1500 stadia in length, to defend this important

of the *precession of the Equinoxes*, one degree in 72 years, it is triumphantly concluded by these Scavans, to have been constructed 4000 years, at least, before their visit. In the latter, the summer solstice is reported to be placed still more easterly, in the constellation *Virgo*, which would give the time of the construction, 6000, or 7000 years before. "These *Zodiacs*," says citizen *Burokhart*, (a worthy pupil of the French Institute,) "prove most incontestibly the *fallacy* of the *Common Chronology*, which allows only 6000 years for the age we live in."—"The Zodiac of *Hennè*, in particular, seems to me, to dispel *every doubt* that might remain upon the hypothesis which carries back, in an astonishing manner, the limits which *prejudice* has established to the age of the terrestrial globe." *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1805, p. 111.

But *infidelity* has her *prejudices*, no less than *superstition*. And it is by no means clear from their own reports; 1. That these sculptures were actually *Zodiacs*, designed to mark the positions of the Equinoxes and Solstices, when they were made; and 2. That these supposed positions are sufficiently ascertained, beyond all doubt, or suspicion of mistake.

1. In the disposition of the signs, at *Dendera*, *Leo*, *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricornus*, follow in order from right to left; but the order of the other six, *Aquarius*, *Pisces*, *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, is reversed, from left to right. And from the intermixture of *Grecian* arts and mythology with *Egyptian*, the celebrated antiquary, *Visconti*, is of opinion, that the work was constructed during the reigns of the *Ptolemies*, and that the Solstice was in *Leo*; while *Larcher*, with equal grounds, concludes that it was in *Libra*. Here then, is a variation of three signs, *Leo*, *Virgo*, *Libra*; one sign making a difference of 2145 years in the computation. And which of the three antiquarians, *Burckhart*, *Visconti*, and *Larcher*, are we to prefer?

2. In the latter Zodaic at *Hennè*, according to citizen *Dupuis*, the summer solstice was then in *Capricorn*; which could only occur at 14,000, or 15,000 years before the present age. Here is a wide difference of 8000 years between him and *Burckhart!*

3. There is a strong suspicion, that these sculptures were not designed for *Zodiacs* at all. For *Larcher* confesses that "the disposition of the signs is far from regular, and some of them are heaped upon each other." Supplement, Vol. II. p. 564—576, second edit.——If so, what becomes of the whole hypothesis?

frontier from the irruptions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, adopting the policy of the Shepherd kings.

He also made an equal division of the lands of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning a square piece of ground to each, and reserving to himself an annual rent from the tenants, with directions to his surveyors, to make proper abatements in the rent, if the river encroached on any man's land.

Such was *Sesostris*, one of the greatest and best among the heroes of antiquity, whose active genius and comprehensive mind was employed to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, though his ambition led him to harass the rest of the world. No wonder then, that his memory was so highly honoured in *Egypt*, even to remote ages. When *Darius Hystaspes* obtained the crown of *Persia*, he wanted to have his own statue placed above that of *Sesostris*, at *Memphis*. But the High Priest boldly protested against it, in council, declaring, that *Darius had not yet exceeded the noble acts of Sesostris.*

Far from resenting this freedom of speech, the king was so pleased, that he professed his intention to emulate *Sesostris*. *Diodorus*, B. I. chap. 4. And he seems to have adopted several of his wise regulations in finance and commerce.

RAMPSES, OR PHERON.

On the death of *Sesostris*, his son *Pheron* succeeded to his throne. He undertook no military expedition, and by his indolence and inactivity, lost his father's remoter conquests. In his reign, the *Assyrians* shook off the *Egyptian* yoke, and not only recovered their liberty, but subdued *Media* and all the Upper Asia; as we learn from *Constantine Manasses*, citing ancient writers; and from *Justin*, that this was effected by *Ninus* II. Lib. I. 1, who began his reign about B.C. 1252, in the 23d year of *Pheron*, and completed his conquests B.C. 1230, in the 45th year of Pheron. This is a remarkable coincidence also, between the *Egyptian* and the *Assyrian* Chronology, confirming the present rectification of both, and demonstrating thereby, that *Ctesias* and his followers greatly overrated the duration of the *Assyrian* empire in Upper Asia.

This prince lost his sight for his impiety against the River God, in hurling a javelin into the *Nile*, when agitated by a sud-

den wind; and he recovered it ten years after, by a whimsical recipe, prescribed by the Oracle of *Butos*; which in the failure, so long, reflected no honour on the chastity of the *Egyptian* matrons. Herod. B. II. § 111.

The long reign of 61 years is assigned to *Pheron*, both by the genuine fragment of *Manetho*, and by *Africanus*.

CETES, OR PROTEUS.

The length of his reign is assumed, with *Larcher*, 50 years. It could not, indeed, have been much less, since he survived the destruction of *Troy*. *Diodorus* has fortunately preserved his *Coptic* name, *Cetes*; whence was formed the Greek κητος, which, according to *Suidas*, signified, "a manifold *sea monster*, sometimes a *lion*, a *panther*, a *toad*, a *whale*, &c., very difficult to be overcome;" this gave rise to the Grecian fable of *Proteus*, described by *Homer*, Odyss. iv. 414—460, and improved by *Virgil*, Georg. iv. 388—450; and ingeniously explained by *Diodorus*, "From a custom among the *Egyptian* kings, of wearing on their heads, as emblems of sovereignty, the figures of *bulls*, *lions*, and *dragons*; *fire*, *branches of trees*, with frankincense and perfumes; not only to adorn themselves, but to strike awe and terror into the hearts of their subjects. B. I. chap. 5.

In his reign, according to the report of the *Egyptian* Priests to *Herodotus*, *Paris* having carried off *Helen*, the wife of *Menelaus*, from *Sparta*, was driven by contrary winds to the *Canopian* mouth of the *Nile*, and there seized, on the information of his servants, by order of *Proteus*, for this breach of hospitality in *Greece*, who detained *Helen* and the stolen treasure, till *Menelaus* should come to claim them; but ordered *Paris* and his *Trojans* to depart within three days, under pain of being treated as enemies. That the Confederate Greeks sent ambassadors to *Troy*, with *Menelaus*, to demand restitution of *Helen* and the wealth that *Paris* had stolen, as well as satisfaction for the injury. But the *Trojans* denied that *Helen* and the wealth were with them, but that both were in *Egypt*; which the *Greeks* not believing, besieged *Troy*, till they took it, and then found that the excuse of the *Trojans* was true. *Menelaus* then was dispatched to *Proteus*, who received him honourably, and restored *Helen* and all his treasures. But *Menelaus*, to procure

favourable winds, sacrificed two children of the natives, for which enormity he was forced to fly, by sea, to *Africa*, to avoid the pursuit of the *Egyptians*. And *Herodotus* seems to credit this report, as not contradicted, but rather confirmed by *Homer* himself, who notices, incidentally, the navigation of *Paris* and *Helen*, after various wanderings, to *Sidon*, in *Phœnicia*, Iliad. vi. 289; to the *Nile*, Odyss. iv. 227; and of *Menelaus* to *Egypt*, Odyss. iv. 351.

We may, therefore, date the arrival of the fugitives in *Egypt* the year before the *Trojan* war, B.C. 1194, and the visit of *Menelaus* after the capture of *Troy*, in B.C. 1183; the former, in the twentieth year of *Proteus*, the latter, in the thirty-first year.

The following is the fine reflexion of *Herodotus* on the incredulity of the *Greeks*, upon this occasion:

"Although the *Trojans* had not *Helen* in their possession to restore, yet the *Greeks* did not believe them, when they told the truth: THE DEITY indeed, in my opinion, providing that *by their utter destruction, they might make it clear to mankind, that great punishments are reserved for great crimes, from the Gods.*" B. II. § 120. The *Greeks* were thus made instruments of their punishment by PROVIDENCE; as the *Israelites* of the *Canaanites.*

AMENOPHIS IV.

This prince is here inserted between the successive reigns of *Proteus* and *Rhampsinitus* in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Syncellus*, on the authority of *Manetho's* fragment; because the reigns of *Proteus* and *Rhampsinitus* must otherwise be made too long to fill up the residue of the period from *Sesostris* to *Cephrenes*, or the *Sesak* of Scripture, the length of which is determined; and thence, the reign of *Amenophis*, 40 years, forms the supplement of the rest to the whole.

FICTITIOUS EXPULSION OF THE ISRAELITES FROM EGYPT.

Manetho truly stated the exode of the *Israelites*, under *Thummosis*, or *Tethmosis* from *Egypt*, which *Syncellus*, in his Catalogue, determined to B.C. 1649, or the established date,

B.C. 1648. But wishing to vilify the *Jews*, who, in his time, were extremely numerous in *Egypt*, he fabricated another expulsion of the nation, 518 years after the former, B.C. 1130, along with a motley crew of *leprous* Egyptian rebels, in the reign of this king. And as the calumny was adopted by the *Greek* and *Roman* historians *, &c. and tended to increase the odium in his time, against that unfortunate and persecuted people; *Josephus* undertook the refutation of *Manetho*, and vindication of his countrymen.

"*Manetho*," says he, "has foisted incredible tales into his *Egyptian History*, wishing to confound the *Jews* with a multitude of Egyptian *lepers*, who, for that, and other diseases, were condemned to be banished from Egypt, by a fictitious king, *Amenophis*, (the time of whose reign he has not dared to define, although he accurately determined the reigns of the rest,) forgetting, that he had recorded the exode of the [*Huksos* or *Captive*] *Shepherds* to *Jerusalem*, 518 years before, when *Tethmosis* was king."

He then states the particulars of the fiction: how that *Amenophis* was recommended to purify himself for the vision of the Gods, (like his ancestor *Orus*, formerly), by banishing all leprous and impure persons from the kingdom. That hereupon, he collected 80,000 of that description, throughout Egypt, and sent them to work in the quarries, on the eastern side of the Nile, and afterwards to *Avaris*, the settlement of the Shepherds, which was then waste. That these lepers rebelled, and chose a leader, *Osarsiph*, a Heliopolitan priest, who invited to their assistance the Shepherds from Jerusalem, promising to reinstate them in their ancient settlement of *Avaris*. That the Shepherds, readily consenting, invaded Egypt with 200,000 men; and that *Amenophis* not being a match for their combined forces, first retreated into *Ethiopia*, and afterwards returning from thence, with succours, he and his son *Rampses* routed the rebels, and drove them to the borders of *Syria*. That *Osarsiph*, the founder of their state and laws, called himself *Moses*. Contr. Apion. I. § 26.

This calumny *Josephus* refutes, by the following *argumentum ad absurdum*, drawn from *Manetho's* former concessions.

Manetho himself allows, that the *Huksos*, or *Captive Shep-*

* It was adopted by *Diodorus*, *Tacitus*, *Justin*, *Apion*, &c.

herds, the *Israelites*, were the descendants of the *Uksos*, or *Royal Shepherds*, the *Arabs*, who conquered Egypt 511 years before the Exode, B.C. 1648, about B.C. 2159, or near a *thousand* years *before* the destruction of *Troy*, about B.C. 2183. Therefore, after this admission of the *origin* and *antiquity* of the *Israelites*, it was absurd and preposterous to represent the ancestors of the *Jews* as a mixed multitude of *leprous* outcasts from *Egypt*, so late as 518 years after the *Exode*, or 53 years *after* the destruction of Troy!

Josephus, in this very ingenious, but scattered argument, (which is here collected and completed, from the whole drift of his reasoning on the subject), takes advantage of *Manetho's* concession, that the *Huksos*, or *Captive Shepherds*, were the *descendants* of the *Uksos*, or *Royal Shepherds*, because it strengthened his argument; at the same time, that he notices *Manetho's* mistake in that respect.

Manetho also confounded *Osarsiph* with *Moses*: for Ο-σαρ-σιφ, *Osarsiph*, is plainly a corrupt transposition of Σαρ-Ιω-σηφ, *Sar Joseph*, or "*Joseph the Lord*," or Regent of *Egypt*, in whose administration *Jacob's* family settled in *Goshen*. The Hebrew, שר, *Sar*, signifying a "*prince*," or "*chief*," was a title at the Egyptian court: as, "the *princes* of Pharaoh," Gen. xii. 15; "the *keeper* of the prison" for state criminals, Gen. xxxix. 21; and "the *chief* of the butlers," and "*chief* of the bakers," Gen. xl. 2. This etymological criticism is confirmed by *Chæremon*, who represented the *Israelites* as leaving Egypt under the conduct of *Moses* and *Joseph*. Contr. *Apion*. I. § 32. *Justin* made *Moses* the son of *Joseph*. *Manetho* therefore might have confounded them through ignorance; but more probably from design, to conceal the forgery of this fictitious expulsion.

RAMPSINITUS.

This prince succeeded *Proteus*, according to *Herodotus*; and was remarkable for his great wealth, far surpassing any of his successors. A most extraordinary and romantic tale was told *Herodotus*, by the priests, of an artful and daring robbery committed on his treasury, and of the singular expedients employed by *Rampsinitus* to discover the robber, one of which was the prostitution of his own daughter to all comers, who were to tell her, as the reward of her favours, the most *artful* and the

most *wicked* thing they had ever committed. *Herodotus* justly considers this as an incredible part of the story. B. II. § 121.

This prince was probably the patron of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries in *Egypt*, instituted there also to maintain the immortality of the soul, and a future judgment after death, by the infernal deities, *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, or *Iacchus*; for he was said to have descended alive into the infernal regions, and to have played at dice with the Goddess *Ceres*, and alternately won and lost; a mysterious allegory, the meaning of which is now lost. *Beloe* has properly marked in his note (210) an analogy between the *Egyptian* and *Eleusinian* Mysteries. § 122, 123.

Till the reign of *Rampsinitus*, *Egypt* was remarkable, not only for its fertility, but for its excellent laws. § 124.

CHEOPS.

This prince, who succeeded *Rampsinitus*, was said to be the builder of the first pyramid, by the *Egyptian* priests, to *Herodotus*. To him therefore they ascribed all the cruelty and oppression of the *Shepherd kings*; how he even shut up the temples, and prohibited the *national* sacrifices, § 124: which, we may rest assured, no *native* king would desire, or dare to do. The priests evidently wished to conceal the disgrace of their former slavery, by these detested *foreigners*. And their subjugation, at the time, by the *Persians*, might incline them the more to enhance the power and grandeur of their native kings, in these monuments of tyranny.

CEPHRENES.

He succeeded *Cheops* his brother, and was said to have built the second pyramid, and to have imitated his oppressive conduct. *Herodotus*, who carefully examined the pyramids, remarks, " that this had no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the *Nile*, like the former, near which it stands." From his representation, the first was probably a *water temple*. The second, he observes, had its *base* forty feet, composed of *variegated Ethiopian marble* *. § 127. This

* Ὑποδειμας δε τον πρωτον δομον λιθου αιθιοπικου ποικιλου, τεσσαρακοντα ποδας.

demonstrates, that the second pyramid, at least, was cased, so far upwards, with *granite;* and not improbably, the first originally. And surely the labour and expence of such stupendous works could not have originated merely from *ostentation:* some motives of *religion*, or rather *superstition*, must have prompted the construction of these enormous masses of stone. Is it unreasonable then to suppose, that the subterraneous passages of the first pyramid were continued to the second, which might also have had its *adyta*, though totally inaccessible on the outside? And that these passages might perhaps have been continued to the third, in succession, the most costly of all, though rather smaller than the other two? The wonderful extent of the *sacred caves*, in the Isle of *Elephanta*, and at *Ellore*, render this supposition not altogether incredible. Both they, and the pyramids, were probably erected for similar purposes, and much about the same time, in very distant ages, of which the remembrance is effaced alike in *India* and in *Egypt*. In such cases, where conjecture itself is lost in uncertainty, *analogy* is our only safe guide. In opposition to the priests, *Herodotus* evidently adopted the rustic tradition of their very remote antiquity, far exceeding the times of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes*.

The reign of *Cephrenes*, so late as B.C. 1082, is corrected from a rectification of *Syncellus*, Catalogue, explained before. This date, combined with his long reign of 56 years, according to *Herodotus*, intimate, that he could be no other than the *Sesak*, or *Susak* of Scripture; now, for the first time, determined in the present system of Chronology, after having been so long misunderstood, from the days of *Josephus*, to those of *Marsham* and *Newton*.

MYCERINUS.

This prince was the son of *Cheops*, and succeeded his uncle *Cephrenes*, after a long reign of 56 years. He was therefore advanced in years when he came to the throne, and therefore did not probably reign more than ten years; though he reigned at least seven, from the Oracle predicting his death in that time. He was reckoned the builder of the third pyramid, which *Herodotus* represents as superior to the others, in costliness of materials, and excellence of workmanship, though inferior in size. It could not therefore possibly have been built by

him in so short a reign. And, indeed, *Herodotus* himself incidentally remarks, that *Rhodope*, the courtezan, who lived in the reign of *Amasis*, and to whom this pyramid was mistakenly attributed, "lived *very many years* * after the kings who built the three great pyramids." But from the accession of *Amasis*, B.C. 569, to the death of *Mycerinus*, about B.C. 966, was an interval of 397 years only; which falls short of "*very many years*." § 134.

After *Mycerinus* is inserted the long chasm of 151 years, noticed before.

BOCCHORIS, OR ASYCHIS.

Bocchoris, according to *Diodorus*, "excelled all his predecessors in wisdom or prudence." Though not expressly mentioned therefore by *Herodotus*, it is not likely he should be passed over; and we find him in *Asychis;* for *Sabach*, or *Sabaco*, according to both historians, was the successor to each.

ANYSIS.

After he began to reign, *Sabaco* invaded *Egypt*, drove *Anysis* into the fens, and ruled himself for fifty years, till he resigned the throne, in obedience to an oracle, and returned to *Abyssinia*. *Anysis* then resumed the throne, till his death. The intricate chronology of his reign may be thus adjusted, analytically. *Sethon*, his successor, began to reign B.C. 713. But *Sabaco* quitted the throne of *Egypt* six years before, B.C. 719; when *Shalmanasar* took *Damascus*, after a three years' siege; 2 Kings xvii. 6. But *Sabaco*, or *So*, had encouraged *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, to revolt, ver. 4, and was therefore probably apprehensive of an *Assyrian* war, which seems to be the true cause of his quitting *Egypt*. But his conquest of *Egypt* is dated by *Africanus* 22 years before the era of *Nabonassar*, or 22 + B.C. 747 = B.C. 769. Therefore the reign of *Anysis* began probably not sooner than two years before, B.C. 771.

This concurrence of SCRIPTURE and *Africanus* with *Hero-*

* Ετεσι καρτα πολλοις ὑστερον, "*very many years after*," as correctly rendered by *Littlebury;* or "*un grand* [illegible]*bre des années*, by *Larcher;* but *Beloe* incorrectly drops the intensitive particle, καρτα, "*very*," and defectively renders, "*many years*," materially injuring the sense.

dotus, is a strong confirmation of his veracity and accuracy, and a sufficient confutation of *Larcher's* incorrect adjustment, in placing the chasm after *Anysis*; who was immediately followed by

SETHON, OR SEBECON.

The accession of this only pontifical king is fixed to B.C. 713, by the valuable character of *Sennacherib's* invasion, recorded by *Herodotus*.

In the beginning of his reign, *Sethon* imprudently alienated the soldiery, or military order, by depriving them of their lands, formerly granted by *Sesostris*. Hence, when *Sennacherib* invaded Egypt, B.C. 711, they mutinied, and refused to assist the king. In this emergency, he was relieved from his distress, by his God *Vulcan*, who, in a dream, encouraged him to advance against the enemy, with the populace only. He therefore marched to *Pelusium*; and the night after, a multitude of *field mice* entered the *Assyrian* camp, in that neighbourhood, and gnawed in pieces their quivers, bow strings, and thongs of their shields; so that next morning, finding themselves totally disarmed, the enemy fled in great confusion, and suffered great loss in the pursuit. *Herodotus* saw a marble statue of this king, with a mouse in his hand, and this inscription: "*Whoever looks on me, let him be religious**." § 141. This is evidently a parody of the miraculous destruction of the *Assyrian* army before *Jerusalem*, in the reign of *Hezekiah*, by the *Simoom*, or pestilential "*blast*," foretold by *Isaiah*. Through contempt of the *Jews*, who were then a depressed people, and whose name *Herodotus* has not once deigned to notice in the course of his History, he has transferred the miracle in favour of the *Egyptians*, whom he admired; or else simply recorded the tradition of the priests; thus authenticating, while they perverted, the original miracle.

PSAMMETICUS.

From the reign of this prince, the *Egyptian* Annals assume a regular and settled form, in the succession of kings. "From the

* Εις εμε τις ὁρεων, ευσεβης εστω.

time of the Grecian colony, first settled in *Egypt*, by *Psammiticus*, and their constant intercourse with *Greece*, we know with certainty," says *Herodotus*, "all that has passed in that country." § 154.

After the death of *Sethon*, a short interregnum of two years prevailed, according to *Diodorus;* when the Egyptians elected twelve kings, one for every *nome*, or district. The turbulence that attended this change of government, from a monarchy to an oligarchy, seems to have been remarkably foretold in Scripture.

ISAIAH'S PROPHECY.

"And I (THE LORD) will set the *Egyptians* against the *Egyptians*, and every man against his brother, and every man against his neighbour; city against city, and *nome* against *nome* *." Isa. xix. 2.

THE LABYRINTH.

To these twelve kings, *Herodotus* attributed the building of the astonishing *Labyrinth*, near the lake *Mœris*, with its twelve courts, fifteen hundred chambers above, and as many more under ground; with an infinite variety of halls, and passages, and mazes; the roof and the walls, all incrusted with sculptured marble, and surrounded with pillars of white and polished stone. In the lower apartments (which he was not allowed to enter) were, he was told, the tombs, both of the *kings* who originally built the Labyrinth, and of the *sacred crocodiles.* And the upper apartments, which he viewed, excited his admiration, as the greatest efforts of human art and industry, far superior in workmanship and expence to the *pyramids*, and to the most admired *Grecian* temples of *Ephesus* and *Samos.* § 148.

From this representation, it is impossible to conceive that the *Labyrinth* could have been constructed by these twelve kings, during their short reign of fifteen years. Several successions of kings must have been employed in such a prodigious work. And it is much more probable, that it was constructed by the *Shepherd dynasty;* who were idolaters, and worshipped the

* Here the Hebrew, "*kingdom* against *kingdom*," is correctly and critically rendered by the Septuagint version, νομος επι νομον. For νομὸς, a "*district* or *province*," is distinguished from νόμος, "a *law*," by the accent, and is the technical term here employed by *Herodotus*.

Nile in their pyramids, and probably the *crocodile*. Of the two first kings of that race, no public works are recorded. Is it then improbable, that they began this stupendous undertaking to harass the *Egyptians*, as did their successors, by the *pyramids?* These were their real sepulchres; which vague Tradition incorrectly transferred to the pyramids; and they are still more analogous to the stupendous caves at *Elephanta* and *Ellore*, in the *East Indies*. The judicious *Pliny* reckons, that the *Labyrinth* was built 3600 years before his time. This date is too high; for it would carry up the building before the deluge; but it tends to prove his opinion of the *remotest antiquity* to be ascribed to the work.

Might not the subterraneous chamber, in which Queen *Nitocris* drowned a number of the *Egyptians*, have been a part of this building, communicating with the *Nile*, or with the lake *Mœris?*

This oligarchy of the twelve kings, was dissolved by one of their body, *Psammiticus*, at the end of fifteen years of joint reign, whom they expelled, through fear of an Oracle, which foretold, that *whichever of them poured a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt.* This *Psammiticus* inadvertently did, using his helmet for want of a golden cup, like the rest. After his expulsion to the fens, he consulted the Oracle of *Latona*, at *Butos*, how to be revenged on his associates. He was answered, that *his revenge should come, when brazen men should appear from the sea.* Not long after, he was told, with astonishment, by a messenger, that *the country was pillaged by brazen men coming from the sea!* These were a set of *Ionian* and *Carian* pirates, whom *Psammiticus* hired to assist him in dethroning his associates. This they did effectually, and made him sole sovereign of Egypt: and, in reward of their services, he settled them near *Bubastis*, at the *Pelusian* mouth of the *Nile;* whence they were transplanted afterwards to *Memphis*, by *Amasis*. § 152—154.

This, as observed before, was a most surprizing and unaccountable Oracle, the veracity of which *Herodotus* seems anxious to establish, by his description of the settlements of the *Ionian* and *Carian* pirates of his own country, who were, he says, "the first *foreigners* who settled in *Egypt*." The sole reign of *Psammiticus* was $54-15=39$ years; of which he spent 29 years in the siege of *Azotus*. § 157.

About the 23d year of his reign, B.C. 635, the *Scythians*, who had subdued the *Medes*, and held the dominion of *Upper Asia* for 28 years, intended to invade *Egypt*, to retaliate the invasion of *Scythia* by *Sesostris*, formerly; and they had advanced as far as *Askalon*, on their way, when they were prevailed on by *Psammiticus* to desist. This occurrence connects the *Egyptian* and *Median* Chronology together, and is related by *Herodotus* in his *Median* History. B. I. § 105.

By a gross anachronism, *Larcher*, Tom. VI. p. 262, first edit. misapplies to this *Scythian* invasion of *Egypt*, a prophecy of *Jeremiah*: "Thus saith THE LORD, Behold a people is coming from the *north country*, and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth," Jer. vi. 22. But this relates to *Nebuchadnezzar's* invasion of the *Jews*, B.C. 604. Compare Jer. iv. 6, 7, and xxv. 9. *Larcher* is peculiarly unhappy in his references to SCRIPTURE, which he did not understand, and therefore too often misrepresented and traduced.

Herodotus relates a whimsical experiment of this king, to find out the *primeval language*. He shut up two new born infants, in a solitary cottage, for two years, under the care of a shepherd, who was not to suffer any one to speak in their hearing, with a goat to suckle them. One day, the shepherd entering the cottage, both the children ran to him, holding out their hands, and crying *Bekhos*, and this they repeated afterwards. But *Bekhos*, in the *Phrygian* dialect, was found, on enquiry, to signify "bread." The *Egyptians*, therefore, yielded the palm of antiquity to the *Phrygians*. B. II. § 3.

But this experiment was inconclusive: the children evidently imitated *Bek*, stript of the Greek termination, the bleating of their nurse, the *goat:* and *Herodotus* himself acknowledges elsewhere, that the *Phrygians* were a *Macedonian* colony, originally called *Bryges*, and afterwards corruptly, *Phryges*. B. VII. Their barbarous dialect, therefore, could be no standard. One obvious and useful result, however, from the inconclusive experiment, was to shew, that the *faculty of speech* was considered as *innate*, or "the *gift* of *Nature* *," by the *Egyptians*, then reckoned the *wisest* and the most *argumentative people* of antiquity †. Who, in their "boasted *wisdom*," would have looked

* They would have reasoned with more propriety in considering it as the *gift of God.*

† Λογιωτατοι. Herod. B. II. § 77.

down with disdain and contempt on the "*foolishness*" which adopts the *crazy* reveries of ancient *Epicureans* and *Atheists*, so blindly followed by *Rousseau*, *Condorcet*, *Monboddo*, and *Larcher*, &c. &c. misrepresenting the divine faculty of *speech*, or articulate language, "as" by no means the *gift of Nature*, but "*a talent acquired*, like all others!" That "*any language* is *impossible*, before the formation of *societies*, more or less numerous." That such societies, it is *highly probable*, subsisted a *long time*, and that *several arts* were discovered before the *invention of this (language)!* *Larcher*, Tom. II. p. 153.—— But what *art* could be invented, or how could *society* itself be carried on, or improved, without the medium of language to express their mutual *desires* and *wants!*—Such are the manifold absurdities of *Philosophism!* more fully exposed, Vol. I. p. 315, notes, of this work *.

NEKUS, OR PHARAOH NECHO.

Psammiticus was succeeded by his son *Nekus*, signifying "*lame*," the *Pharaoh Necho* of Scripture. This was an active enterprizing prince. He first turned his attention to commerce, and began a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*. Before the canal was half finished, and after the loss of a hundred thousand workmen, the Oracle admonished him to desist, and leave the completion of the work to a *Barbarian*. It was afterwards completed, during the *Persian* dynasty, by *Darius Hystaspes*. Major *Rennel* has given a curious account of this and other canals of communication, from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, which were all works of ostentation rather than of use; for they were soon deserted, either from the failure of the *Bubastic*, or eastern channel of the *Nile*, or filled up by the drifting of the sands in the desert. *Rennel's Herodot.* p. 479.

The most brilliant circumstance of his reign, was

THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA.

After the failure of the canal, *Nekus* employed some skilful *Phœnician* mariners to sail on a voyage of discovery, from the mouth of the *Red Sea*, southward, round the peninsula of *Africa*,

* See Dr. *Magee's* learned and ingenious remarks.

in which they doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, and returned by the straits of *Gibraltar*, through the *Mediterranean* Sea, and completed this coasting voyage in three years. *Rennel* has given a most ingenious diary of their probable route, and their several stations, caused by the interruption of the *trade winds*, *monsoons*, and *currents*, on the eastern and western sides of *Africa*, p. 672—710. *Herodotus* states a paradoxical circumstance, which he discredited, namely, that "as they sailed round the coast of *Libya*, they had the sun on their *right hand*," or to the north. B. IV. § 42. This, indeed, demonstrates, that they crossed the *Southern Tropic* of *Capricorn*, and confirms the truth of their narrative.

It has been objected however, that there is, 1. "a total failure of *all consequences*, from this expedition; 2. a total want of *all collateral evidence;* and, 3. a *total silence* of all other historians, but *Herodotus* and his followers;" by Dean *Vincent:* but his objections may be easily answered.

1. The *failure of consequences*, naturally resulted from the depressed state of *Egypt*, during the *Babylonian* and *Persian* dominations; which took place in, and after, *Pharaoh Necho's* reign.

2. We have strong *collateral evidence*, in the voyage of *Sataspes*, which was required by *Xerxes* to be made, in the contrary direction to this, namely, along the western coast of *Africa*, and to return by the eastern, into the *Red Sea.* But this voyage failed, and probably prevented any further attempts from *Egypt.* See p. 126 of this Volume.

"Nor was *Herodotus* the only author of antiquity among those whose works have come down to us, who believed that *Africa* had been sailed round; for *Pliny* believed that it had been achieved by *Hanno*, *Eudoxus*, and others; but he is silent concerning the voyage of *Necho;* while *Herodotus* is silent about *Hanno's* voyage. Hence it may be suspected, that as this navigation was made much about the same time with that of *Hanno*, Pliny *may* have confounded them together; referring the actions of the *Egyptian* to the *Carthaginian.*"

To this ingenious argument of Major *Rennel*, p. 673, we may add, that *Pliny must* have confounded them; for *Hanno* did not attempt to circumnavigate *Africa.* He stopped considerably short of the Cape of *Good Hope*, and did not go beyond the

Ivory and *Gold* Coasts: for *traffic* and *colonization*, not *discovery*, were his objects. *Hanno's* voyage was most probably occasioned by *Necho's*, from motives of *commercial jealousy*, subsisting between the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*. *Rennel*, p. 743.

3. The testimony of *Herodotus* is ably supported by Dean *Vincent* himself: "It must be confessed (says he), that *the facts Herodotus* gives us of this voyage, though few, are *consistent*. The *shadow falling to the south*, the delay of stopping, [about three months, only] to *sow grain and reap a harvest*, and the space of *three years* employed in the circumnavigation, joined with the *simplicity* of the narrative, are all points so strong and convincing, that if they be insisted on by those who believe the *possibility* of effecting the passage by the ancients, no arguments to the contrary, however founded upon a different opinion, can leave the mind *without a doubt* upon the question *."

Here the Dean clearly admits the insufficiency of the objections to *satisfy* the mind even of the objectors, while the accumulation of all these arguments for the voyage seems to remove *every shadow of doubt*, from all but professed *sceptics*.

Perhaps, as Major *Rennel* observes, the *brevity* of the narration, in *Herodotus*, has been the occasion of its being rejected by many; at the same time, that *inscriptions*, or *legends of medals*, though infinitely more brief, are implicitly received as proofs of the facts recorded. And surely, the sun's appearing on their *right hand*, (or *northwards*) in sailing round *Africa*, was a circumstance which, *Larcher* remarks, could never have been suspected, or fabricated, in an age when *astronomy* was yet in its infancy. *Rennel*, p. 717, 718.

The time of this celebrated voyage could not have been later than B.C. 610, in the ninth year of his reign, and might have been earlier, for it preceded the death of *Josiah*, and capture of *Cadytis* or *Jerusalem*, by *Necho*, B.C. 608. 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

After the defeat and death of *Josiah*, who had opposed his passage, *Necho* proceeded to invade *Assyria*, and took *Carchemish*, a fortified city on the *Euphrates*, near its confluence with the *Chaboras*. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. *Rennel*, p. 683.

He returned triumphant from this expedition, the *Assyrians*

* *Compare Vincent's Periplous of Hanno*, p. 175, with the same, p. 178, and his *Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 275, 276, or *Beloe's* notes on *Herodotus*, Vol. II. p. 394—399.

then not being in a condition to oppose him during the siege of *Nineveh*, by the *Babylonians* and *Medes*. But after its capture, when *Nebuchadnezzar* ascended the throne of *Babylon*, B.C. 604, he took a severe revenge; for he invaded *Egypt*, and stript *Necho* of all his conquests, from the *Euphrates* to the *Nile*, so effectually, that "the king of *Egypt* went not again any more out of his own land" to invade his neighbours; 2 Kings, xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 2; and he died next year, B.C. 603.

This critical correspondence of *Sacred* and *Egyptian* Chronology is highly satisfactory.

It is remarkable, that *Herodotus* has passed over in total silence, not only *Nebuchadnezzar's* first invasion of *Egypt*, and defeat of *Necho*, but also his second invasion, and more ruinous devastation, B.C. 570, in the reign of *Apries*, or *Pharaoh Hophra*, when he ravaged the whole extent of the country, and left it waste for 40 years. Ezek. xxix. 12.

Such omissions tend greatly to counteract the *negative argument*, urged against attested facts, by credible historians, from the *silence* of others. This is similar to the foregoing case of the circumnavigation of Africa. The *Egyptian* priests, indeed, noticed the invasion of *Sennacherib*, because it failed; but the invasions of *Nebuchadnezzar* were too fatally successful. They sunk them, therefore, for the credit of the nation. The recent Persian invasions of *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, and the *Persian* dominion actually subsisting, when *Herodotus* visited them, could neither be denied nor disguised.

Necho was succeeded by his son *Psammis*, who undertook an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, and died soon after, having reigned six years only.

APRIES, OR PHARAOH HOPHRA.

This prince, the son of *Psammis*, for the first twenty-five years of his reign, enjoyed greater prosperity than any of his predecessors, except *Psammiticus*. But fortune then turned against him, or rather PROVIDENCE, for his pride and impiety. "*He imagined that no God could deprive him of the kingdom, so firmly did he think himself established*," as remarked by *Herodotus*, § 169. But GOD pronounced his doom by the prophet *Jeremiah*. "I will give *Pharaoh Hophra*, king of

Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." Jer. xliv. 30. And most remarkably was this fulfilled: GOD first gave him into the hands of his enemies, the *Babylonians*, who " subdued him and the *Gods of Egypt ;*" as expressly foretold, Jer. xlvi. 25, 26, and afterwards, into the hands of his rebellious subjects; when *Amasis*, who led them, defeated him near *Memphis*, and took him prisoner; and for some time, treated him kindly, till " *the people*, murmuring at this lenity to a *common enemy*, as a public detriment, *Amasis* was compelled to surrender him into their hands; and they strangled him." § 169.

AMASIS.

After the death of *Apries*, *Nebuchadnezzar* confirmed the kingdom to *Amasis*; during whose prudent administration, and long reign, *Egypt*, in great measure, recovered her former prosperity, and could boast of 20,000 cities, well inhabited. *Amasis* enacted a wise domiciliary law, that every Egyptian, once in the year, should set forth to the *Nomarch*, or chief magistrate of his district, by what means he subsisted; and whoever did not attend, or could not prove that he lived honestly, was to be punished with death. This was a most effectual law against idlers, and thieves or robbers. *Herodotus* says, that it was borrowed from *Egypt* by *Solon*, and established at *Athens*, where, says he, it is still in use, as being a " *blameless law*," (εοντι αμωμῳ νομῳ) § 177. *Solon* visited the court of *Amasis* about B.C. 554.

Amasis was an admirer of the *Grecians*, and encouraged them to settle in his dominions. He sent a contribution of a thousand talents weight of *alum* toward rebuilding the ancient temple of *Delphi*, which had been burnt by accident; and rich offerings to the temples of *Cyrene*, *Lindus*, and *Samos*. Hence *Hume*, the historian, infers, that the *Egyptian superstition* was not so incompatible with that of *other* nations, as might be imagined from the *domestic* feuds of the several sects: where the worshippers of *dogs*, *cats*, *wolves* and *crocodiles*, exercised a continual warfare with each other, so humorously described by *Juvenal*, Sat. xv. 1—13. See the curious account of their superstitions and abominations, in *Herodotus*, B. II.

The restoration of *Egypt* under *Amasis* seems to have been

foretold in Scripture. " At the end of *forty* years, I will gather the *Egyptians* from the nations whither they were scattered." Ezek. xxix. 11. These forty years of captivity, counted from *Nebuchadnezzar's* invasion, B.C. 570, expired B.C. 530, when *Cyrus*, by a wise and liberal policy, released the *Egyptians*, as he had before the *Jews*. This act of grace took place five years before the death of *Amasis*.

Upon the death of *Cyrus* the *Egyptians* revolted, and the first act of *Cambyses*, after he had settled the eastern provinces, was to invade *Egypt*. The particulars of the invasion were noticed before, p. 119, &c. In addition to these, we may remark here, that *Cambyses* took *Pelusium* by a singular stratagem: finding that it was garrisoned entirely by *Egyptian* troops, he placed a great number of the sacred animals, *cats*, *dogs*, *cows*, *sheep*, &c. in front of the *Persians* when advancing to the walls; and the garrison not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow, for fear of killing some of their Gods, the walls were scaled, and the city taken, without opposition.

Near the end of *Darius Hystaspes'* reign, the *Egyptians* again revolted, but were again reduced by *Xerxes*, previous to his invasion of *Greece*. See p. 139, &c.

Afterwards the *Egyptians* revolted early in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and by the assistance of the *Athenians* defeated the *Persians*, and slew their general *Achemenes*, the king's brother; but were afterwards reduced by *Megabyzus*, all except *Amyrtæus*, who fled to the fens, B.C. 456, and maintained himself there a good while.

Again, the *Egyptians* revolted in the reign of *Darius Nothus*, B.C. 413, when *Amyrtæus* sallying forth from the fens, and joining the *Egyptians*, they drove out the *Persians*.

After six years' reign, he was succeeded by his son *Pausiris*, B.C. 407, who was confirmed in the government by the usual policy of the *Persian* court, noticed by *Herodotus*, B. III. § 15.

Psammiticus II. succeeded his father *Pausiris*. He was remarkable for an act of perfidy and ingratitude. *Tamus*, an *Egyptian*, admiral of the fleet of *Cyrus* the younger, had rendered *Psammiticus* essential services. But on the death of *Cyrus*, and suppression of his rebellion, *Tamus* fled from *Tissaphernes*, who was appointed to succeed *Cyrus* in his province of *Asia Minor*, and implored the friendship and protection of the Egyptian king. But he, deaf to the calls of humanity, gra-

titude and hospitality, hearing that *Tamus* had brought with him considerable treasures, massacred him, his family and retinue, and seized all their property. Diodor. B. XIV. ch. 6.

Acoris, his successor, B.C. 389, assisted *Evagoras*, king of *Cyprus*, in his war against the *Persians*, with a considerable body of troops.

Nectanebis succeeded him, B.C. 375. *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, after three years' preparations, invaded *Egypt*, B.C. 374, with a powerful army of *Persians* and *Grecian* mercenaries, under the command of *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates;* but they were unsuccessful, on account of the slowness of their operations, and the rising of the *Nile;* and were forced to retreat with great loss. See. p. 195.

Tachos succeeded *Nectanebis*, in B.C. 363. To withstand the mighty *Persian* power, he hired a body of *Spartan* mercenaries, commanded by *Agesilaus*, their king. But despising the mean appearance and simple regimen of *Agesilaus*, the haughty Egyptian slighted his counsel, and treated him with contempt. Provoked at this, *Agesilaus*, rather disgracefully, joined some mal-contents, who rebelled, and dethroned *Tachos*, by his help, and set up in his room his kinsman *Nectanebus*, B.C. 361.

At length *Darius Ochus*, dissatisfied with the miscarriages of his lieutenants, invaded Egypt in person, with a great army, and reduced it totally, B.C. 350. *Nectanebus* fled, with all the treasure he could collect, into *Abyssinia*, and was no more heard of. He was the last native king of *Egypt*. *Egypt* was next subdued, without opposition, by *Alexander* the Great, B.C. 332; and afterwards by the *Romans*, B.C. 30. And has ever since continued, and will continue, *the basest of the kingdoms*, fulfilling prophecy, Ezek. xxix. 15; the just reward of their stupid *idolatries* and persevering *abominations*.

APPENDIX.

IT now remains to discharge a promise, made in the preceding volume, p. 386, respecting

PRIMITIVE THEOLOGY, AND ITS CORRUPTIONS.

AUCTORIBUS *uti* OPTIMIS *in omnibus causis, et debet, et solet valere quam plurimum; et primum quidem*, OMNI ANTIQUITATE; *quæ, quo propius aberat ab* ORTU, *et* DIVINA PROGENIE, *hoc melius ea, fortasse, quæ erant* VERA, *cernebat.*—CICERO.

This is a remarkable concession, made by the great *Roman philosopher* and *orator*, in favour of the *most ancient authors*, as the *best*, and the most *intelligent*, respecting the abstruse and mysterious subject of THEOLOGY; notwithstanding all the supposed and boasted improvements of the *wisdom* of succeeding ages, and the pride of *Philosophy*, in later times.

This concession is most unquestionably true, respecting THE SACRED HISTORIANS, the venerable and inspired authors of the books of the Old Testament, and particularly *Moses*, the author of the *Pentateuch*, in whose first book of *Genesis*, compiled partly from *tradition*, and partly from REVELATION, are most clearly, though succinctly, recorded the knowledge and worship of THE MOST HIGH GOD, the beginnings of the *human race*, and of their *language*, *religion*, *arts*, and *institutions*, before and after the deluge.

It is also true of the *most ancient Heathen* records that have survived the wreck of time, of which the oldest fragments subsisting are usually the simplest and best, and afford the most favourable specimens of *primitive Theology*, and exhibit a remarkable conformity with HOLY WRIT. Such, for instance, is the sublime representation of the SUPREME BEING, attributed

to the elder *Zoroaster*, the founder of the *Magian* religion, preserved by *Eusebius*, (see p. 36, note, of this Volume;) the famous inscription on the temple of *Neith* or *Wisdom*, at *Sais*, in *Egypt*, (see Vol. III. p. 525,) which bears a striking analogy to the description of the GOD OF THE HEBREWS, Exod. iii. 14, and of GOD ALMIGHTY, Rev. iv. 8; and both, to the following representation, in the *Bhagavat*, an ancient *Hindu* poem. *Asiat. Research.* I. p. 33, 245.

" I WAS, *even* AT FIRST, *not any other thing.*
That which EXISTS, UNPERCEIVED, SUPREME;
I AM HE WHO IS, and HE WHO MUST REMAIN."

And the palm of *Theological knowledge* was early given to the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews*, by the most ancient *Grecian* Oracles. The *Clarian*, instituted about a century before the *Trojan* war, bears the following honourable testimony to them.

Μουνοι Χαλδαιοι σοφιην λαχον ηδ' αρ' Εβραιοι,
ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΑ σεβαζομενοι ΘΕΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ.

" *Wisdom* was allotted to the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* alone,
Worshipping THE SELF-EXISTING KING, GOD HIMSELF."

And in the *Orphic* verses collected by *Onomacritus*, the following is cited, as from *Moses*.

Αρχην ΑΥΤΟΣ εχων, αμα και Μεσον, ηδε Τελευτην·
Ως Λογος Αρχαιων, ως Υδογενης διεταξεν,
Εκ ΘΕΟΘΕΝ γνωμαισι λαβων κατα διπλακα Θεσμον.

" GOD HIMSELF, having *beginning, middle* and *ending:*
As *the ancients* say, as the *waterborn* [*Moses*] *prescribed:*
Who received a double tablet of laws, derived from GOD."

And the following genuine fragment of the *Sibylline* Oracles is cited by *Pausanias:*

Ζευς ην, Ζευς εστι, Ζευς εσσεται· Ω μεγαλε Ζευ.

" JOVE *was*, JOVE *is*, JOVE *will be:* O GREAT JOVE!"

This title, Ζευς, was ultimately derived from the Hebrew, IAHOH, intimating "*unity.*"

How prevalent indeed, from the rising to the setting sun, was the belief of the existence of THE SUPREME BEING, we learn from the universality of his appropriate title, AUN or ON; AUM or OM, signifying " *Being* *," borrowed from the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews*, those earliest depositories of the *Divine Oracles*, and *Revelations* to mankind; for " *the world by wisdom, knew not*

* For further authorities, see my *Dissertations*, p. 214—223.

GOD;" as an inspired Apostle declared to the *Grecian* philosophers, 1 Cor. i. 21, and the ancient inscription upon the altar at *Athens*, ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩι ΘΕΩι, TO THE UNKNOWABLE GOD, Acts xvii. 23, explained to the *Athenians* by the same Apostle. See his profound discourse, and the commentary thereon, Vol. III. p. 522—530, detailing the *incomprehensibility* of the DIVINE NATURE, as acknowledged by the best and wisest of their philosophers; and the absolute necessity of *Divine instruction;* and the earnest and ardent wishes for *some Divine instructor*, expressed by *Socrates, Plato, Eupolis, Aratus, Cleanthes*, and *Lucian*, &c.

The purity and simplicity of the *primitive worship* of the PATRIARCHAL GOD, is shewn in the foregoing account of the *primitive Magian Religion*, note, p. 36, of this volume, of *Manicheism*, note, p. 251, and of the *primitive Grecian Religion*, given by *Herodotus*, and adduced in the commentary on *Paul's* discourse, Vol. III. p. 523.

II. The *primitive Religion and Morality*, founded thereon, was equally good. Of these, we have the fairest and the fullest specimen, in the ancient and venerable book of *Job*, far superior in antiquity to any other extant in the whole range of sacred and profane literature. See the foregoing articles, of *Job*, his *Faith, Theology* and *Morality*, Vol. II. p. 51—58; p. 93—102, and the history of the ancient *Persian* kings, of the *Pischdadian* and succeeding races, in this volume. From all which, an advantageous idea may be formed of its main articles, requiring *mankind* "*to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their* GOD," according to the summary of the Heathen prophet *Balaam*, Micah vi. 5—8, explained Vol. II. p. 200, 201.

"This," says excellently Sir *Isaac Newton*, "was the *morality* and *religion* of the first ages, still called by the *Jews, The precepts of the sons of Noah:* This was the religion of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, comprehended in the two great commandments, of loving THE LORD OUR GOD, *with all our heart and soul and mind;* and OUR NEIGHBOUR *as ourselves:* This was the religion enjoined by Moses to the uncircumcised *Stranger*, within the gates of Israel, as well as to the *Israelites:* and this is the primitive religion of both *Jews* and *Christians;* and ought to be the standing religion of *all nations;* it being for the *honour of* GOD, *and good of mankind.*"——

"So then, the believing that *the world* was *framed* by ONE

SUPREME GOD, and is *governed* by HIM; and the *loving* and *worshipping Him;* and *honouring our parents*, and *loving our neighbours as ourselves;* and *being merciful even to brute beasts, is the oldest of all religions.*" Chronology, p. 183, 184.

The *Heathen poets*, who faithfully represented the *popular* belief and practice, have well illustrated this.

Quid prius dicam *solitis* PARENTIS
Laudibus? Qui res *Hominum* ac *Deorum*,
Qui *mare* et *terras*, *variis*que *mundum*
Temperat *horis*.

" What shall I sing before the *usual praises*,
Of THE FATHER OF ALL? Who regulates
The affairs of *men* and *Gods*, the *sea* and *lands*,
And *the world* itself, by *various seasons*." HORAT.

Quin damus id SUPERIS, de magna quod dare *lance*
Non possit magni *Messalæ* lippa propago:
Compositum jus, *fasque Animi; sanctosque recessus*
Mentis; et *incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*
Hæc cedo, ut admoveam *templis*, et *farre* litabo*. PERSIUS.

" But to THE GODS, be such the gift *we bear*,
Such as the great *Messala's* dastard heir,
From his capacious *Censer*, piled on high,
Never, my friend, no, never can supply:
A *soul*, where *settled virtue* reigns enshrined,
Where *justice* dwells, with *sanctity* combined,
Within whose inmost close *recesses* lie
Tinctures of generous honour's deepest dye.
Such is the *sacrifice* THE GODS demand:
A *cake* suffices, from a *spotless* hand."
BREWSTER'S TRANSLATION.

III. But about the age of *Nimrod*, or "*the Rebel*," began the first corruption of the *Primitive Theology* and *Worship*. The *Zabian* Idolatry of the Heavenly host, and the Elements, was then introduced in *Chaldea*, and reached *Arabia*, in *Job's* time, who expresses in lively terms, his abhorrence of the adoration of the *Sun* and *Moon*, xxxi. 26. See Vol. II. p. 48, 95—98.

* When the *Athenians*, in a war with the *Lacedæmonians*, had suffered many defeats by sea and land, they sent to consult the Oracle of *Jupiter Amun*, why they who had made so many costly offerings, and slain so many hecatombs in sacrifice to the Gods, should be less successful than their enemies, who were so deficient in these respects. The *Oracle* replied, "I am better pleased with the *prayers* of the *Lacedæmonians*, than with *all the oblations* of the *Greeks*." The *Lacedæmonian* prayer was, that "*the Gods* might give them *all good things*, so long as they were *virtuous*." See *Plato's Dialogue on Prayer, Alcibiades* the Second; or the *Spectator*, No. 207.

Sanchoniatho, in his fragment, represents this idolatry as introduced in *Cain's* family even before the Deluge; which is not improbable, from the contrast between the pious *Sethites*, called "*Sons of God*," and the impious *Cainites*, who seduced them into *idolatry*, and all the ensuing crimes of *lust* and *violence*, with which the first world was overspread in the tenth generation, until it was destroyed by the Deluge; all except righteous *Noah* and his family. See Vol. II. p. 32—37, and this volume, p. 3.

The next innovation and corruption of the *Patriarchal Theology* seems to have originated from the *allegorizing* genius of the *Magian* and *Egyptian* Priests, vailing the divine perfections, under various *animal* types and resemblances. Thus THE DEITY was represented, so early as *Zoroaster's* time, as having a "*hawk's head*," expressive of his *sharp sightedness*, or *all seeing providence*; and thus, the SUPREME SPIRIT was degraded, by allusions to *Bulls* and *Cows*, and *Calves*; *Dogs* and *Cats*, *Serpents* and *Crocodiles*, *Storks* and *Ichneumons*, &c. and all the monstrous and revolting *polytheism* of the *Egyptians* and *Indians*, framed, at first, *allegorically* or *mystically*, to cloak their theology from the vulgar, or the uninitiated; but afterwards, when the meaning of the symbols was forgotten or lost, it degenerated into the most grovelling *bestial* worship. See Vol. II. p. 167, and this volume, p. 25, 26, note.

The third stage of innovation seems to have been the *deifying dead men*, or the worship of *Demigods* and *Heroes*. This, though introduced, perhaps, later than the former, might have prevailed earlier; and is represented by *Sanchoniatho* as immediately succeeding the *Zabian* Idolatry. See this volume, p. 5. And *Hesiod's Gods* of the Golden Age, beginning with *Saturn*, or *Adam*, were borrowed from the *Egyptian* Mythology. *Saturn* was afterwards made also the first God of the Silver Age, *Noah*, and the father of *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, or *Japheth*, *Shem* and *Ham*, by *Homer*, see Vol. I. p. 243, and by the *Old Egyptian Chronicle* also, explained also in this volume, see also p. 14, note.

The invention of this species of Idolatry is well explained by the apocryphal author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

> For the devising of *idols*, was the beginning of *Fornication*,
> And the invention of them, the *corruption of life*.
> For they were not from the beginning, nor shall be for ever.

For by the *vain glory* of men, it entered into the world,
And therefore, shall come to a speedy end.

1. For a father afflicted with unseasonable grief,
Having made an image of his child speedily taken away,
Honoured the *dead man* now as a *God*,
And delivered to his dependants *mysteries* and *rites*.
Thus, in process of time, the impious usage
Gaining strength, was observed as *a law*;
And *graven images* were adored by the *decrees of kings*.
2. Those [*princes*] whom their subjects living far off,
Could not honour in person, at a distance, engraving
Their visage, they made an express image
Of the king to be honoured, to flatter him when absent,
As if he were present, through their officiousness.
3. And the sedulity of the artist promoted [the superstition]
For he, wishing to please the ruler,
Wrought by his skill, the likeness, to perfection,
And the vulgar, attracted by the grace of the work,
Counted him now, an object of worship,
Who, a little before, was regarded as a man.
4. So this became a snare to the world:
For men enslaved by *affliction*, or *tyranny* *,
Gave to *stones* and to *stocks*, THE INCOMMUNICABLE NAME."

WISD. xiv. 12—21.

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* The following excellent and enlarged observations on the *origin of Idolatry*, we owe to *Sir William Jones*, *Asiatic Research*. Vol. I. p. 222.

"There seem to have been four principal sources of all *Mythology* [or fabulous Theology.]

"I. *Historical* or *Natural Truth* has been perverted into *Fable* by ignorance, imagination, flattery or stupidity, as [*Jupiter*] a king of *Crete*, whose tomb had been discovered in that island, was conceived to be the God of *Olympus* [or *Heaven*]; and *Minos*, a legislator of that country, to have been his son, and to hold a supreme appellate jurisdiction over departed souls.——The *mad apotheosis* of truly great men, or of little men falsely called great, has been the origin of gross *idolatrous* errors, in every part of the *Pagan* world.

"II. The next source of them appears to have been a *wild admiration* of the *heavenly bodies*; and after a time, the *systems* [or *Cycles*] and calculations of *Astronomers*. Hence came a considerable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Zabian* worship in *Arabia*; the *Persian* types and emblems of *Mihr*, the Sun; and the far-extended adoration of the *Elements*, and the *powers of Nature*; and hence, perhaps, all the artificial [or *technical*] *Chronology* of the *Chinese* and *Indians*; with the invention of *Demigods* and *Heroes* to fill the vacant niches in their imaginary periods.

"III. Numberless Divinities have been created solely by the magic of *Poetry*, whose essential business it is to *personify* the most *abstract notions*, and to place a *Nymph* or a *Genius* in every grove, and almost in every flower; hence Υγιεια, and Ιασων, "*Health*" and "*Remedy*," are the poetical daughters of *Æsculapius*, who was either a distinguished *Physician*, or *medical skill* personified; and hence Χλωρις, "*verdure*," is married to *Zephyrus*, [the *western* breeze.]

"IV. The *metaphors* and *allegories* of *Moralists* and *Metaphysicians* have been also

The author proceeds to enumerate the various crimes and abominations resulting from *Idolatry*, ver. 22—28, in a remarkable passage which seems to have been imitated by *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, i. 24—32. And both furnish a horrible description of the enormous wickedness that prevailed in the Heathen world, at the seasonable introduction of CHRISTIANITY, to *bring the world from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God* *.

IV. Among the salutary restraints that for a good while contributed to check the torrent of corruption introduced by Heathen *Polytheism*, we may justly reckon the *Oracles* and the *Mysteries*.

The most ancient *Oracles* in the Heathen world were unquestionably dictated by the *Spirit of* TRUTH; for GOD never left himself unwitnessed, by his *extraordinary* interpositions, as well as by the *ordinary* dispensations of his providence, Job iv. 13—17; xxxii. 18; Acts xiv. 15—17; Rom. i. 19—22. See p. 63, and Vol. III. p. 511.

very fertile in Deities; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from *Plato*, *Cicero*, and the inventive *Commentators* on *Homer*, in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous lessons of morality."

I have in the text, inverted the order of *Sir William Jones*, by ranking the *Zabian* idolatry foremost, because it is the only species noticed in that oldest and noblest Oriental composition, the Book of *Job*; and was introduced, as *Sir William* himself remarks, in the seventh generation after the Deluge. See Vol. II. p. 55, of this work. The *Cycles* of *Astronomers*, which he classes therewith, were evidently the latest of all, when *Astronomy* was considerably improved; which it was not, till a good while after the time of *Thales* in *Greece*; and after the era of *Nabonassar* in *Chaldea*, *Hindustan*, *China*, and *Egypt*. See Vol. I. p. 195—203, of this work.

* *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his *Admonition to the Gentiles*, p. 30, edit. 1616, has given the following lively description of the impurities of their *Polytheism* and *Mythology*:

Ταυτα υμων της ηδυπαθειας τα αρχετυπα, αυται της υβρεως αι Θεολογιαι, αυται των συμπορνευοντων υμιν Θεων αι διδασκαλιαι·——Πανισκοι και γυμναι κοραι, και μωριων εντασεις ταις γραφαις απογυμνουμεναι·——Ηταιρηκεν υμιν τα ωτα, πεπορνευκασιν οι οφθαλμοι, αι οψεις μεμοιχευκασι. Ω βιασαμενοι τον ανθρωπον, και το ενθεον του πλασματος ελεγχει απαρξαντες!

"These are the symbols of your voluptousness! These your insulting *Theologies!* These the instructions of your *co-fornicating Gods!*—Your *Satyrs*, and your naked *Nymphs*, and contests of *Buffoons*, exposed naked in *your Scriptures!*——Your ears are defiled, your eyes incontinent, your look adulterous, ye *debasers of manhood*: devoting to disgrace the first fruits of the *Divine particle* of your frame!"

The *Grecian* popular *Theology* indeed, was most detestable: it licensed not only adultery and fornication in their *Gods* with each other, but also with men and women; and even the most unnatural lusts, under the forms of *bulls*, *goats*, *swans*, *eagles*, &c.

One of the earliest *Oracles* on record, was that in *Canaan*, (probably at *Debir*, signifying "the Oracle," formerly *Kiriath Sepher*, "the city of the book," Josh. xv. 15,) consulted by the Patriarch *Isaac*, about his wife *Rebecca's* pregnancy; which remarkably foretold the birth of the twins, *Esau* and *Jacob*, and the fortunes of their respective families, Gen. xxv. 22—26. It is expressly said, that *Isaac* "enquired of THE LORD," and probably by the venerable *Melchizedek*, king of *Salem*, in its neighbourhood, and "*Priest of* THE MOST HIGH GOD," Gen. xiv. 18, who, though a *Canaanite*, was so highly honoured in Scripture, as a type of CHRIST, Psalm cx. 4, Heb. vii. 1—4.

The famous *Libyan* Oracle of JOVE, derived its title *Amun*, "Truth," from the veracity of its responses, and therefore was originally dictated, we may be assured, by THE GOD OF TRUTH. *Assyria* and *Chaldea* were in the highest repute, in the earliest times, for their *Diviners* and *Soothsayers;* of this class, were the prophet *Balaam*, the *Sibylline* Priestesses, &c., who diffused the true lights of Revelation, far and near, through the Heathen world, in *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, *Canaan*, &c., as far as *Italy*. See *Balaam's* prophecies, Vol. II. p. 199—209; and the *Cumæan Sibyl's*, Vol. III. p. 655, note.

The most ancient *Oracle* of *Greece* was at *Dodona*, founded by *Dodan*, the son of *Javan*, or *Iaon*, or *Ion*, and the grandson of *Japheth*, or *Japetus*, who settled there with his family. Their Theology was pure, and their worship simple, as we learn from the curious account communicated to *Herodotus* by their priests. See Vol. III. p. 523, note. But in process of time, the *Oracle* degenerated, and basely sanctioned the introduction of *Egyptian Polytheism*, with the lascivious rites of the *Lingam*, or *Priapus*, &c. celebrated at *Samothrace* likewise; as we learn from the honest and candid report of *Herodotus*, who was ashamed of their impurities.

Next to this was probably the Oracle of *Themis*, or Justice, at *Delphi*, consulted by *Deucalion*, king of *Thessaly*, after the partial deluge in that country. See Vol. I. p. 112, 340, note. But this genuine Oracle was at length succeeded, or superseded, by the spurious Oracle of *Apollo*, "the Destroyer," dictated by *Python*, "the *Old Serpent*, the *Devil*, and *Satan*," who deceived the whole heathen world, and made this "his chief *seat*," which had before been occupied by THE ORACLE, *the Saviour*

of mankind. But who still interposed, on several extraordinary occasions, as in the *Persian* war, when the *Athenians*, still a virtuous people, were fighting for their Religion, their Laws, and their Liberties, to controul and overrule the foul fiend, as we have seen in the course of this Volume, p. 115—118, p. 153, note.

The *Samothracian* and *Eleusinian Mysteries*, before their corruption by the impure *Syrian* and *Egyptian* rites, were also powerful barriers against the licentious immoralities of the Established Religion, by keeping alive a wholesome remembrance of the *immortality of the soul*, and *future state of rewards and punishments*, which was the leading doctrine of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, inculcated by *Paul* at *Athens*, Acts xvii. 31. See the foregoing account of these Mysteries, p. 163, note, and a signal prodigy which happened at *Eleusis*, on the morning of the battle of *Salamis*, reported by *Herodotus*, p. 165—170.

GOD also raised up, occasionally, some "burning and shining *lights*," to reform the heathen world; such as the two *Zoroasters*, *Thales* and his associates, the seven Sages, *Pythagoras*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Minos*, *Zaleucus*, *Socrates*, &c. among the Philosophers and Legislators; and *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c. among the Tragic Poets; who still kept alive, in their writings and laws, the grand doctrines of the Patriarchal Religion. See *Euripides'* noble maintenance of the unity of the Supreme Being, and the admirable extracts from *Socrates*, *Eupolis*, *Aratus*, *Cleanthes*, &c. in the foregoing comment on *Paul's* discourse at *Athens*, Vol. III. p. 522—530.

Hence, amidst the general diffusion of ignorance, and corruption of religion and morals, in the heathen world, the illustrious Apostle of the Gentiles did not hesitate to appeal to the consciences of his converts to attest, that he introduced no *strange* nor *novel doctrines* among them, but such as were still acknowledged by the best and wisest of themselves *.

* I. The great *Athenian* and *Roman* orators, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, who, as being desirous of *popular applause*, would not fail to speak the *public sentiment*, express themselves thus, in perfect unison with the learned Apostle:

Παρα μεν τοινυν τοις αλλοις, εγωγ' ὁρω πασιν ανθρωποις διωρισμενα και τεταγμενα πως τα τοιαυτα· αδικει τις ἑκων; οργη και τιμωρια κατ' αυτου· εξεμαρτε τις ακων; συγγνωμη αντι της τιμωριας. Φανησεται τοινυν ταυτα παντα οὑτως, ου μονον εν τοις νομοις, αλλα και ἡ φυσις αυτη τοις αγραφοις νομιμοις, και τοις ανθρωπινοις ηθεσι διωρικεν. "As

"Provide things *fair* [or *honest*] in the sight of *all men*." ——"Whatsoever things are *true*, whatsoever things are *venerable*, whatsoever things are *just*, whatsoever things are *pure*, whatsoever things are *acceptable*, whatsoever things are *creditable* [or of *good report*]; if there be any *virtue*, if there be any *worth* [or *praise*] ponder these things." Rom. xii. 17; Phil. iv. 8.

And he bears honourable testimony to the *good-nature* or disposition of some, even of the unregenerate *Gentiles*, as contrasted with the *Jews*; the former, acting up to the *law of conscience*, written in their hearts, with the finger of God; the latter, violating the written law of *Moses*, though positively

"As to the rest then, I see such distinctions as these established, *somehow*, among all men: *Does any commit injury wilfully?* indignation and punishment await him: *Did any offend involuntarily?* pardon is granted him, instead of the punishment. All these appear to be so ordered, not only *in the laws*, but *Nature herself* prescribed them in the *unwritten rules* and *customs* of mankind." *De Corona.*

Mihi quidem eæ *veræ* videntur opiniones, quæ *honestæ*, quæ *laudabiles*, quæ *gloriosæ*, quæ in Senatu, quæ apud populum, quæ in omni cœtu concilioque proferenda sint: ne id non *pudeat sentire*, quod *pudeat dicere.*

"To me indeed, those sentiments seem *true*, which are *honest*, which are *laudable*, which are *popular*; which may properly be uttered in the senate, or before the *people*, at any council or assembly." *De Finibus* II. 24

Estque hominis ingenui et liberaliter educati, *velle bene audire* a parentibus, a propinquis, a bonis etiam viris; idque *propter rem ipsam, non propter usum.*

"It is the province of an ingenuous and well educated man, *to wish for applause*, from his parents, from his relations, and from good citizens; and that *for its own sake, not for profit.*" *De Finibus* III. 17.

II. The *Poets* also maintain the same doctrine.

——— Aut *Virtus* nomen inane est,
Aut *decus* et *pretium* recte petit experiens vir.

"Either *virtue* is an empty name, or the man of enterprize
Rightly seeks *honour* and *reward.*"

Quid *verum* atque *decens* curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum,
Virtutis veræ custos rigidusque Satelles.

"Whatsoever is *true* and *decent*, I mind and seek;
Of *real virtue* the guardian and rigid sentinel." *Horace.*

But what a *falling off* does this inconsistent Poet, and *Epicurean* Moralist, exhibit in the next distich?

Nunc in *Aristippi furtim* præcepta relabor;
Et *mihi res, non me rebus* submittere conor.

"At another time I relapse, *by stealth*, into *Pleasure's* rules;
And strive to accommodate *circumstances to myself*,
Not myself to circumstances." Epist. I. 1, 10—19.

revealed from heaven. Such, in particular, was *Cornelius*, the *Roman* centurion, " whose *prayers* and whose *alms* came up for a *memorial*, or grateful sacrifice, before GOD," even by the express testimony of an angel from heaven. Acts x. 4; Rom. ii. 4—16.

This, I trust, is a fair and candid, not overcharged representation, of the state of religion and morals of the *Heathen* world, at the preaching of the GOSPEL; which came indeed, in *the fulness of time*, to supply the *insufficiency* of their *Theology* and *Morality*, to *instruct* and *save* mankind, and to correct their *crying sins* and *abominations* in general; as acknowledged by themselves.

PAGAN TRINITIES.

The mysterious doctrine of the TRINITY is taught in the Old Testament more obscurely; in the New Testament, more clearly; but not exclusively in either; remarkable traces of it are to be found in the *Heathen Scriptures* also, derived from *Patriarchal*, or *Traditional Revelation*, ultimately, and corrupted in its course.

1. In the *Orphic* Mythology, recorded by *Suidas*, (voce Ορφευς) the supreme principle of creation, was represented as threefold, ΒΟΥΛΗ, ΦΩΣ, ΖΩΗ, " COUNSEL, LIGHT, LIFE." All these are remarkably applied to CHRIST, in the sublime introduction of *John's Gospel*, if we consider the first, " COUNSEL," as synonymous with Ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ, " THE ORACLE," (as CHRIST is actually styled, Luke vii. 30): and " LIGHT INACCESSIBLE" is appropriated to THE FATHER, by *Paul*, 1 Tim. vi. 16. See the original passage of *Orpheus*, given in the foregoing Comment on the Introduction of *John's Gospel*. Vol. III. p. 68, note on ver. 4.

That COUNSEL indeed is equivalent to THE ORACLE, we learn also from the exposition of *Plato's Trinity*, given by *Origen*, of the *Alexandrian* School, namely, 1. Ὁ πατηρ, " THE FATHER," whom the *Platonists* reckoned, Αυτο Ον, " *Being itself;*" and, according to *Porphyry*, Τ' αγαθον, " *the Good:*" (to which, perhaps, OUR LORD alluded, in answer to the young *Jewish* ruler, who might have learned the philosophy of *Alexandria*, Matt. xix. 17.) 2. Ὁ Νους, " THE MIND," or ὁ Λογος, " THE ORACLE," whom they represented as inferior to the

first; and whom *Porphyry* calls, Ὁ Δημιουργος, "*the framer of the world,*" (to which, perhaps, *John* alludes, i. 2.) And 3. Ἡ ψυχη του κοσμου, "*the soul of the world;*" (alluding, perhaps, to the SPIRIT OF GOD, brooding upon the abyss, at the creation, Gen. i. 2.) See *Gale*, Vol. II. p. 134.

The first being, *Plato* called, πηγη της Θεοτητος, "*the fountain of the Godhead;*" and του τε ἡγεμονος και αιτιου παντος πατηρ, "*the Father of the Leader, and cause of all.*" And "*the Leader*" was remarkably a title of CHRIST, both in the Old and New Testament, 1 Chron. v. 2; Micah v. 2; Dan. ix. 25; Matt. ii. 6, &c. See *Cudworth*, p. 385, 588, 407.

These three persons of *Plato's Trinity*, were not only *eternal*, but *necessarily existent*, and absolutely *imperishable*. For the first could not exist without the second, which was called Αυτοσοφια, "*Wisdom itself;*" (or that *wisdom* personified, which was with GOD at the creation, Prov. viii. 22—31; a title, which OUR LORD assumed to himself, Matt. xi. 19); nor the first and second, without the third, any more than original *light*, without *splendour*, or *effulgence*, according to *Plato's* comparison, (which perhaps might be alluded to by *Paul*, where he calls THE SON, "*the effulgence* of his Father's *glory,*" Heb. i. 3). And he held, ὁτι Νους εστι γενουστης του παντων αιτιου, "that *mind* is *cognate* with the [first] *cause of all things;*" which, in the language of the *Nicene* Creed, was expressed, that "the SON was ὁμοουσιος, of *the same substance* with THE FATHER," and therefore not a *creature*. *Cudworth*, Intellect. Syst. p. 575. And this indeed was the true *Athanasian* doctrine; for in the language of *Athanasius* himself, ει αιδιος εστιν ὁ υἱος, ουκ ην κτισμα, ει δε κτισμα τυγχανει, ουκ ην αιδιος. "If THE SON be *eternal*, he was *no creature;* but if he is a *creature*, he was *not eternal* *."

This remarkable analogy between the *Platonic Theology* of the *Alexandrian* School, and the true *Athanasian*, or *Nicene* doctrine, designed to combat the *Arian* (and *Socinian*) hypothesis, is highly satisfactory; and will, it is hoped, be deemed a sufficient justification of a former remark on the Creed, commonly called *Athanasian*, Vol. III. p. 291, to *candid, intelligent*, and *orthodox Churchmen* *; who would wish to separate the

* *Erasmus* has well explained this, in his *Inquisitio de fide*, Edit. Elzev. To the question, *Cur Deus*, JESUM CHRISTUM, *filium appellat?* the answer is, *Ne quis somniet, esse creaturam*, and the note thereon, "*Arius* docuit *filium Dei*, etiam juxta perfectissimam

chaff from the wheat, the spurious from the genuine doctrine of the *Nicene* Fathers; though it is much to be regretted, that the peace of the Church was ever disturbed by *metaphysical* subtilties, and the *jargon* of controversy. See the excellent Letter of *Constantine the Great*, Vol. III. p. 601, note.

Plato himself declared, that "these doctrines were not *new*, nor of *yesterday*;" they had been obscurely delivered before him, by *Parmenides*, the disciple of *Pythagoras*, and were derived from the *Orphic Cabbala*. But *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, all travelled into *Egypt*, and were initiated in the *Egyptian* Mysteries: and the *Egyptian* Mysteries themselves were founded on the *Hebrew*. *Cudworth*, p. 305, 306, 353, 354.

The primitive *Egyptian Trinity* is not expressly noticed by *Cudworth*, who has failed in some parts of his profoundly learned work, by not ascending to the fountain head in the ORIGINAL SCRIPTURES, and *Oriental* languages, confining himself merely to *Greek* and *Latin* literature; from all which sources of information, we may collect, that it originally consisted of ON, ISIS, and NEITH.

1. ON, the Supreme Being, called also HEPHAISTOS, or VULCAN, the God of *Light inaccessible*; and PAN, the Universe; and IO-SIHR, or OSIRIS, signifying "*black Jove*;" for they represented the DEITY to be also σκοτος αγνωστον, "*darkness unknowable*." He was the Ζευς κελαινεφης, "*black-clouded Jove*" of *Homer* and the *Greeks*; for "*clouds* and *darkness* are round about him." Deut. iv. 11; Psal. xcvii. 2, &c.

2. ISIS was supposed to be the wife of JOVE, from *Isha*, "woman," the Hebrew name of *Evē*, "the mother of all *living*." And as they afterwards degraded ON into the *Sun*; so they degraded *Isis* into the *Earth*, which was fertilized, and rendered fruitful or prolific by the *Sun*; and she became the Δημητηρ, "*Mother Earth*," or *Ceres* of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, in *Attica*, and the *Juno* of *Homer*.

3. NEITH, or WISDOM, whose temple at *Sais* bore the famous inscription, already noticed. NEITH was afterwards degraded into *Sarapis*, or *Serapis*, "*the serpent*," who had one of the greatest temples in Egypt. And NEITH was the *Athenè*, *Minerva*, or *Pallas*, of *Homer* and the Greeks, the immediate

naturam, *fuisse Creaturam*. At qui naturâ filius est, gignitur ex *substantiâ Patris*; sed *Dei substantia indivisibilis* est: *eandem* igitur oportet esse *Patris* et *filii*. De *divinis personis* loquor.

offspring of JOVE himself, and next to him in dignity *, whose emblem, the *Serpent*, was kept in the *Acropolis*, or citadel, at *Athens*, as we have seen.

The Latin *Trinity* was borrowed from the *Egyptian* and *Greek;* and consisted of JOVE, or JUPITER; JUNO MATRONA, or CYBELÈ, the *Mother of the Gods;* and PALLAS, or MINERVA, the *Goddess of Wisdom;* as intimated by the poet, noticed by *Cudworth*, p. 450.

Trina in *Tarpeio* fulgent *consortia* templo.

Persia and *India* had also their *Trinities*, which were somewhat different.

The primitive *Magian Trinity* consisted of MITHRAS, OROMAZDES, and AHRIMAN. The first was *the Supreme God*, dwelling in *light* inaccessible, who still was worshipped in the *darkness* of the cave. The second was " the *Light* of the World," or *Wisdom*; and the third, the *Principle of Evil. Hyde* confounds *Oromazdes* with *Mithras;* as we have seen in the foregoing note, p. 38, of this volume. But *Oromazdes* is rather the second person of the *Persian* Trinity, according to the higher authority of *Cudworth*. And this is confirmed by

The *Indian* Trinity, consisting of BRAHMA, VISHNU, and SEEVA, as explained by Sir *William Jones*. *Brahma* representing the *Creator*, evidently from the Hebrew *Bara*, or *Brah*, " he created," Gen. i. 1. *Vishnu*, signifying " the Pervader," or *Nayaran*, " moving on the waters," evidently corresponding to the *Spirit of* GOD, Gen. i. 2. And *Seeva*, " the destroyer," corresponding to the Persian *Ahriman;* and both, perhaps, to the *Abaddon* of the Orientals, and the βασιλευς απολλυων of the Apocalypse, Rev. ix. 11; or the αναξ απολλων, " destroying king," of *Homer*, signifying *Satan*, originally; afterwards applied to the *Sun*, φοιβος απολλων, from his scorching heat.

These unstrained Oriental derivations, and references to Holy Writ, may contribute to throw some new lights on the profound obscurify of this most mysterious subject; and tend to illustrate, in some prominent instances, the *antiquarian* doctrine of Sir *William Jones*, in his elaborate Essay on the Gods of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, Asiat. Research. Vol. I. p. 221—275, designed to point out a resemblance between the *popular worship* of the

* *Proximos* ILLI *tamen occupavit*
PALLAS *honores.* *Hor.*

old *Greeks* and *Italians*, and that of the *Hindus*. "Nor can there be room," says he, "to doubt of a *great similarity* between their *strange religions*, and that of *Egypt*, *China*, *Persia*, *Phrygia*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*; to which, perhaps, we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms, [*Peru* and *Mexico*], and even islands [*Caribbees*, &c.] of *America*: while the *Gothic* system, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely similar to those of *Greece* and *Italy*; but almost the same, in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently *Asiatic*. From all this, (if it be satisfactorily proved) we may infer a *general union*, or *affinity*, between the most distinguished inhabitants of *the Primitive world, at the time* when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the *rational adoration* of THE ONLY TRUE GOD." P. 221.

CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The consideration of these is necessary to complete the argument, as forming an additional link in the *religious* history of the world; ever since it has been graciously enlightened at sundry times, by various dispensations, the PATRIARCHAL, the MOSAICAL, and the CHRISTIAN, each growing clearer and brighter, in their progress from the prime fountain of all *Revelation*. John i. 16, 17; Heb. i. 1.

The causes of the deterioration of the pure light of the Gospel, in its recess from the *Apostolic Age*, are similar to, and intimately connected with, the foregoing; they equally originate from *human inventions*, unwarrantably *adding* to, or *diminishing* from, the integrity of THE LAW, and THE GOSPEL.

1. The first source of corruption may be traced up as high as the *Apostolic Age* itself, in the remarkable propensity of the *Judaizing* converts, to adulterate the written word, by engrafting thereon their own peculiar tenets. "Except ye be *circumcised*, according to the *law of Moses*, *ye cannot be saved*," (Acts xv. 1.) was the language of the *Pharisaical* Teachers, imposing a yoke and a burden on the *Gentile* Churches, from which CHRIST had graciously set them free; which, even the *Jews* themselves were not able to bear; as honestly confessed by *Peter*, Acts xv. 10. This first *heresy* was condemned in the first Apostolic Council, held at *Jerusalem*, A.D. 49.

2. About the same time, the *Philosophizing* Teachers, of the

Stoic, *Epicurean*, *Gnostic*, and *Manichean* schools, in *Europe* and *Asia*, beginning with *Simon Magus*, in *Samaria*, and afterwards in *Rome*, equally corrupted the simplicity of the Gospel, by false notions of the nature and mission of CHRIST; some Heretics denying his *human*, others, his *divine nature;* and both equally rejecting his *atonement* for the sins of the world, and the necessity of such a *Teacher sent from God*, to instruct and reform mankind. Hence originated those mischievous and unprofitable contests and controversies, about *faith*, and *works*, &c. which harassed the Infant Church, and were earnestly combated by the Apostles, *Peter*, *James*, and most fully by *Paul*, in their Epistles. See *the History of the Church*, Vol. III. p. 406, &c. of this work.

3. To such *speculative* errors we may add the gradual introduction of *false mediators*, the Virgin *Mary*, and all the tribes of canonized *Saints* and *Martyrs*, which succeeded *Diana* of Ephesus, and the host of Heathen *Gods* and *Heroes*, and the consequent adoption of *superstitious* and *idolatrous* rites, ceremonies, and usages, in the Christian Churches, both of the east and west; whence a general corruption of faith and morals ensued, and because "*iniquity* did abound, the *love*, or Christian *charity*, of the *many* waxed *cold*," and produced all that fatal "*lukewarmness*" and *hypocrisy*, which attended the civil establishment of Christianity, and led to, or occasioned,

4. The scourges of the pestilent *heresies* and *apostacies* of *Popery* in the west, and *Islamism* in the east, which rose together, flourished together, and declined together; keeping pace with each other in their joint persecutions of the *Faithful Witnesses*, or remnant of the true Church; equally harassing and tormenting the rest of the world, for their *idolatries* and *abominations*, during the *first* and *second* woes, ever since their rise, about A.D. 620, and in conjunction with their offspring and likeness, *Infidelity*, during this *last* woe; which, by the most probable computation, began about A.D. 1793, and is likely to continue till A.D. 1880, when may be found, perhaps, the expiration of the whole period of persecution for 1260 years, foretold by *Daniel*, and the *Apocalypse*, as explained in the foregoing Volumes.

NATIONAL JUDGMENTS.

As "*Righteousness exalteth* a nation" to temporal *prosperity* and *grandeur*, so "*Sin* is the *disgrace*," and the *ruin*, "of any people." A sage aphorism, (Prov. xiv. 34,) which is verified by the whole tenor of Sacred and Profane History, and exemplified in the foregoing pages, by many remarkable instances of *ancient nations*, the *Persians*, *Medes*, &c. which flourished while they were religious and virtuous, but declined, and fell into decay, when they grew irreligious and corrupt; both by the natural progress of *human* depravity, and by the righteous judgments of GOD; "for the *nation* and *kingdom* that *will not serve* HIM, shall *perish*; yea, *those nations* shall be *utterly wasted*," Isa. lx. 12. The *present race* "shall perish;" *their posterity* "shall be utterly wasted," or exterminated! for *wheresoever the carcase is*, or the mass of the people become corrupt, *there shall the eagles*, or swift and rapacious ministers of divine vengeance, *be gathered together*, to devour, to destroy, and to make an end!

"*Who cannot understand*," said the great *Roman* Orator, "that *by the providence of the* GODS, *this mighty empire has been formed, and enlarged, and preserved?*—

"We may admire ourselves, *Conscript Fathers*, as much as we please; nevertheless, it was neither by numbers that we subdued the *Spaniards*, nor by strength the *Gauls*, nor by craft the *Carthaginians*, nor by tactics the *Grecians*, nor, in fine, by the home bred and native good sense of this people and country, the *Italians* themselves, and the *Latins;* but rather by Piety and Religion; and by this sole *wisdom*, namely, *that we perceived that all things are ruled and governed by the providence of the* IMMORTAL GODS, *did we subdue all peoples and nations* *." *De Haruspicum responsis.* § 9.

And the Father of *Grecian* history concluded his account of the destruction of *Troy*, with this precious sentiment: "*Heaven*

* Quis—non intelligat *Deorum numine, hoc tantum imperium esse natum et auctum et retentum?* Quam volumus licet, *Patres Conscripti*, ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero *Hispanos*, nec robore *Gallos*, nec calliditate *Pœnos*, nec artibus *Græcos*, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu, *Italos* ipsos ac *Latinos;* sed pietate ac religione: *Atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ*, quod DEORUM IMMORTALIUM *numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

permitting, as I conjecture, *that they should be utterly destroyed*, to convince mankind that THE GODS *have great punishments in reserve for great crimes.*"

If we turn our eyes from ancient times, and ancient writers, sacred and profane, to modern, and review the present awful and stupendous visitations of DIVINE WRATH, upon an irreligious and corrupt world, "when *the judgments of God are* visibly *abroad in all the earth*," what pious and patriotic *citizen of the world* can forbear breathing out an ardent wish, that the world in general, and his own nation in particular, "*would learn righteousness*," from the experience and observation of all ages, past and present.—*O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their end!* the end of themselves, and of their posterity, even in this life, independent of futurity; for it is only in *this life* that *national* piety and virtue can be rewarded, and national impiety and vice can be punished; *individuals* will find their just and full retribution in a *future state.* See p. 114, note, of this Volume, and the history of *Job*, and of *Solomon*, in the second Volume.

The great and important ends of all HISTORY, sacred and profane, are *national entertainment*, and *instruction.*

> *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit* UTILE DULCI,
> LECTOREM DELECTANDO, PARITERQUE MONENDO. HORAT.

These were attained, in a pre-eminent degree, by the *sacred historians* of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT (to unfold whose mingled beauties and merits is the chief aim and object of the present arduous attempt); but there is one grand excellence, peculiarly theirs, noticed before, as belonging to the *Evangelists* in particular, Vol. III. p. 38.

"THEY SACRIFICED TO THE TRUTH ALONE."

"*Telling truth in love* *," or charity to the community, "*whether they would hear, or whether they would forbear*, and regardless of all *personal* inconveniences resulting from *their frankness*, or *freedom of speech* †; whether *stripes*, *imprisonment*, or even *death* itself; "*rejoicing that they were counted worthy to be disgraced for the name of* CHRIST, *and for the sake of* GOD, as their *heralds* and *ambassadors*, and willing to *spend*, and be *spent*, for the good of their *country* and of *man-*

* Αληθευοντες εν αγαπῃ. Ephes. iv. 15.

† Παρρησια. Acts iv. 29; xxxviii. 31; Phil. i. 20.

kind; whereas, the *profane historians* too often *sacrificed to the Graces,* and to *Fiction,* even the best, *Herodotus, Xenophon,* &c.

Wishing, therefore, though in an inferior degree, and at humble distance, to emulate those MIGHTY MASTERS, or teachers of ancient piety and wisdom, "the goodly fellowship of *the Prophets,*" and those venerable FATHERS IN CHRIST, "the glorious company of the *Apostles,*" who both composed the foremost ranks of "the noble army of THE MARTYRS," in the *Church Militant,* from the earliest ages; I have faithfully and honestly endeavoured to point out to the public the present sickly and drooping state, or the utter extinction of CHRISTIANITY in the four quarters of the world, and the alarming symptoms of the decay and approaching ruin of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH in the *British Isles,* and I ventured to propose the most effectual remedies, to prevent their speedy downfal: namely, 1. To recur, once more, to the long neglected, and almost forgotten, *fundamental principles* of PROTESTANTISM, so necessary to check the luxuriant growth of *Heresy* and *Schism,* now waving through the land; by holding forth to imitation the wisdom and piety of our *ancestors,* at the BLESSED REFORMATION, and at the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, which emancipated those countries from the spiritual thraldom of the See of *Rome.* 2. To resist, by fair reason, argument, and by circulation of *the sword of* THE SPIRIT, which is THE WORD OF GOD, (rightly understood in *spirit,* and explained in *letter,)* the revival and re-establishment of that "*worst of superstitions,* and *heaviest of all* GOD'S *judgments,* POPERY," in the lively and energetic language of *Milton,* who knew its genius right well. And 3. Though last mentioned, yet first to be done, TO REFORM our *national sins,* and to AMEND OUR LIVES *individually,* WITH ALL SPEED, as we wish to suspend, as we wish to avert, before it be too late, "the *dreadful judgments* which have befallen the rest of *Europe,* and now seem hovering, ready to fall upon us, in these most *dangerous days,*" and most alarming *crisis,* perhaps, of the British empire, harassed and torn to an extraordinary degree, by intestine *divisions* and *feuds,* in *Church* and *State;* and surrounded, on all sides, by a host of foreign and inveterate foes, and unnatural children, or colonists, all meditating or contriving its subjugation and destruction, at a disastrous period, when there is the most urgent

and imperious necessity for concord and unanimity in our public councils, and for firmness and promptness in our public measures; all *sects*, and all *parties*, laudably forgetting their mutual animosities, and joining heart and hand against the *common enemy*, for the protection of their *Religion* and *Liberties*. — These considerations recoil with redoubled force, and with the keenest edge, when we consider the great *national* loss lately sustained, by the lamentable assassination of the Right Honourable *Spencer Perceval*, the good, and the great, in the ante-chamber of the *British* House of Commons, on May 11, 1812. A loss, which is sorely felt already, and will perhaps daily, more and more; a loss, so hard to be replaced, as involving the rare assemblage of *political wisdom*, *virtue*, and *integrity*, and *steady attachment* to the genuine principles of the *Constitution*, in *Church* and *State*. Such, and so gifted, was "the MASTER-COUNSELLOR *in whom there was safety* *," while he steered the helm of the state!—Where, alas! shall we look for, and find such another "*pilot* to weather the *storm*," in this most disastrous *hurricane*, which threatens the shipwreck of all we hold most dear and precious, as *men*, as *citizens*, and as *Christians!*

One source of comfort and consolation still remains, amid this ocean of ills, which may induce us to hope almost against hope, that THE GOD who is still "worshipped in *spirit* and *truth*," in the *British Isles*, that last asylum of the *Faithful Witnesses*, who *is able to deliver us*, and who *hath delivered us*, on so many signal occasions, *will still deliver us* from the perils that environ us. And that is, the latent fund of *individual* wisdom and worth, still subsisting, "in the *home bred* and *native good sense* of this *people* and *country*,"—in the *British character*,

> "*Not obvious*, nor *obstrusive*, but *retired*,
> *The more desirable* †"

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* See the *Master-Counsellor* explained, note, p. 161. Most justly may we apply to Mr. *Perceval* the elegiac lines of the *Roman* Poet.

> Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
> Tam *cari Capitis!*——Cui, *Pudor*, et *Justitiæ* Soror
> *Incorrupta Fides*, *nudaque Veritas*,
> Quando *ullum* invenient *parem!*
> *Multis* ille *bonis* flebilis, *occidit*. HOR. OD. I. xxiv. 1—9.

A greater than *Quintilius Varus* is gone!

† The following *anecdotes* will, perhaps, engage the public, as they have already, the Editor's feelings.

I. When

though unfortunately disgraced by some overt acts of violence, of *Political*, as well as *Religious Fanaticism*, equally abhorred, with satisfaction, we observe, by the *sober minded* of all parties and sects among us. Even the recent dreadful catastrophe, unfortunate as it may in many respects prove, may yet have the good effect to rouze a slumbering sense of *Public Virtue*, to alarm the *wise* and *good*, and by exciting from them expressions of detestation, in some degree to shame and check *Political Incendiaries**,

I. When the fatal intelligence of the sudden assassination of Mr. *Perceval* was speedily communicated to Lord *Arden*, his brother, " he was excessively agitated. But he soon recovered himself; and the first symptom of returning reason was shewn, by *begging pardon of Heaven for the excess of his affliction.*

II. " When the heart rending account was conveyed to Mrs. *Perceval*, she bore it with astonishing firmness. She could not weep; but spent a sleepless night without tears. Her friends, apprehensive of the consequences, assembled her children all around her, in the morning; when at the sight of them, she burst into a flood of tears, which greatly relieved her. She was then anxious to see the body. There was nothing horrid in the appearance, and the countenance was remarkably placid. The sight (afflicting as it was; she and her children weeping over the murdered husband and father) was yet a comfort to her, as it convinced her *his death had been without pain.* Indeed, it was, probably, almost instantaneous.

" The night before the funeral, *she assembled all her children, in prayer, round the body*, urging them to imitate, through life, the conduct of their father: and concluding with a *prayer*, for the *repentance* and *pardon* of the *assassin.* This was the last strong emotion of her grief. She has gradually become since, more and more composed."

III. " The funeral was conducted with as much privacy as possible. Four of the Ministers attended as pall-bearers; and the eldest son, and the brothers, brothers in law, and three of the nephews, together with the private secretaries, attended as mourners; *the rest of his relations and friends having been requested not to attend.* He was buried at *Charlton* in *Kent*, in a vault belonging to his family, where his father, mother, and others of the family, have been buried. The procession passed in silence to the church, where the ground was kept by the *London* light horse volunteers, of which Mr. *Perceval* had been a member, many of whom appeared to be deeply afflicted. Indeed, the solemnity, at that moment, to which the music of the corps contributed, was great, and I believe, (says the writer) struck every one present.

" During the ceremony, when the LORD'S *prayer* was read over the grave, the loud and shrill voice of *his son*, penetrating above the rest of those who joined in the prayer, produced a thrill of sorrow not to be expressed."

☞ This communication to the public of this most interesting and affecting intelligence, as it came warm from the heart of the writer, an eye witness, and home to the heart of his correspondent, cannot surely be deemed *dishonourable*, or a breach of *private friendship:* It is, indeed, a *necessary*, and a *seasonable* confirmation of the argument advanced in the text.

Paulum distat *sepultæ*, *celata* VIRTUS.

We are bound " *to let our light shine before men*, to the *glory* of GOD."

* The following were the profound *political* reflections of the *Roman* Orator and Patriot, on the *State of Parties at Rome*, before he was overwhelmed by the ruins of

and to undeceive the deluded multitude, who are daily misled by their *harangues*, their *publications*, and their *state-activities*,

that *Constitution*, which he vainly strove to uphold, from the *Clodiuses*, the *Catilines*, and the *Cesars* of his day: in his Oration, *pro Sextio.*

Duo genera semper in hac Civitate fuerunt eorum, qui versati in Republica, atque in eâ se excellentius gerere studuerunt: quibus ex generibus, alteri se *populares*, alteri *optimates*, et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea quæ faciebant, quæque dicebant, *Multitudini* jucunda esse volebant, populares; qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia *optimo cuique* probarent, Optimates habebantur.

" In this state there have been always two kinds of citizens desirous of engaging and distinguishing themselves in public affairs: Of these, the one wished to be accounted and to be in reality *Democrates*; the other, *Aristocrates*. Those who wished to render their words and actions pleasing to the *multitude* were accounted Democrates; but those who so conducted themselves, as to recommend their measures to *the most respectable* among the citizens, Aristocrates.——

III

Quid est igitur propositum *his Reipublicæ gubernatoribus*, quod intueri, et quo cursum suum dirigere debeant? Id quod est præstantissimum, maximeque optabile omnibus sanis, et bonis et beatis: *Cum dignitate otium.*——

" What then, ought to be the object, what the aim of *these governors of the state* in steering their course? That surely, which is most excellent, and by all sober and good and opulent citizens most desirable: to maintain *tranquillity with dignity.*——

Hujus autem *otiosæ dignitatis* hæc fundamenta sunt, hæc membra, quæ tuenda *principibus*, et *vel capitis periculo* defendenda sunt: *Religiones, Auspicia, Potestates Magistratuum, Senatus auctoritas, Leges, Mos majorum, Judicia, Jurisdictio, Fides, Provinciæ, Socii, Imperii laus, Res Militaris, Ærarium.*

" But of this *tranquil dignity* these are the foundations, these the compartments which ought to be maintained by *the principal* citizens, and defended *even at the hazard of life: Religious establishments*, both *moral* and *ceremonial, the powers of the Magistrates, the authority of Parliament, the Statute and Common Law, the administration of Justice, the Municipal Jurisdiction, the public Faith, the Government of the Provinces, Foreign Alliances, the Glory of the Empire, the Military Establishment, the Finances.*

Harum rerum tot atque tantarum esse defensorem et patronum, *magni animi* est, *magni ingenii, magnæque constantiæ:* Etenim, in tanto Civium numero magna multitudo est eorum qui aut propter *metum pœnæ, peccatorum suorum conscii,* novos motus conversionesque Reipublicæ quærant; aut qui, propter *insitum quendam animi furorem* discordiis civium ac seditione pascantur; aut qui, propter *implicationem rei familiaris,* communi incendio malint quam suo deflagrare. Qui cum *auctores* et *duces* suorum studiorum vitiorumque sunt nacti, in Republica fluctus

" To defend and patronise concerns so various and important, is the province of *great magnanimity, great talents,* and *great consistency;* for in so immense a mass of citizens, great is the multitude of those, who *through consciousness of guilt* and *fear of punishment* seek new commotions and convulsions in the state; or who from a certain *implanted phrenzy of mind* are nourished by civil discord and sedition; or, who from *embarrassment of their family affairs,* wish rather to burn out gradually in the general conflagration, than immediately in their own. Whenever such mis-

or mischievous intrigues and coalitions against the *common weal.*

If *ten righteous* citizens would have saved *Sodom*, that abominable city, even in the very jaws of destruction, may we not

excitantur: *Ut vigilandum sit iis qui sibi gubernacula Patriæ depoposcerunt,* enitendumque omni scientiâ ac diligentiâ, ut conservatis his quæ paulo ante fundamenta et membra esse dixi, tenere cursum possint, et capere *Otii* illum portum et *dignitatis.*

Hanc ego viam, Judices, si aut *asperam,* aut *arduam,* aut plenam esse *periculorum* aut *insidiarum* negem, mentiar; præsertim cum id non modo intellexerim semper, sed etiam præter cæteros senserim: *Majoribus præsidiis et copiis oppugnatur Respublica, quam defenditur;* propterea quod *audaces* homines et *perditi* nutû impelluntur, et ipsi etiam sponte suâ contra Rempublicam incitantur: *boni,* nescio quomodo, *tardiores* sunt, et *principiis rerum* [*novarum*] *neglectis,* ad extremum, *ipsa* denique *necessitate* excitantur; et est nonnunquam, *cunctatione* et *tarditate,* dum *otium* volunt *etiam absque dignitate* retinere, ipsi *utrumque* amittant!

creants can find *abettors* and *leaders* of their schemes and enormities, then tempests are excited in the state: *so that they who have assumed the helm of their country, ought to be vigilant,* ought to exert all their skill and diligence, by preserving those foundations and compartments which I mentioned a little before, to be enabled to hold on their course, and reach that desirable port of *Tranquillity* and *Dignity.*

"Were I, Judges, to deny that this is a course either rugged, or arduous, or perilous, or beset with snares, I should be a liar; especially since it has been not only my constant conviction, but what I have felt myself, more than others: *For the Commonwealth is assailed by greater forces and resources than it is defended;* because *daring* and *desperate* men are impelled by a nod, and are readily incited even of their own accord, to attack the Commonwealth: while the *well affected,* by some unaccountable fatality, are *too tardy,* and *neglecting the beginnings of innovation,* are, at length, excited toward the extremity, by *downright necessity;* so that sometimes, by *tardiness* and *procrastination,* while they wish to retain *tranquillity even without dignity,* themselves lose both!"

What a faithful and a frightful picture is here exhibited of the feuds and dissensions now actually raging in these isles, between the *Aristocratic* and the *Democratic* parties! (1812.) To each, we may say,

Mutato nomine, de TE, *fabula narratur!*

God grant the termination may not be similar in both countries! *Cicero* outlived the ruin of the *Roman* constitution, and before he fell a victim to the proscriptions of the ruthless Triumvirate, *Augustus, Anthony* and *Lepidus,* in his *De Senectute* he stated the following as the cause of the rapid downfal of the state:

Quî, cedo, Rempublicam vestram tantam amisistis tam cito?

"What, prithee, occasioned the loss of so great a commonwealth as yours, so suddenly?"

He replies in the character of old, morose *Cato* the Censor,

Proveniebant Oratores, novi, stulti, adolescentuli!

"The frequent harangues of upstart, silly, childish Orators!"

venture to hope, that *many tens* are still to be found in the *British* Metropolis and its environs? and that whatever may be the final doom of *London*, (which we, in particular, deprecate most fervently, from long tried experience, and no short, nor slight, nor confined observation of the disinterested kindness and hospitality of *Englishmen*) yet we fondly trust, that a gracious *Zoar*, or asylum for the *faithful witnesses*, "a *little* city of refuge," will be found, in their last and sorest trial, in "*the street*," or most populous region of the "*tenth part*," or province, of "*the great city*," or *Roman* empire, destined to be the last dreadful, and sanguinary, and public *persecution* and *massacre* of the *Household of Faith*, if we rightly understand Rev. xi. 7—10. See Vol. III. p. 640—642.

III

DII PATRII, quorum semper sub NUMINE *Troja* est,
Non, tamen, omnino *Teucros* delere paratis,
Cum *tales animos* Juvenum, tam *certa* tulistis
Pectora! VIRGIL.

May such "*choice spirits*," such "*steady hearts*," as are still to be found, blessed be GOD, in that most highly favoured country under heaven, by "working out their *own* and their *country's* salvation, with fear and trembling *," conciliate the

* "We are bound to *pray* for *the peace* of our *Jerusalem*," not only occasionally, on *solemnities* like the present, and at the stated times of *public worship*, but upon all occasions: not merely in *the Church*, but in our *houses* and in our *closets*; at family prayer, and in our most retired devotional exercises. And HE *that seeth in secret*, will, it is to be humbly hoped, "*reward openly*," such pious and patriotic prayers, by the preservation and protection of the community at large. It must indeed be difficult, nay impossible, to estimate the effect of such "*still, small voiced*" petitions and intercessions, even of a lowly and obscure *individual*, until that day "when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed," and "the little causes of great events," published to men and Angels: but we are warranted by HOLY WRIT to consider as *of much avail*, before the throne of

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Perhaps, the self-approving haughty *World*,
That as she sweeps him with her rustling silks,
Scarce deigns to notice *him*; or if she sees,
Deems him a *cypher* in the works of GOD;
Receives advantage from his noiseless hours,
Of which she little dreams: Perhaps, she owes
Her *sunshine* and her *rain*, her *blooming spring*,
And *plenteous harvest*, to the *prayer* he makes;
When '*Isaac* like,' the solitary Saint,
'*Walks forth to meditate at even tide*,'
And thinks on her who thinks not for herself!

providential protection of her GUARDIAN POWERS, and avert the threatened destruction!

Grace, the *fervent energetic prayer of a righteous man*" [such as of *Abraham* for *Sodom*, and *Elijah* for *Israel*.]

"GOD *forbid*," said the venerable prophet *Samuel*, upon a similar solemnity, to his ungrateful and revolting people—GOD *forbid* that *I should sin against* THE LORD, *in ceasing to pray for you?*—But *I will teach you* the *good* and *right way: Only fear* THE LORD and *serve Him in truth, with all your heart; for consider how great things* He *hath done for you!——But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king.*"

See my *Fast Sermon* on *National Judgments*, Isaiah ix. 12, preached at *Killesandra* Oct. 19, 1803, p. 36, 37, published by *Colbert*, *Dublin*.

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FOUR VOLUMES:

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III. SCRIPTURAL,
IV. PHILOLOGICAL.

IN TENUI LABOR.——*Virgil.*

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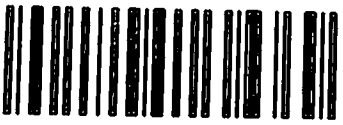
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